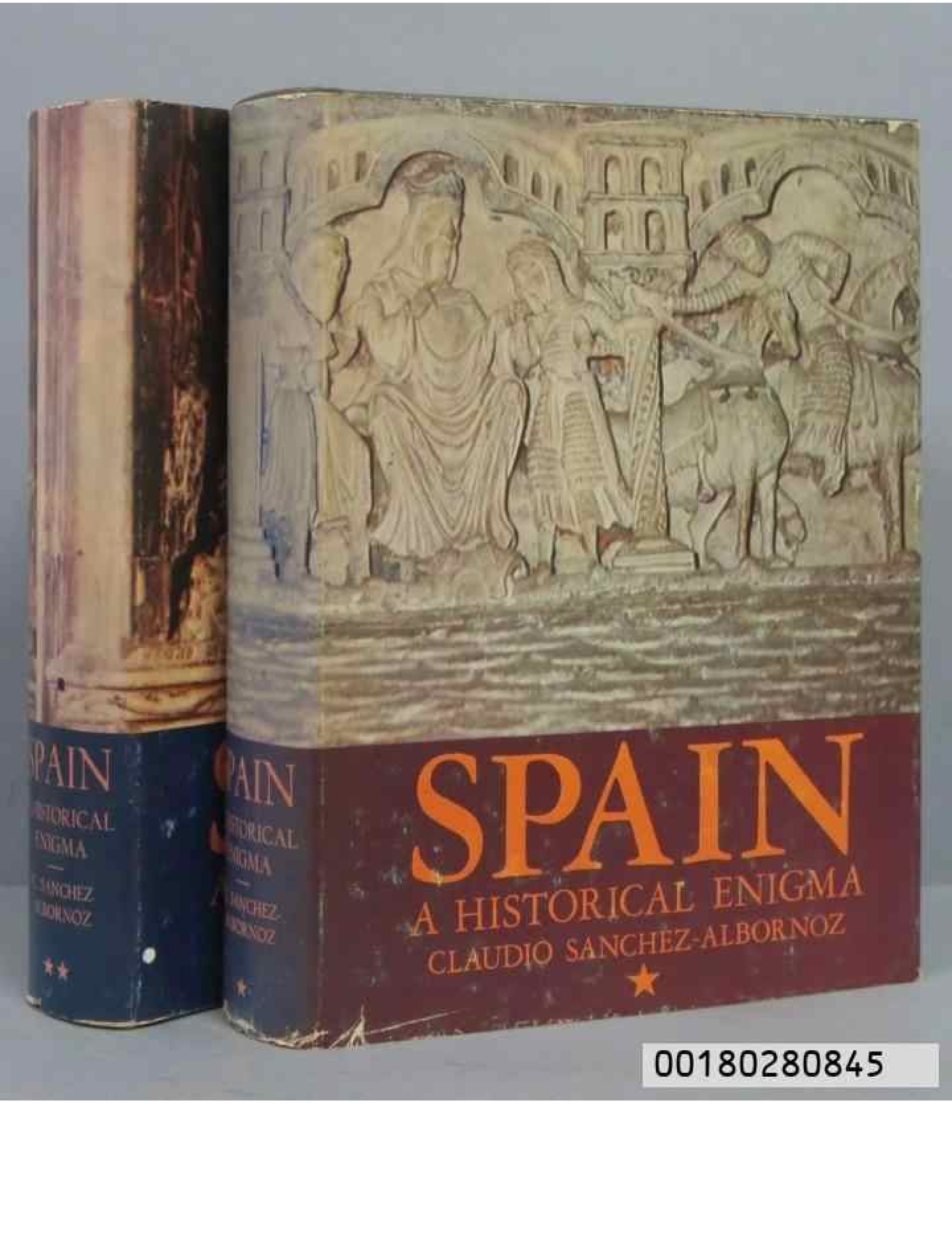

SPAIN
A HISTORICAL ENIGMA
CLAUDIO SANCHEZ-ALBORNOZ
00180280845

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation

https://archive.org/details/spainhistoricale0001sanc

SPAIN, A HISTORICAL ENIGMA

CLAUDIO SANCHEZ-ALBORNOZ

SPAIN,
A HISTORICAL ENIGMA

I

Translated by
COLETTE JOLY DEES & DAVID SVEN REHER

DP
48
.S35813
V.1

FUNDACION UNIVERSITARIA ESPAÑOLA
Alcalá, 93
MADRID, 1975

DP48 .S35813 v.1

Publicaciones
de la
FUNDACION
UNIVERSITARIA
ESPAÑOLA

Biblioteca de Hispanismo - 2

Publications
of the
SPANISH
UNIVERSITARY
FOUNDATION

Hispanism Series - 2

A HISTORICAL ENIGMA

IMPRESO EN ESPAÑA
PRINTED IN SPAIN

I. S. B. N. 84-7392-099-6
Depósito legal: M. 3.924-1976

Imp. DOSERRE, S. L. - Ardemáns, 63 - Madrid, 1975

To the Argentine Republic
my second Spain

298106

INTRODUCTION

The English-speaking public is finally being presented with one of the capital works of twentieth-century Spanish historical scholarship. Moreover this is also practically the first opportunity (1) for this public to come in contact with the work of Spain's foremost living historian and one of the most important of this century. May this introduction serve to place in perspective the author, Don Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz y Menduiña, and his historical endeavors.

Don Claudio, as he is called by his friends and students, was born on 7 April 1893 in Madrid. His parents were from his beloved Ávila and there he spent much of his early youth. He received his secondary education at the Escuelas Pías de San Fernando in Madrid, where he graduated with the «Premio excepcional».

He commenced the study of Law and Philosophy and Letters at the University of Madrid in 1909. In his third year he met Eduardo Hinojosa, a pioneer in Spanish institutional history; this meeting was to determine the ultimate direction of his academic pursuits. He left the Law School and dedicated himself to the study of history, especially medieval institutional history. Urged on by Hinojosa, who was profoundly influencing his historical formation, in 1914 he published his first work in medieval history: «La potestad real y los señoríos en Asturias, León y Castilla durante los siglos VIII-XIII». That same year, at the age of 21, he achieved his doctoral degree. At 25 he won a chair at the University of Barcelona and in 1920 he won the chair of the recently-deceased Hinojosa in Madrid.

In 1921 a public contest for the «National Covadonga Prize» was jointly convoked by the Royal Spanish Academy of Letters and the Royal Spanish Academy of History to celebrate the XII Centennial of the beginning of the Reconquest. In May 1921 Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal strongly urged the young Sánchez-Albornoz to take on the project even though

---

(1) The exception to this is «The Frontier and Castilian Liberties», in *The New World Looks at Its History*. Part II: *The Medieval Iberian Frontier* (Texas, 1963).

the date due was 31 December 1922. He covered all the archives of the Iberian Northwest, from Braga to Oviedo, and turned in his 5 volume study on time. The prize was won by unanimous decision but his monumental study never published. He realized that there was much more work to do on it and only now, after 50 years of intensive monographic study, is this work appearing under the title *Orígenes de la nación española.*

Due to the reputation earned by this work and by his extensive monograph concerning medieval peasant liberties, «Las behetrías. La encomendación en Asturias, León y Castilla» (1924), he was elected to the Royal Academy of History in 1925 at the age of 32. His entrance speech entitled *Estampas de la vida en León hace mil años* (1926) was to consolidate his reputation as a medieval scholar and a master at historical reconstruction and urban history. Apart from his publishing activities, he was instrumental, along with Galo Sánchez and José María Ramos Loscertales, all disciples of Hinojosa, in the founding of the journal *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español.* He actively participated in its direction until his exile in 1936.

Sánchez-Albornoz has always professed to be a liberal democrat and, with the advent of the Second Republic in 1931, he did not shun public political envolvement. He was a member of Acción Republicana along with Manuel Azaña, a representative in the Cortes for Ávila, a counsellor of Public Education, minister of Foreign Affairs, vice-president and finally ambassador to Portugal. Despite this intense political activity, he was still able to publish 40 monographs on different historical topics.

Forced into exile by the Civil War in 1936, he was named Doctor *honoris causa* at the University of Bordeaux. Upon the conclusion of the war, he lost everything he possessed in Spain including his university chair and his membership in the Royal Academy. Finally he was forced to flee the German invaders in 1940, taking refuge in Argentina and thus losing his children, who returned to Spain. Despite this seemingly unending series of personal tragedies, in Bordeaux he wrote his *En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo,* published later in Mendoza, which all but invalidated the existing theories, especially those of Brunner, regarding the origins of feudalism and the problem of the permanence of the Germanic comitatus in Visigothic Spain.

In Argentina he taught in the University of Cuyo until 1942. Later the University of Buenos Aires created a chair and the Institute of Spanish History for him. Since then he has lived modestly in Argentina, frequently having to take on extra jobs and always refusing, for idealistic reasons, the pension of ex-minister which he is entitled to. Both academically and as an educator he has left his mark in Argentina. In 1944 he founded *Cuadernos de Historia de España* which has become one of the major scholarly publications for the study of medieval Hispanic history. Moreover he has been able to create a school of medieval Spanish historians around the Institute and *Cuadernos* which has produced some of the best present-day scholarship in this field.

In recent years Sánchez-Albornoz has received many international awards. Perhaps the most significant one is the Feltrinelli Prize, awarded by the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei of Rome. Given yearly to a different discipline, in 1970, Don Claudio was the first historian to receive it. The self-exile of this great man continues despite a constant longing for his homeland. He has often stated that he will not return if it means relinquishing his ideals and his dignity to do so. Those in Spain have little choice but to lament their loss and hope he will return soon.

The qualities Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz as a historian are multiple. He combines talent and intuition with a strict adherence to the historical texts and documents in question. His ability to reconstruct the past without sacrificing the well-known scientific authority enjoyed by his work is facilitated by the elegance of his writing style. The critical incisiveness of his mind combined with the frequently polemical nature of his works makes for interesting reading.

The ongoing purpose of the historical studies of this many-faceted scholar has been to illuminate the previously uncharted field of the historical origins of the Spanish nation. His production in this field has been truly prolific and any mention of his works here must necessarily be incomplete. Nevertheless the principle fields of his historical endeavors can be delimited. The first step necessary to understand Spain's origins, situated by Sánchez-Albornoz in the early Middle Ages, was to explore their Roman and Visigothic roots (2). Subjects such as the tribal topography of Roman Asturias, the Hispanic nature of pre-Muslim Spain (one of his most important historical theories), the extinction of the Hispano-Roman municipality, the governmental and military structure and the proto-feudal institutions of the Visigothic monarchy and other related areas have been extensively treated by Sánchez-Albornoz.

The understanding of Hispano-Muslim history was also necessary to clarify the origins of Spain (3). While not a specialist in the material,

---

(2) Some of his more important works in this field are: «El aula regia y las asambleas políticas de los godos», *Cuadernos de Historia de España,* V, 1946; «El culto al emperador y la unificación de España», *Anales del Instituto de Literaturas Clásicas,* III, 1946; «El ejército visigodo: su protofeudalización», *CHE,* XLIII-XLIV, 1967; *En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo*: vol. I, *Fideles y cardingos en la monarquía visigoda* (Mendoza, 1942); «Pervivencia y crisis de la tradición jurídica romana en la época goda», in *Il passaggio dall'antichità al medioevo in Occidente* (Spoleto, 1962); *Ruina y extinción del municipio romano en España e instituciones que le reemplazan* (Buenos Aires, 1943); «El Senatus visigodo. Don Rodrigo, rey legítimo de España», *CHE,* VI, 1946; *El «Stipendum» hispano-godo y los orígenes del beneficio pre-feudal* (Buenos Aires, 1947). Many articles dealing with Visigothic institutions are collected in the first part of *Investigaciones y documentos sobre instituciones hispanas* (Santiago, 1970) and in *Estudios visigodos* (Rome, 1971).

(3) See: *El Ajbār Maŷmū'a. Problemas historiográficos que suscita* (Buenos Aires, 1944); *En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo:* vol. II, *Fuentes hispano-musulmanas del siglo VII,* and vol. III, *La caballería musulmana y la caballería franca del siglo VIII* (Mendoza, 1942); *La España musulmana. Según los autores islamitas y cristianos medievales,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1946); *España y el Islam*

Don Claudio has contributed important works, many of them based on medieval Islamic texts with his own scholarly commentary. His scholarship also touches on the relationship between pre-Muslim and Muslim Spain as well as the reciprocal influence between the medieval West and Hispano-Muslim culture. Naturally, the relations between Spanish Islam and Spanish Christendom receive special attention.

In order to illuminate the reality of this remote and previously obscure period in Spanish history it was absolutely necessary to determine the veracity of the different Arabic and Latin literary texts and chronicles of the early Middle Ages (4). They are the source of much that we know regarding the first periods of the Reconquest and the new kingdom of Asturias-León. Sánchez-Albornoz has critically examined both Christian and Muslim texts and, among other results, has helped restore confidence in the early chronicles of Asturias-León after Barrau-Dihigo's highly critical attacks.

Nevertheless, the formation of the Christian kingdoms during the Reconquest has always been the primary concern and the ultimate purpose of the majority of Don Claudio's research. Thus, in this field his historical scholarship acquires special importance.

In the field of urban and economic history he has offered historians a fundamental model of historical reconstruction in his monumental depiction of the society and economy of the city of León a thousand years ago; a study, written between 1921 and 1925, which was first published in 1926 and several times since (5). He has also written several monographs on diverse military and social aspects of the Reconquest itself: different battles, the authenticity and precise nature of Asturian resistance, the itinerary of the conquest of Spain by the Muslims, etc. (6). Following the path laid out for him by Hinojosa, Sánchez-Albornoz has studied in depth varied aspects and institutions of the nascent kingdom of Asturias-León and of the other emerging Christian kingdoms. He touches not only on the institutions of government and privilege, like the Portuguese *Curia*

(Buenos Aires, 1943); «El Islam de España y el Occidente», in *L'Occidente de l'Islam nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1965); «El régimen de la tierra y la organización militar en la España musulmana durante el siglo VIII», *Logos*, 1, 1941.

(4) Apart from volume II of *En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo* (Mendoza, 1942) and *El Ajbār Maŷmū'a* (Buenos Aires, 1944), Sánchez-Albornoz' varied work in this field has been collected into *Investigaciones sobre historiografía hispana medieval (siglos VIII al XII)* (Buenos Aires, 1967).

(5) *Estampas de la vida en León hace mil años* (Madrid, 1926); this book has been re-edited several times, most recently in 1966 with the title *Una ciudad de la España cristiana hace mil años. Estampas de la vida en León.* Another important study in economic history is «El precio de la vida en el reino asturleonés hace mil años», *Logos*, III, VI, 1944.

(6) Among the more than ten studies in the military history of the Reconquest we find: «Otra vez Guadalete y Covadonga», *CHE*, I-II, 1944; *¿Muza en Asturias?* (Buenos Aires, 1944); and «Itinerario de la conquista de España por los musulmanes», *CHE*, X, 1948.

Regia, the monarchy, lordships, etc., but also on the very birth and character of these kingdoms (7).

Within this same field of institutional history an important part of the work of Sánchez-Albornoz has been dedicated to the effects of the Reconquest on the society in the Christian kingdoms and more specifically to the role of the free small proprietors and the democratic municipal *concejos* in the formation of Spain, from the days of Alfonso I on (8). He explores the complex relationship between the reconquest of certain areas and the subsequent repopulation of the totally deserted lands north of the Duero and the partially deserted lands elsewhere He points out how this will stimulate the growth of a class of free peasants, unique in Europe, and of free and powerful municipalities which will have a lasting effect not only on the structure of land tenure in Spain but also on the attitude of the Spaniards towards life.

In recent years there has been an intensive effort to collect the widely scattered *opera magna* of Sánchez-Albornoz, much of which has been published in historical journals over the past 60 years. The task is practically completed and is a veritable boom to students of Spanish history (9).

Nevertheless Sánchez-Albornoz has never believed that his condition as medievalist kept him from surpassing the boundaries of the Middle Ages and bringing his work to the general public. Making good use of his fluid prose style, he has been able to place his rigorously scientific theories in well-constructed works of synthesis dealing with varying topics (10). This

---

(7) For example: «Alfonso III y el particularismo castellano», *CHE,* XIII, 1950; *La Curia regia portuguesa en los siglos XII y XIII* (Madrid, 1920); «La potestad real y los señoríos en Asturias, León y Castilla durante los siglos VIII al XIII», *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos,* XXI, 1914; «Problemas de la historia de Navarra en el siglo IX», *CHE,* XXV-XXVI, 1956; and «La sucesión al trono en los reinos de León y Castilla», *Boletín de la Academia Argentina de Letras,* XIV, 1945; *Vascos y navarros en su primera historia* (Madrid, 1975).

(8) «Las behetrías. La encomendación en Asturias, León y Castilla», *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español,* I, 1924; «Muchas páginas más sobre las behetrías», *AHDE,* IV, 1927; «Contratos de arrendamiento en el reino asturleonés», *CHE,* X, 1948; *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero* (Buenos Aires, 1966); «El ejército y la guerra en el reino asturleonés (718-1035)», in *Ordinamenti militari in Occidente nell'alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1968); «Homines mandationis y iuniors», *CHE,* 1971; and «Los libertos en el reino astur-leonés», *Revista Portuguesa de Historia,* IV, 1949; «Pequeños propietarios libres en el reino asturleonés. Su realidad histórica», in *Agricoltura e mondo rurale in Occidente nell'alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1965); «Repoblación del reino asturleonés. Proceso, dinámica y proyecciones», *CHE,* LIII-LIV, 1971.

(9) *Estudios sobre instituciones medievales españolas* (Mexico City, 1965); *Estudios visigodos* (Rome, 1971); *Investigaciones sobre historiografía hispana medieval (siglos VIII al XII)* (Buenos Aires, 1967); *Investigaciones y documentos sobre las instituciones hispanas* (Santiago, 1970); and *Miscelánea de estudios históricos* (León, 1970). These books contain much of Sánchez-Albornoz' historical work published previously in journals and also some of his essays on much general topics.

(10) Many of his works of general synthesis have been published in book form, such as: *Del ayer de España. Trípticos históricos* (Madrid, 1973); *De ayer y de hoy*

multiplicity of endeavor has made him postpone the completion of, in his words, «the two dreamt-of works of my youth»: the history of the kingdom of Asturias and the origin of the medieval institutions of León and Castile. The first (11), which is finally being published in Spain, is based on the monograph which won the Covadonga Prize in 1922 but which has been constantly re-elaborated over the last 50 years. It has quite accurately been called the apex of his life-long historical studies.

The great historical synthesis of Sánchez-Albornoz, *Spain, A Historical Enigma,* represents a determined effort on the part of Don Claudio to instruct the Spaniards regarding the true nature of their past. This ripe piece of historical scholarship, a work which is acessible not only for the Hispanist but also for the devotee of Spain and Spanish history, was originally written as the rebuttle to the theories of Américo Castro regarding the nature of the Spaniards. Castro, a brilliant and provocative essayist, published his theories in 1948 (12). He attributes the reality of Spain to a vital interplay and symbiosis of three elements: Christianity, Islam and Judaism during the Middle Ages. He follows this phenomenon in political and literary texts from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries. For him it is due to this contact that the true Spanish nature was forged. This premise leads him to a number of existentialist and largely pesimistic and deterministic conclusions such as: the inability of the Spaniards to realize themselves in scientific and technological endeavors; or the history of Spain as «the history of an insecurity» or a «life of longing», etc. While fertile enough to have stimulated many interesting monographs, Castro's theory has always suffered from two basic weaknesses: he expresses the reality of an intellectual elite and not that of the whole population of Spain; and he frequently falls into the defect of over-valuing literary or documental texts to the detriment of socio-economic and institutional aspects of Spain during that period. It is against this fragile scientific basis and especially against the pesimistic conclusions implied by

---

(Madrid, 1958); *El drama de la formación de España y los españoles* (Barcelona, 1973); *Ensayos sobre historia de España* (Madrid, 1973); *Españoles ante la historia* (2nd. ed., Buenos Aires, 1969); *Historia y libertad* (Madrid, 1974); *De la invasión islámica al Estado continental* (Seville, 1974); *De mi anecdotario político* (Buenos Aires, 1972); and *Mi testamento histórico-político* (Barcelona, 1974). Naturally special mention must be made of his most important work of historica synthesis, *Spain, A Historical Enigma,* first published in Buenos Aires in 1956.

(11) *Orígenes de la nación española. Estudios críticos sobre la historia del reino de Asturias* (Oviedo, 1972, 1974, 1975).

(12) Castro originally expounded his theories in *España en su historia: Cristianos, moros y judíos* (Buenos Aires, 1948). Later he published a greatly modified version of the same work: *La realidad histórica de España* (Mexico City, 1954). This second version was translated into English under the title *The Structure of Spanish History* (Princeton, 1954) and later modified and re-translated as *The Spaniards. An Introduction to Their History* (Berkeley, 1971). Since Sánchez-Albornoz constantly refers to the original version of Castro's work, its title has been adapted in this translation as *Spain in Its History.*

Castro's theories that Sánchez-Albornoz, the Spaniard and the historian, has reacted. He maintained that Castro's superficial understanding of Spanish history had led him into numerous and grave errors; and these he proposed to set straight in *Spain, A Historical Enigma.* The ensuing debate between two of Spain's foremost scholars has been considered by many as the most important and productive one of this century.

While *Spain, A Historical Enigma* is a very polemical work, Sánchez-Albornoz does not limit himself to the mere rebuttle of Castro's theories. He consciously and conscientiously attempts to construct a synthesis of Spain's past. To do so he analyzes many disparate subjects ranging from the Hispanic nature of the Arcipreste de Hita and the figure of Don Juan to the failure of sixteenth-century Spanish modernity and the relations between Spain and Europe. Yet this synthesis is not just a compendium of generalizations. It is based on the scholarly analysis of the evolution of Spanish history, especially from the late Roman times to the thirteenth-century, as befitting Spain's preeminent medievalist. Here the layman will find an excellent, incisive and exciting synthesis of Spanish history and the historian will find the substance of many of the theories Sánchez-Albornoz has elaborated in numerous monographic studies over the past 60 years.

Volume I follows Castro quite closely. After a section dedicated to the Romans and the Visigoths, the great debate is opened on the essential topic of Castro's book: the profound influence of Islam on Hispanic civilizations. To counter his theory, Sánchez-Albornoz examines questions relating to the collective psychology of the Spaniards, their religious, intellectual and literary life, the work of Ibn Hazm, the Arcipreste de Hita and Don Sem Tob and finally the figure of Don Juan. Throughout this first part he reaffirms the Hispanic nature of the Peninsula before the arrival of the Arabs, its influence on Islamic Spain and the paltry reality of any symbiosis of Arabs, Christians and Jews occurring in Spain at this time. The final two chapters deal more directly with Spanish society and less so with Castro's theories.

Volume II, except for the section dedicated to the Judaic contribution to the forging of the Spanish nature, tends to follow the line set out in the last two chapters of Volume I. Here Don Claudio presents his own synthesis of Spanish history rather than his rebuttle of Castro's. The key to this volume is what the author has written about medieval Castile and León, a topic which no one knows better than he. Here we find the exposition of his principle thesis: the Reconquest as the key to the history of Spain. We are shown how the Reconquest with its social, economic, political and even religious corollaries, will be the single most decisive historical factor on the Peninsula. The sections dedicated to the birth of Castile as a social and democratic phenomenon, unique in Europe, and the one dedicated to the immaturity of medieval Spanish feudalism and the bourgeoisie are models of incisive historical scholarship. Finally the

author analyzes the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a field somewhat removed from his major area of concentration, with his characteristic care and scholarship. He studies the phenomenon which he has termed «the short circuit of Spanish modernity» and Spain's relation to Europe.

Whether one agrees or not with the approaches of Don Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz to Spain's past, his weighty conclusions merit serious consideration and are essential to any global comprehension of the complex Hispanic historical reality.

DAVID SVEN REHER

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

This version presents many of the author's modifications of the 1962 edition of the work published by Editorial Sudamericana of Buenos Aires. These modifications are especially evident in the section «Pre-Moslem Traits in Mussulman Spain» in Volume I, which has been totally redone, and many sections of Chapter XII: «The Short Circuit of Spanish Modernity». Parts of the Appendices have also received important revision. More minor changes are evident throughout the work.

All footnotes in both volumes, with the exception of the section «Pre-Moslem Traits in Mussulman Spain».

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In the liminal pages of the first edition of this work I exposed the genesis and the process of my undertaking. I pointed out what my purpose was in carrying it through; I outlined the essential characteristics of my thinking about Spanish history and I concluded with the declaration of my methodological preferences and of my intention not to give in to the foolish urge to impress with ingenious but fragile fantasies. I am not going to repeat this presentation here. The reader will find it following these new introductory pages. I estimate that now only a few explanations are needed: the ones necessary to announce what will be the contents of this new edition and to explain the ideas which directed my work while writing the first one; some mistakenly distorted by well-meaning critics, others because of phobias or of personal or group interests. When an author publishes a work like this one shortly after its first publication, the results of his own studies and of others cannot force him to change his criterion and to re-write his work, unless he had conceived and composed it while afflicted with pride and the purpose of astonishing the world by dazzling theories. If he humbly tried to search for the truth and painstakingly attempted to grasp it, the normal progress of investigation logically should support rather than contradict his conclusions. Shall I be accused of pride if I say that such has been my case? No documented findings, forgotten evidence, recent monograph, historical work subsequent to mine, non scientific criticism of the latter have knocked my theories down, nor do they force me to alter them. The new thoughts divulged by the scholars or on the verge of being published by me have usually come to reinforce my theoretical construction. And it is so from primitive times on: the ideas relating to the Hispano-Roman, the Hispano-Gothic, to the enduring of the pre-Moslem in Spain and to municipal Castile have particularly favored my thesis.

Notwithstanding the kindness wich readers and critics have given my work, I keep on considering it as a very daring adventure. However, I think that I have been unjustly accused of having written about Spain's past with passion. The passion to explain myself and to explain the enigma of Spanish history to overyone. launched me into the task and sustained me

in my work, but I did not silence the *homo hispanus*' flaws and neither my thoughts nor my pen were moved by any rage or even by some phobia. Besides, if such templations had assailed me, my Christianity and my liberalism would have overcome then.

I have given many proofs of understanding concerning the problems which the plurality of the historical communities within the Hispanic unity presents in Spain's political horizon with an eye to the future. So people have been unfair with me in asserting that I have falsified Spanish history to serve a Castilian concept of the same. The peninsular past explains our regional differentiation in a way other than the one generally used by some nationalist minorities and I have not been able to alter the historical facts nor to keep them silent in order to serve such distortions.

Blood from all the people of Spain —especially from the people of Castile, Asturias, Galicia, the Basque country and Catalonia— flows through my veins. I am in love with all peninsular lands. And in the dual nostalgia which age and exile stir up in me daily, along with the memories of my two patrician metropolises of Madrid and Avila, their suburbs and their borders, those of all the cities and corners of Spain with which I am familiar, continuously mingle and intermingle.

There is nothing over there, on the other side of the Atlantic, in the Spanish peninsula, which does not find a live echo in muy everlasting days of moving remembrance of the national land. If formerly, although never alien to the problems and the traditions of the peripheral zones, I lived very steeped in the tradition and the problems of my native lands of Castile, during my twenty years of exile in America, the perspectives of distance have changed my vision of Spain. A dramatic integration of all its peoples, its regions, its sceneries, its monuments, its traditions and things without preferences nor limits has occurred in me; in an anguished desire to enjoy again all its peninsular lands in a sacred and amorous pilgrimage along all its roads and under its every sun, from one end of the remote and loved homeland which for me holds the limits of ancient Spain. I have overcome muy sentimental peculiarism and I have felt jolted by the passionate desire to discover a happy formula of co-living for all Spaniards, as long as they all consider themselves as such and accept the common unity of their destiny.

I have not, therefore, disdained the history of any of the Spanish historical groups and I have pointed out that, bound by common temperamental traits although separated by our unique Middle Age period, all of them have actively contributed, in their own time, to the making of Spain and they have equal rights. However, no one can deny the ruling function which the Castilian crown formerly exercised in the Peninsula —I do not say simply Castile on purpose, because it was not Castile but all of the towns over which the Castilian kings ruled which set the standard for Spanish life— and I have had to center my investigation on Castilian history.

Moreover, I would have distorted reality if I had concealed the sacrifices

of the Castilian crown to the undertaking which the temperamental common heritage imposed on all Spaniards and how in difficult moments of our past it followed international policies contrary to its tradition and interest. And I would have been unjust with Castile if I had accepted the gratuitous affirmations of its rivals about the way it oppressed the other peoples of Spain and about its exclusive responsibility in our historic fall. That responsibility cannot be proven a. d it was Castile which suffered the most in our great crisis. It never oppressed any peninsular people. Those who have governed the common fatherland during the last centuries have been non-Castilian men. And besides its enemies silence the great service it rendered to all the Spaniards of old and of now by conquering America.

I also want to refute another objection which I have heard more than read. I am referring to the easily seen disproportion between the attention that I devote to the Spanish medieval and to the peninsular modernism and sudden decline of my inquiry into Spain's enigma right at the year 1600. Although from the Paleolithic era until now, there is not a single page of Spanish history which is unfamiliar to me, I have naturally been more interested in the centuries that go from the Fall of Rome to the discovery of America. Without its complete knowledge I could hardly have run the risk of explaining Spain's past to myself because as my readers will have verified or may verify, it is during that era of our past that our personality matured and that the directions of our historical life were being formed. Without its singularities our primitive temperamental heritage would not have been perpetuated nor would Spain have become as it is, nor would we, as Spaniards, have shown the profile which has differentiated us from Mediterranean and Western people. And since I did not attempt to write the history of my homeland but to understand it, it was not only allowed but compulsory to intensify my searches and my reflections about the centuries of our past prior to the crystallization of the Spain which has come to the present and about the molding of the *homo hispanus* who directed the destiny of the West for more than a century.

An illustrious historian has limited, perhaps, too much the contents of my work and the fruits of my undertaking. It is certain that I took interest in knowing the multiples characteristics of the subject of Spain's history, the one I have just called now and many times *homo hispanus;* or expressed in another way, in determining the essential features of pure *españolía* (hispanicity). I must not protest because this task is included within what is qualified as historical anthropology. Y believe that I did not have freedom of choice because it is only by knowing the history molding of the Spaniard's temperament that we will be able to discover the mystery of Spain, and whoever has or will read me will have to admit that I have done much more. I have attempted to disentangle many historical problems —social, institutional, cultural, and economic— of the peninsular past in order not only to discover the forging of modern *españolía* but the difficult and zigzagging way of the makings of Spain and of its action in yesteryears.

Y have also pointed out the projections of my investigation upon our foreseeable future, in the the formation of the national conscience. I have been accused of not having sufficiently validated the contacts between East and West in the affirmation of the vital Spanish contexture. In this work, the reader will easily find frequent acknowledging of the reception of Hispano-Mussulman cultural forms by the peninsular Christians; but since the peninsular Islamites were, in their great majority, of pure Spanish lineage, they were unable to transmit a functional Arabian structure which they lacked; he will be able to verify that the prolonged struggle was much more effective in the elaboration of what is Spanish than the ephemeral peaceful relations between Moors and Christians. Some have minimized the former and converted the latter in habitual and constant occurrences. The very brief stages when Christians and Moslems lived in peace in the course of the centuries during which they confronted each other and fought can, however, be documented. The chronology of military deeds does not leave room for doubt.

I have maintained in my book that the long centuries of raids and forays, surprise attacks and fights, sieges and battles, victories and defeats, advances and withdrawals, towns and rural settlements and urban foundations and Repopulation were decisive in the affirmation of the old functional Hispano-pre-Moslem structure. Some critic has objected to me that as the border was moving southward those patterns could not have modelled the temperament of the Northern Spaniards. It is obvious that the distancing from the fight got to attenuate the offensive edges of those who lived safe from the Islamites' claws. We must not forget, however, that the great advance of the Southern from of Spanish Christianity occurred in the first part of the thirteenth century, more than five hundred years after the beginning of the holy war against the Islamites. That long period was more than sufficient to strengthen the early heritage of the Northern people's temperament and it is important to remember that the two monochord-like undertakings Reconquest and Repopulation were not realized by the Southerners refined by millenniums of receiving Mediterranean life and culture, but instead by people who, during millenniums, had live isolated from the latter and who had received the live contribution of the Goths and because of it had retrograded to a life style surpassed by Southern Spaniards. The war and Repopulation branded the spirit of the people of Castile and León in such a way that when they ceased, Castile fell into barbarian civil struggles.

I have repeatedly written molding, crystallization, elaboration, forging in reference to the formation process of what is Spanish and of Spain, and I have really been studying the zigzagging of this double undertaking. This study has brought me face to face with the successive Spanish stages. Only someone with the perverse intention to confuse can present me in support of the perpetuation of one and the same *españolía* through the millenniums: the existence of the *homo hispanus* with his essential traits in the man of

the Altamira Cave and his prolongation without differences until now. My readers free from anger can easily discern what has been muy thesis.

I have protested against the absurd and foolish theory that what is Spanish is subsequent to 711. It is hard to keep from smiling before the theory —of an aqually exquisite essay writer and strange historian— that whatever occurred in the Peninsula before the Islamic invasion falls outside of Spain's history. The Celtiberian, Lusitanian, or Cantabrian wars which disclose the vital contexture of the peninsular people of then and which contributed to forming that of their followers, would simply be pages of Roman history; and the efforts of Leovigildo, Recaredo and Recceswinth in the crystallization of Spain and what is Spanish would be mere Germanic history. In the same mistaken way we could consider the battles of Guadalete and Covadonga as mere incidents in the history of the Caliphate of Damascus, include the Cid's deeds in the Almoravid history and exclude from our own the expedition of the Navas, all of them decisive in the consolidating and mutation of what is Spanish.

No historian worthy of the name considers the vital contexture of any human community as issued from the remote pre-history. —However dull and limited I may be, the idea that what is Spanish had already crystallized during the late Paleolithic era as the squires of the essay writer previously alluded to have affirmed, could not have entered my mind and I never have proposed nor even suspected the congelation of what is primitive Spanish—. I have maintained that what is Spanish has been maturing very slowly and that its deepest roots reach out for their substance back to the oldest time of the Peninsula's past, because it is then that began the antibioses and the symbioses which brought us to life; because then in the *Finis Terrae* of the ancient world started the conflicts and contacts between people and cultures that were making and confirming our temperamental heritage; conflicts and contacts which in our eyes continued during the Middle Ages within what has been Spain until 1492.

I have repeated various times in the course of this work that there has not been one but many successive forms of *españolía* before and after the Mussulman conquest and before and after the discovery of America. There naturally exist similarities and relationships between these various specimens of the *homo hispanus* which have come through the centuries —the contrary wold be unusual— and due to our peculiar history we are more akin to our primitive forefathers than other peoples of the West. In order to discover Spain's historical enigma I have had to study the characteristics which lasted from the primitive Spaniards through the ages, the variations and the constants of their temperamental heritage in the course of history and the causes of these continuances, changes and mutations until the appearance not of the genuinely Spanish, but of the Spanih that has survived until now. Obviously the study of this process precludes the idea that same life style could have lasted from the men of the Cantabrian caves to day's men.

If there are historians in the year 3000 —in the eleventh century Ibn

Hayyân could not suspect that in the twentieth we would discuss him in Princeton and Buenos Aires but today we have a different vision of the future— such historians —will they be white?— will grasp well the successive plurality of *españolía* and will have to extend their research and reflections about the Spanish past much beyond the era where I have interrupted them to judge that at such a time the essential traits of today's *homo hispanus* had already crystallized. It is obvious that in the course of the millennium which will separate them from us they will come across many new successive specimens of Spaniards, different from those that today's historian can distinguish and also different among themselves. I trust that by then historical knowledge and historiography will have progressed sufficiently so that no one will dare to think that he can give the name Spaniards only to the inhabitants of the Peninsula from a specific date of the next third millennium, from the year 2,711 for example — in such a year will Europe undergo another Afro-Islamic invasion similar to the one we suffered in 711? I imagine that no historian of the year 3000 will think that we, today's worried peninsular men, have not been genuine Spaniards and that our dramatic history of the days confused by the struggle between East and West, outside and inside our national land, has not really been Spain's history but instead the history of the United States or of the Soviet Union. I also hope that at that time no one will doubt that those who have lived in Spain through the ages according to the unique, vital contexture of each era must be considered as Spanish.

I do not want to continue with these very minor explanations and corrections, given the variety of themes and the extent of the work, but which might prove to be tiresome in the long run. Moreover, my readers know with what rigor I have attempted to build my theories, or they can verify it. I offer them some new ideas in the text of this second edition and in the notes which I have added to it. The only thing left is to call your attention to the rays of hope which my interpretation of the enigma of Spanish history enables us to see through imperfectly on the horizon of the future of Spain and of Spanish America.

Spaniards and Spanish Americans, after reading my terrible diagnosis of the ills of Spain and of the Spanish entity —an Italian critic called it a formulation of metapolitics— will have verified that we do not suffer from a hereditary stigma nor from any incurable ailment. I have shown that our being unlike the other Western people and our crises and downfalls came from historical accidents for which we are not at all responsible and from the errors of men who at times governed our destiny; from accidents which do not necessarily re-occur, from men who disappeared ages ago or are in the process of disappearance, and from errors which once known and studied can be avoided and corrected.

In order to possibly avoid the blows of chance and to remedy the consequences of the past mistakes, Spaniards and Spanish Americans must before all else overcome their inferiority complex, at time compounded with

sterile arrogance. The present downfalls and crises of the people who conquered and dazzled us —I do not look at them with pleasure— must teach us to appraise ours historically. Formerly we went from satanic pride to mimetic pessimism; today we could open up to hope. «The rivers go to the sea/yesterday a tower fell» says an Andalusian couplet. Seeing how others which seemed most firm and eternal to us, are falling, we might judge the collapse of ours a little less somberly. Since the rise of people, until recently backward and seemingly poorly endowed with science and technique enables us to have faith in similar ascensional mutations, I believe that we could face the future more courageously.

A decisive dawn is approaching in our history. We, the Spaniards, must prepare ourselves not to succumb to the templations which have made us sterile in many of the promising opportunities offered to us in our past. The knowledge of the innermost reality of our past, not only in its literary projections and the meditation upon its radical reality, can assist us in avoiding in the near future the reefs that shipwrecked us long ago This work has been read much less in Spain than in America because it was published here and not there. In order for my compatriots to avail themselves of the hope-filled opportunity that must be presented to them —the winds of the Europe to come make it unavoidable— I have consented to its second edition such as it is, without altering its polemical tone and without preparing it for the versions which have been proposed to me.

Am I deceiving myself in thinking that these pages can contribute to a change of direction in Spanish life? It is certain that some will tear up their garments upon reading these words and perhaps would delight in stoning me to death for my arrogance and that others after making fun of my ingenuousness would take me to limbo by the hand accusing me of being naive. I accept the two judgments with resignation. However, my anguish before the fear that we might fail again in the choice of our path is such that even at the risk of deserving jeers or insults, I wish to offer the opportunity to Spaniards to reflect upon our future as they come face to with my interpretation of our past. If this book helps the young generation of Spain not to get lost in new crossroads I rejoice at the mockery and the insults that may come. A humble contribution to the correction of our mistakes will compensate me for a life of work in constant study of Spanish history and in constant reflection upon it, in the never passive hope of a new and renascent Spain.

THE WHY OF THIS BOOK

All the peoples of the world have more or less dissimilar characteristics of temperament; they all discover collective psychic inclinations, emotional reactions, critical or value preferences, impulses or contempts, tensions or impotence which personalize them as unitarian human groupings. It is just as certain that some peoples, clearly distinct, are related in that they relatively coincide in their confrontation with the world, man, and life... the uniqueness of the vital Spanish contexture is unquestionable. Spain differs from the two lineages of historical communities with which it should logically coincide. It cannot be enclosed within the functional structures of the Mediterranean peoples nor of the peoples of the so-called West. It departs from each one of these groups more than it draws near them. Although the differences which separate the Spanish race and land of those two families of national collectivities are great —let it be understood that I will use the concept of nation free from its present thematic overtone— these differences do not suffice to explain those which distinguish the Spaniards. These contrasts sink their roots into the past life of Spain —let it be also said that I give to Spain peninsular outlines since I agree with Camoens' words: «Portuguese and Castilian since we are all Spanish». Every people of the world create a historical problem. Only history can explain the peculiarities of its cosmovision and of its way of being in life— today the fact that man and human societies are history above all is indisputable. However, the sharpness of our differences compared with the national societies ethnically and geographically related to ours raises the level of our idiosyncrasy's genesis. From a problem it transforms it into an enigma. It inflicts sharp wounds in us by continuously, at each moment raising the question which contains our undeniable discrepancy; our tackling the historical enigma of Spain.

This enigma has tempted many thinkers, historians, politicians ... Spanish and foreign for several centuries ever since the separation of the Spanish way from the Western ways became manifest and even more since our historical crisis constitutes a topic for meditation for the men of action and thought beyond the Pyrenees and on this side of them. The projection

of our life style to the people of this side of the Atlantic has extended the historical importance of our uniqueness and the number of those interested in knowing its causes.

Spain's historical enigma embraces two questions: the authentic profile and the affective limits of our peculiarities —it is important not to hypertrophy their volume— and the millenary roots, the genesis lasting for centuries and the casual process of such differences. The two sides of the problem cannot be studied separately. To analyze Spanish sharpness without being interested in its causes is to renounce to understand the very heart of its originality and leads us straight into error as to the innermost interpenetration of the historic reality of the Spaniards. No one can venture to narrate the forging of our peculiar temperamental heritage while scorning to discover its ramifications yesterday and today.

These two questions are strictly historical and they seem beset with thorny difficulties. Nothing is easier than to deceive oneself in showing the true profiles of the Spanish structure of life and to bypass its discrepancies in the light of those of any other Western people. It is just as risky to examine the genetic curve which may have led to the crystallization of what is Spanish. Both questions have usually been analyzed too clumsily because they have been considered with passion and sometimes with rage, either with affection or with anguish, because the focus has been from points of view not very favorable or according to outdated historical concepts, because they have been approached by people who were not historians, lacking a sense of history and really ignorant of Spain's past, and because their investigation was confused by the burning human desire of scholars for ingenious and surprising explanations.

Since at the height of my youth I read Ortega y Gasset's *Invertebrate Spain,* the proud purpose to write historical interpretation of Spain come to my mind. I was then only a novice historian who knew very little Spanish history. When I delved into its study I was able to verify how poorly we still knew the national past. I grasped how short lasting all the interpretative essays on our Spanish peculiarities would be and that any new global theory on the temperamental contexture of peninsular men would be condemned to be blown over by the slightest critical wind. as long as we would continue to ignore our history. A through investigation of many questions still unknown or barely discerned of the Spanish past of which only the political, martial and courtlike superstructure had been half-way studied, was immediately required and it was all the more urgent as the awakening of the historical process of our national crisis required as an imperious necessity a sharp consideration of the Spanish past. I was unable to provide such an imperious necessity. I had to renounce the project of my youth and I continued to study the themes of medieval history which aroused my attention. I knew that my work did not reach the highest levels of authentic historical creation but I thought that before

penetrating into the meditation on the innermost meaning of Spain's history, I had to know its true development through a slow and manifold erudite effort. I thought as Bataillon has just written that what matters is «primum legere, deinde philosophare».

We, Spaniards, are over impulsive and daring, too restless and impatient, and we could no wait in silence for the opportune time to write based upon firm foundations the genesis of our functional structure. Many ventured new hypothetical explanations of our past and present while the collective investigation of the national past continued. In spite of being convinced that we know little Spanish history, more than twenty-five years ago, in a very brief literary and historical essay entitled *España y el Islam,* even I dared to disclose my humble conjectures of then about the forming of the temperamental heritage of Spaniards.

A dramatic why was constantly pushing me to investigate and meditate upon Spanish history. I expanded my knowledge of Spain's past, going back in studies and reflections to prehistory and forward until modern times. I went from beyond the horizons of the historiographer's work, beyond the constrained field of erudite investigation towards the consideration of the very meaning of history. At times I walked along the dusty roads of public life. I went from dealing with the shadows of the past to frequenting the passionate and vehement Spaniards of today. Away from home, in Europe and America, I was able to look at Spain under very different perspectives. For two long decades, I have been exposing my thoughts on the historical origin of Spain in writing and above all *viva voce, more hispanico* —in seminars, various lectures and in some essays— timidly waiting to be able some day to publish the work of my distant youth's dreams. Meanwhile, however, *Spain in its History* has been published and this publication caused me a very unpleasant conscience crisis.

In 1942 its author in *Lo hispánico y el erasmismo* twice refuted my old theory about the decisive results that the pugnacious and peaceful contacts between Spain and Islam had had in the making of our common homeland. Suddenly, new Saul also on the way to Damascus, he converts to the doctrine that he had fought and developing and transforming it, he passionately begins to demonstrate that everything in Spain is the result of the marvelous overflow of the Arabo-Hebrew tide on the peninsular beaches.

Without the publication of *Spain in its History* I would have waited many years to decide to write such an ambitious work if I had finally made up my mind to write it. The fear to board a vessel so well defended by the artillery of all that we still ignore of the Spanish past would have led me to postpone the great venture, perhaps *sine die.*

I hesitated a lot before undertaking it but my passionate devotion to the truth, finally led me to slowly investigate again the enigmatic problem of Spain, and at last to disclose my thoughts about it.

While researching the historical enigma of Spain, I have had to dive into very different waters and to look into many various horizons. For me, Spain prior to the Arab invasion, counts in the birth of the Spanish structure of life. I do not consider it in a nebulous state nor do I suppose it to be inoperative. I believe that in the long course of the many centuries prior to Tariq' and Muza's landing, a functional disposition worthy of consideration had been forming. I do not scorn the millenary unity of the Mediterraneam tradition nor the frequent and repeated contacts between the Middle East's peoples and Spain before 711. It does not seem just to ignore the vestiges of the pre-Moslem in Mussulman Spain, nor the differences which separate the Oriental Islamitic from the Spanish Islamitic. I think it is imperative to consider rigorously the contacts between Christian Spanish and Mussulman Spanish. I consider the political history of the peninsular Middle Ages a live quarry of luminous suggestions to judge the processes from which Spain and the Spaniards issued forth. I consider weak any theoretical construction which is not based upon a strict discrimination of the sources and which rests on isolated sentences or too audacious parallels. To forget the chronology or to bypass it in the study of the Spanish past appears to me as an unforgivable sin. I do not scorn erudition: facts are not history but history cannot be made while ignoring them. The fact that geopraphy rules the course of historical life has been denied. I support this denial, but I do not allow myself to omit the influence exercised by the geographical milieu in the molding of the personality of each people. I cannot set aside the inquiry into the economical problems. One cannot see in the course of the past the mere action of necessities and material desires but the *modus operandi* of any human community cannot have matured in a pure world of ideas apart from any contact with the eternal tyranny of living. In the gigantic interweaving of actions and reactions which is the essence of history, spiritual and material forces have always interacted. Although I am not a positivist, I consider biology as an active factor in human creations and historical life. Those who disregard the magnificent projection of the spiritual into the existence of the national communities sin just as much as those who today deny to this poor human body which imprisons our psyche the most minute share in our individual existence and in historical being. I consider it dangerous to confuse what is vital with what is cultural, but I do not question the fruitful connection of the two human forces to explain the course of history. I cannot ignore the great thrusts —sometimes forward and sometimes backward— given by exceptional individualities in the past sailing of peninsular men and, therefore, in the maturing of the Spanish life style. I believe in efficacy as the moving force of history: of the temperament, the psychic tendencies and the volitional dynamism of every living man, of the dreams, ideals and passions —«greeds, loves, fears»— of the masses. I do not despise linguistics nor literature as movers and expressions of history but I cannot ignore the institutional frameworks

—social and political— within which the peoples'life has matured; their influence has even reached the philosophical, poetic and artistic creations of thinkers, writers and artists. I grant a primordial role in the forming of the common Spanish personality to the twofold and lasting task of the Reconquest and the Repopulation of the national land; it decisively penetrated into all the spiritual, economical, political, social, emotional aspects... of Spanish living. I do not consider the forging of the temperamental contexture of any nation at any time of its history as concluded and I cannot therefore ignore the blows of modern times'hammer on the anvil of the Medieval in the forging of what is Spanish. It also seems indispensable to me to investigate Spain's slow process of crystallization into national unity and the millenary confrontation of Spain and Europe, in order to discover the character and the sharpness of the Spanish people and the contemporany characteristics of pure *españolía.* I have specified my ideas as a historiographer somewhere else. I do not think it necessary to reproduce here the long pages that I have dedicated to them. The limits of my purpose as to Spanish history are excessively clear.

How strange is Spain's history! Spaniards have rarely been able to live at ease in their land. All peoples'history is made a little from within and a little from outside. In ours, at least in many of its decisive stages, the torrent which has activated the generating turbine of historical energy has spilled on the national land from the outside because during millenniums the Peninsula was the furthest end of the world; the avant-gardes of the emigrants, conquerors or settlers from Europe, the Orient of Africa reached it through all the land or sea paths and there they fought against and mingled with those who had arrived before them and had already formed cultural and vital units. So it was from the early Paleolithic era, from many thousands of years before Christ until the invasion of the African Beni Amers during the reign of Alfonso X, the Learned, in the second half of the thirteenth century. How can one doubt that, this singular association in war and in peace of many people and distinct cultures at the very end of the earth for the ancient world, had to create and maintain a unique life style?

The profile of the Spanish historical fever is like a nightmare. Other peoples have had to bleed themselves periodically through voluntary external ventures in order to free themselves of the excessive blood pressure in their arteries. The Spaniards have not had to use such means. As to other historic groups less used than ours to the millenary game of resisting foreign invaders and of attacking strange cultures, would they not have lost their essential being if they had found themselves in a situation similar to the one the Spaniards had to face so many times?

No other European people have carried through such a lengthened and monochord-like adventure as the one implied by the Reconquest and Repopulation of the national land from Covadonga (722) to Granada (1492). No one has lived as we have close to eight centuries with a border

always open and under attack. No one has ever witnessed the continuous and colossal human changes which in the Peninsula were necessary to repopulate the territory won from the enemy. We cannot even establish a strict parallel between those colonizing displacements and the ones that ocurred and are occurring in America because ours were equally migratory and war-like undertakings: after the battle, the settlement and after the settlement, the battle. Although we can see past and present American history unparadoxically prefigured in Spanish medieval history; the new man of the new world in the new man of a Spain renewed by the Reconquest and Repopulation; the temperamental peculiarities and the operative flaws of these young and mixed American peoples in the flaws and peculiarities of the hybrid and young peoples of the Spanish Middle Ages.

How strange is Spain's history! The Peninsula has constantly found itself in perpetual catalyzing fermentation, but also in perpetual eruptive antibiosis. If the successive symbioses blended life styles and cultural essences, the repeated antibioses strengthened and prolonged many traits of the functional disposition of the primitive Spaniards and of the projections of its primitive cultural structure. As a consequence of this lasting give and take towards yesterday and tomorrow, if the waters of Spanish history naturally have never receded to their source, they have always progressed more slowly than the other historical waters of Western Europe; even after the inevitable torrential falls that it suffered or enjoyed, historical traditions have kept life very backward and distant traits of our ancestors of 2000 years ago have remained very vivid among us.

It is obvious, however, that those 2000 years have not passed in vain because two millenniums never pass in vain in the continuous and uninterrupted flow of history, and because we did not live them in the historical stratosphere but in one of the crossroads of the ancient, medieval and of the modern worlds; and the people who lived them are intimately united to the common womb of the West. We have not followed the same paths followed by the beehive of nations born from it; but without us they would have taken a very different way. The very West would not exist and would be incomprehensible without Spain because we have not been indebted to but instead we have been Europe's creditors. Nevertheless, there are those who believe otherwise now —in each age prevails a particular scale of values, which the previous age saw differently and which the following age will appraise otherwise— those who grant professional standing to human activities and beliefs which the *homo hispanus* —it is unfair to say that he has not known how has not been able to carry out. There are some now who believe otherwise and who scorn the deeds and creations that we have realized and valued and which we keep on realizing and valuing.

We played a decisive role in the formation of the Middle Ages. In an era of profound transformation in the political and social organizations

and in the ways of the life of the mind. Spain made such changes possible by acting as the avant-garde and teacher of Europe. It acted as the shield and sentinel for the West in the face of Islam which had consecrated with religious legalization the despotism of the Oriental Caesars and which finally became ankylosed in the national communities which remained faithful to it. Its centennial watchfulness, shield at rest, opposite Africa, enabled Europe first to develop the feudal system and then to overcome it, smoothing the way which was to lead to the modern political societies; and it enabled it to forge the functional structure which was to lead to the vital contexture of modern times. And in the same way while Europe was lying spiritually injured and miserable, in Spain was flourishing the Arabic civilization which had preserved and transformed the old essences of the ancient culture, through the Pyrenees ideas, sciences, techniques —which they lacked— passed on to enrich the Western countries.

In the dawn of Europe and of the modern world, Spain also fulfilled two diverse and complementary missions. With the geographical discoveries and with its conquest and colonization of the New Continent it opened up a wide path onto the future. It not only extended, set landmarks and cultivated the land of the West but, besides it facilitated the modern scientific birth by extolling the fruitful possibilities which a new way of approaching things offered, a breaking away from the tradition still operative with ancient science. Steeped in the universalist Catholic tradition of the near Middle Ages, it rooted in the past the latest society and defended in the face of reason the never caducous statutes of the mind and in the face of the morality of success. The faithfulness to a superior value order.

The sometimes stagnant and sometimes turbulent waters of the religious sensibility of the West were stirred and purified by the Spaniards and in spite of what Castro may say, Spanish thought contributed, in its time, the essential ideas of one of the decisive periods in the history of culture: the essential ideas of the Catholic Reformation and of its projection into the philosophy of the Baroque —I coincide with Burckhardt and with Weissbach in maintaining this. But Spaniards did much more than venturing along the path of the gods. They looked to the skies with their feet well planted on the earth.

The temperamental heritage of a people presupposes the realization of an ideal of life. Ours was molded as a result of an interwoven series of historical processes. The anguished «will to be» of the slow first centuries of the Reconquest —because of our will to be we were able to save our own personality— maintained the vital ancestral Spanish impetus. The will at the mere service of lasting went into a «willing too much», beyond the mind's dreams and reason's reservations; in a will of authority and dominion, in an effort to impose its ideas and ideals at the thrust of a lance and in seeking success and wealth at sword's point. This vital impetus, torrentially poured into action, caused the extreme tension of the inner

springs of what is individual, tension which pushed man against man and made him stand up against the Deity, confident that he would deserve its prodigious help and its last pardon, as a reward for his service as a vassal in which he gambled his life to defend and propagate its holy name. In that psychic climate pure reason was overcome by vital reason —I mean by thought at the service of life Celestina said to Parmeno: «You fool, what is reason?». That victory channeled the peninsular men's attention into ethico-juridical speculations regulating the projections of the will and the difficulties of co-living with a preference for the scrutiny of the mysteries of man, nature and life. Reason was also confronted by the spirit: suprarational and supraemotional activity which guides man's struggles in regions which pure reason cannot grasp and where pure emotion must not govern. The spirit reached such worthy esteem —Saint John of the Cross wrote: «A single thought of man is worth more than the whole world; only God is worthy of it»— that the *homo hispanus* raised human dignity very highly; so high that even the common people felt the lashes of pride, shame and honor —in *Peribáñez, Fuente Ovejuna* and *El Alcalde de Zalamea* the old social Spanish tradition and the authors' genius collaborated. In the interplay of the historical forces of the new times, when our initial modernism burned up in a gigantic short circuit for whose causes the Spaniards were hardly responsible, the old directions of our old history were maintained.

That series of historical processes and other concomitant ones, overlapping the strict boundaries of religion, have fashioned a human archetype which can confidently accept the least sympathetic parallel with those that the other national communities born from the same womb as we, have molded. That our kingdom be not of today's world matters little. I insist upon making the caducity of all that is earthly stand out and that means also all history. The ideals of today's life will perish. Then... But let this suffice for now. Here is my book in which I will develop and expound my thoughts.

I did not intend to write a mere historical and literary essay; forty years of dedication to the study of Spain's history give me the hope of having reached my goal. Various chapters of this work are embryos of future books: some because the topics have been tempting me for years and had long ago deserved that I devote greater or lesser attention to them —at times a very extended documentary investigation; and others because they have been knocking on the inner door of my curiosity with dramatic exigence and I have had begin an occasional investigation into the sources of which I dispose here. Neither the old nor the new explorations are exhausted, only sufficiently advanced to be able to serve as safe support of new theories, if I dare to formulate them, or at least, new conjectures if I only venture hypotheses. It is evident that I cannot always avoid pointing out ways for future scholarly investigators.

Every scientific investigation requires a previous and extended inquiry of the ideas in force about the topic to be studied. In sciences of the mind this initial task is still more unavoidable than in natural sciences. They lend themselves more to the triumph of theoretical formulations as dazzling as they are weak and which must be set apart from the real way which leads to the truth. It is not wise to hide from other scholars the critical process which enabled us to find their error: all the less so when the splendor and charm of the proposed thesis may be greater.

In such an ambitious work as this one and so filled with difficult, dramatic, disputable and opaque problems I have felt the necessity to analyze for the reader the most accredited theories because of their authors, their relative accuracy, their splendor or their charm. What my book will gain in solidity it will lose in lightness, but only thus will I be able to give free rein to my ideas.

I know that they will be questioned and that some will be corrected since everything is condemned to grow old, but I am not a spectral man capable of coldly contemplating Spain while being absorbed by my daily task of teaching and research; its disquieting fate burns my soul. I believe that we, the scholars of history, have the duty to contribute to the formation of the national conscience and my collaboration to the same will never be a concluded task. I do not pretend to offer any curative panacea for my homeland's ills and I will be satisfied if my call causes new studies and new meditations about the great question in Spain and the Spanish world; if I provide topics for reflection and investigation to the new generations of peninsular and American historians and if I bring to all Spaniards on both sides of the Atlantic, along with an explanation of our common past a ray of hope about the future.

Before concluding these liminal words I wish to make a declaration. I do not pretent to enlist as witty, profound or clever. I do not aspire to always sail on oceans never sailed until now nor do I intend to please by the neatness of my prose. Paraphrasing Machado I could say: I would like for this work to be famous for the accuracy of its doctrine not valued for the qualified work of the writer. I must not stray from the true road although it has been frequently travelled before as I do not scorn the truth for being an old acquaintance of many nor am I seduced by misleading innovations however attractive their youthful freshness may be. I prefer to ride the brown mule of good sense rather than the thoroughbred of an unbridled imagination. I am ready to pull on the reins of my riding horse rather than letting it rush into dangerous gallops through the cliffs of imagination. All in all, in view of the fact that there still is a lot we do not know about Spain's history, I fear this book may be only a very audacious venture. May God help me.

Foreword

I am publishing this work without notes purposely. Until now I have annotated my books and monographs with hundreds of quotations. I believe I have gained enough authority so that the scientific rigor of my assertions will be trusted. None that I will make in the text is without its strict backing and obviously I could easily report the origin of the passages of the sources which I reproduce at times. However, this time I have not felt like —the Spanish feeling like— overwhelming the reader with thousands of notes as these would have made the reading of this book tiresome without giving me greater credit among scholars. They well know where my information comes from and where I have taken the references from ancient and modern writers. I must not refuse to answer the questions of —whoever wishes to be informed but I refuse to burden myself and the publishing house with the copying and publishing of the titles of the monographs and of the consulted books and with the list of the very long series of documents used in the composition of some chapters. Only for those outside my special field I have frequently copied historical or literary portions in the text of my work. I had to renounce to present the Arabic names according to technical modern graphy because of insolvable difficulties. I imagine the readers of this book are familiar with the general process of my homeland's history. Whoever wants to brush up on the general facts of the Spanish past may consult the excellent *Historia de España* of my disciple Luis G. de Valdeavellano if he so desires, while waiting for me to make up my mind to publish —some day— the volume that I have not dared to publish so far.

ADDENDA TO «THE WHY OF THIS BOOK»

With these pages I explained in the first edition of this work the reasons which moved me to wrote it and the method I used when writing it. I lenghthened the three editions which appeared later with occasional considerations and explanations tied to the circumstances pertaining to the publications of each one of them. I entitled the fourth of those presentations *Farewell* because I imagined that at my eighty years of age I was not going to live long enough to witness any new edition. I was wrong. The fifth edition in Castilian is nearing but first the English version of this work is going to appear. I relate these things so that the new *readers* of my book might realize the success of *Spain, a Historical Enigma* among Spanish-speaking peoples; something which indicates that in it many thousands of scholars have seen the reflections of the authentic image of the past of my country. Until now it had not been available to those who did not know the Spanish language. I am not free of the responsibility for that situation. From the very appearance of the first edition, I received proposals for English, German and Italian versions. However a request to shorten the work accompanied all of them. I might have been able to take this on, but I was the prisoner of another series of scholarly obligations: my work on three volumes *Orígenes de la Nación Española* a series of previously published monographs, basic for the culmination of my *Instituciones del reino asturleonés (718-1037)* and several articles, summaries of my ideas on History in general and on the History of Spain. More than one editor sought scholars who might take on the desired abridgement. All ended up refusing to carry out such a task because they considered it excessively difficult. Gregorio Marañón, director of the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, requested from me authorization to translate it in its entirety. However, members of the governing Council of the Institute, lackies of Américo Castro, whose work I demolish in mine, rejected the proposal and the version was not begun.

I was convinced that my *Spain, a Historical Enigma* would never be translated to any foreign language when my old colleague of the University of Madrid and steadfast friend, Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez, director of the

Fundación Universitaria Española, proposed the publication of an English version of my work.

What follows is for the readers who are unfamiliar with Spanish. I lightened and altered to a certain extent the volume I of this work but, on the whole, the international reading public is finally going to receive my complete theory regarding the past of my country, that is, regarding the forging of the *Homo Hispanus* and of the Spanish temperamental character.

Among scholars of history, in Europe and America, all are aware of my historical methods; forgive me if I write «my scientific rigor». That rigor forced me, a quarter century ago, upon reading in 1948 the phantasmagoric work published by Américo Castro, to carry out a scrupulous investigation which occupied almost a complete decade of my life. An essay mentality has done great harm to the knowledge of the past of Spain. My former colleague from Madrid, who had never conscientiously gazed at our history, was unaware of the value of what he did not know. And he did not humbly decide to slowly and carefully study the past of Spain. Rather he thought up a daring theory and set out to find support to prop it up. English-speaking readers, you will be the judges after reading me.

Spain has not been the way Castro claims. Our history is a great drama which does not resemble either greatly, or a little, or at all, the image which I have opposed. Today the Hebraism of the author of *Spain in Its History* is notorious. We Spaniards have often committed great quixotic feats of madness, yet there they are for our own honor. And we are still breathing. Everyone knows that I have been in voluntary exile for thirty-nine years from Spain due to my liberal and republican ideas. Nevertheless I have not written this work at the service of a political ideology but at the service of the truth. Men of today can better judge our history by realizing its great problems. What remains today of the British Empire, or of the French Empire? Two wars of five years, in which they fought with the backing of the colossus of the United States, have been enough to provoque those imperial crises and the no less serious ones for their internal life. Is it not necessary for contemporary generations to revise their ideas regarding the past of Spain? This translation is published to facilitate that endeavor. Hopefully, by freeing them from the poison spread by the pen of the great essayist whom I combatted, they will be able to do justice to the past and to the present of Spain. An when I write *present*, I am clearly not referring to the regime which still governs my country but to the whole of our contemporary history. My theory even explains the terrible Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939 and its long aftermaths.

I have just published *Mi testamento historicopolítico* (My Historico-Political Testament). In it I meditate on the recent past and the near future of Spain and of the basic tenets of these long pages which today are appearing in English. I consider them basic not only for the knowledge of the past and the present of Spain but also to see the future or, better

yet, to direct it intelligently. For, even though historical constants which rigidly determine the history of nations do not exist, they do receive a temperamental heritage which influences the forging of their mien and, naturally, their ideas and operative potential.

Spain, which was the *Finis Terrae* of the world until 1492 when Castilian ships discovered America, today is, nevertheless, at a geographic crossroads, at a place of tangency of nations and problems. It is the pivot of the free world against the so-called third world. Moreover, today the Atlantic Ocean fulfills the same function that the Mediterranean Sea did in the ancient world. Our history cannot be indifferent to the group of nations which desire to conserve the dignity of the free man and avoid the transformation of nations into flocks of ant-hills; nor to those who wish to make of historical communities groups of autonomous individuals, masters of their destinies. Something will have to be learned by all of them from the great drama of history in which my country was to play a protagonist's role; and something from the causes of our fall. We endeavored to forge the Catholic unity in Europe. Today it is imperative to forge the political unity of free Europe if we do not wish it to be done by force and from beyond its frontiers. Yet I do not wish to be carried away by merely political considerations apart from the study of the history of Spain; the study of a both distant and present past; and of its exemplary projections for the future, and not only the future of Spain.

June 1975

Chapter I

MAN AND HISTORY

1. Historical knowledge

History has made men and men have made history. The historical creations of every historian ultimately depend upon what he thinks of these two ancient facts. A thorough discussion of this great double problem would be out of place here, it would require many pages and would only be a vain pretension. Recently in the *Revue Historique*, Marrou pointed out the publication of some forty works about the methodology and the meaning of history in the preceding years and in such a critical survey the contribution of Spanish speaking writers such as Ortega y Gasset, Américo Castro, José Luis Romero, Imaz was not taken into account —such scorn outside the Hispanic world is customary—. How can I dare undertake here the great venture of confronting all the problems considered by such a conclave of scholars?

In beginning the writing of this ambitious work, I asked myself if I should not present my posture as a historiographer relatively briefly to justify the general lines of this book. Even reduced to its scheme I fear my thesis would be presumptuous as it does not agree with the theories in vogue now and, at times, it opposes the concepts of the most famous theoreticians of history. Do I have the right to differ from them and to put in my two cents worth as I dare express in a vulgar way? Undoubtedly not, but the fact is that with or without authority, I do not always coincide with history's philosophers and writers and I have been unable to humbly submit to their dictates althogh I have intented to more than once.

I do not want to scandalize, however, by announcing a revolutionary theory. My pride does not go that far. On the contrary my disagreement is the result of my fidelity to theses set aside by vain fashion, theses which are not magnificent elucubrations but the result of my lengthy dealings with the daily work of historiography. I am not the first one to belive that

where one best learns to think historically is in historical investigation and the necessary reflection it requires.

Nowadays, men look at history from very different points of view. For the masses who like to read, it is a mere literary genre, which over the others holds the relative advantage of the relative reality of the comedies, dramas or tragedies that appear in its pages and the disadvantage of rarely approaching interest in the narrative nor beauty of form. For some it is a gigantic quarry where to look for various ashlar stones upon which to base their personal philosophical, social or political constructions. For others it is only a pantheon where are resting the ashes of ancestors who sometime deserve homages or remembrances —when their venerated figures can be exploited for the benefit of some current ideological interest— but who are considered very dead and that one would help to bury again should they someday wish to rise from the dead. And for many it is an obscure world of shadows vanished in non-being who can frighten the fearful but who do not impress the determined or the strong.

Proud scientists make fun of history because they think they possess the secrets of nature and life and criticize the supposed lack of value of the historians' conclusions. Businessmen scorn it as an activity either useless or harmful and obviously foreign to the present desires of the moment. Politicians exploit it to support their theses or scorn it as a hindrance which curbs the free flight of the people. Even some writers and poets who freely play with ideas and images, who manipulate metaphors, who create their sandcastle and their enchanted palaces out of nothing, dare to judge history with the smiling scorn with which Azorín did it in his «Alma de Castilla» some time back, and Pío Baroja some years ago, or with the unjustified disrespect with which Santayana treated it, to only mention compatriots.

The historians' methodological and theoretical self-discipline has, nevertheless, never been greater. The difference which separates the complex and arduous task of history writing and the preparations and usual talents of those who carry it out is enormous. To be a historian is no simple undertaking. It requires a mysterious and perhaps innnate substance, a unique mental contribution, a noble passion and also arduous and complex formation and preparation. It demands the mastering of a methodology and a technique not at all simple, of various languages and characters and of the various disciplines related to the specific field of his studies. The historian cannot isolate himself from the world and work in the peace of his books. He must know today's man and the soul of the masses and of today's peoples in order to be able to understand those of before. He must, therefore, walk along the real roads and even along the short cuts of public life, frequent and recognize the most different human types and the members of the most diverse classes. In short he must live in contact with the never phantasmal society of his age without decreasing his status as a scientist. He must roam along life's paths not allowing himself to be dragged down

by the winds of his passions to be able to approach history with the greatest possible human experience, but with a soul free from partisan biases.

The historian must possess the necessary mental sharpness to overcome the prodigious difficulties of historical investigation, beset with obstacles, full of dangers, plethoric of problems, urgent, disturbing and sometimes tortured and anguished. Besides, he must have it to delve into the mystery of the psychology of men and nations and into the heart of the events and because conscious of his responsibility he must contribute to the formation of the historical conscience of his people and of his age; an enterprise with decisive projections into the future life of the cultural and vital community in which everyone partakes and even of society in general.

He also needs the talents of a writer because he must give life to extinct beings without the artist's creative freedom but with no less beauty or emotion if he wants to do something more than a mere chronicle.

What tremendous prerequisites are need to make history¡ How smooth appears to be the road to be travelled to cultivate the natural sciences neatly and successfully in comparison with the difficult path which the true historian must follow! For that reason most students of history fail and history has not reached the possible goal of its ascensional curve.

Some philosophers, therefore, are unfair in scorning our work. They move about in the light air of the summits with a freedom of movement forbidden to historians forced to work in dense atmospheres and under heavy pressure. Their elucubrations are exquisite, profound, admirable —I reverently bow before them— but they are always floating, insecure and uncontrollable. They erect tall and very beautiful castles but impalpable that like clouds travel through the sky, like clouds come and go and like clouds fertilize the dry fields or which stir up heaven and earth with horisonous thunderstorms, but which like clouds too cannot be imprisoned.

Historians work with many kinds of materials all tangible and heavy with rough materials which do not allow us to build the audacious structures of our critics, the philosophers. The gathering is slow and its arrangement and study so complex that it requires the efforts of generations of scholars. History does not rise above soaring clouds but builds on the ground, a shifting ground in which very deep and never solid enough foundations must be dug, as the historian must carry out two successive tasks: he must first know the course of the past and then understand it. He cannot undertake his most authentic mission, penetrate into the heart of the facts and revive them delving into them to discover the thoughts and the passions that have been molding history, without previously having studied exhaustively the enormous series of events which constitute the external face of historical becoming.

No genuine historian can disregard or reduce the obstacles found in his way. Great difficulties oppose his initial task of knowing historical facts adequately and objectively even when he plans to write the history of his time. Since they deal with human facts even though they might occur

before the historians'eyes, they could never look at them with the same purity and objectivity of vision with which scientists contemplate natural phenomena. Nothing human can be foreign to men and the knockings with which human events beat on the door of our hearts at once cause human reactions in the human mind and the difficulty increases because the historian cannot observe historical facts. He has to limit himself to study them in the testimonies of them given by men more or less close to the very events with greater or lesser sharpness of observation and with a better or worse vision. Rarely do men resist the human insinuations of faith, passion, love, dislike, rage, pain, ire, fear, panic, euphory or discouragement and of the sharing or conflict of ideas or interests. In short, to the subjectivity of his own vision he must add the subjectivity of the men whose testimonies he uses. This double or triple filter interposed between the historical events and history's pages, necessarily makes their writing difficult.

Notwithstanding the human aspect of the historical facts, the human aspect of the testimonies which from them reach us today and the human aspect of the observation, analysis and criticism of the same by the historian, that is to say, notwithstanding the flaws of the facts that the historian must use and the methods with which he can know them, an authentic historica knowledge of the past is possible. First of all, because the antidote of what is human is found in what is human. And man's reason is capable of the most gigantic efforts in the investigation of the truth. The historian is a man and he knows his weaknesses and those of his peers and he can judge those of his ancestors through his own and through those of his contemporaries. And thus by applying the penetrating light of his reason to the analysis and to the criticism of historical testimonies, just as the surgeon with his surgical knife frees the sick man from his damaged organs, the historian can cut off the perishable tissues of the historical sources; and just as the physicist manages to seen through matter and obscurity with the mysterious rays at his disposal today, the historian can go through the opaqueness of the human subjectivisms which distort or hide the historical truth.

There is even more. Before most historical events the historian can move with the same objectivity of vision as the physicist or the chemist before the phenomena of his specialty. With most of them, the historian can carry out direct studies and observations free of the stereotype of his personalism. They refer to political events and to those directly connected to them, the major limitations which impair the historian's knowledge of the past events. They are the ones closest to man's free will, those that come to us in testimonies most marked with subjectivism and those which with greater force can move, upset or arouse our human reactions. There is a long series of historical phenomena free from such flaws. I am referring to the history of economic events, the history of institutions, the history of language, the history of art or literature, the history of ideas and to the

very history of life in its multiple facets. There are the works of art, the literary products, the thinkers' creations, the linguistic or archeological relics of our ancestors' existence, the laws and the documents of legal application... enabling us to study them directly and not arousing too many psychic storms in us.

The fabulous multiplication of historical sources in recent times falicitates the accurate knowledge of the past. With a mocking smile, Ortega y Gasset has rated the term source applied to yesterday's testimonies as a pastoral word. A good word, nevertheless, because the river of history flows from these sources. The multiplication of the volume of such springs turns out to increase the currents of the waters of such a river, or what comes to the same thing, to facilitate the study of the past.

No science can limit itself to the mere recording of its observantions of the phenomena it studies. Upon conceiving any hypothesis, the scientist continually builds a bridge over the river of the unknown. This hypothesis stems from one or various proven facts and darts into an aerial curve what is still unknown in search of support for the other column of the fearless arch, from facts to facts but connecting them with a conjecture which is the fruit of the imagination. Of the imagination because, contrary to what is usually supposed, the scientist cannot deserve such a notable title if he lacks that gift which is believed to be unique to poets. More than to the latter it is necessary to those who cultivate a scientific discipline, because they must devise the truth: a truth which later they must be able to verify in facts.

From facts to facts across the uncertain bridge of a hypothesis in the natural sciences, and so also in history. Therefore, the expansion of the number of sources which preserve memories of past events facilitates the historical construction because they offer solid foundations for the ideation of daring conjectures. He who stores facts is always a useful worker who collects materials for the building of history, but he is not a historian, but neither is the one who builds delightful theories on very unfirm foundations without supporting them by facts.

The authentic historian must know how to sift the testimonies that have come to him in order to be able to decide to use them in their entirety or partially but moreover he must be able to question those he deems worthy of being considered and listened to because those testimonies do not bring the past into the open. He must investigate what the authors of an account, a poem, an inscription really meant; what ideas, problems, or interests moved the authors of a writing or of a law; what sensibility or restlessness —personal or collective, new or traditional— moved the priest, the thinker, or the artist... He must examine the light which all these various testimonies throws upon the topic under study, taking into account the very meaning which their authors gave them.

The historical work is not concluded with the knowledge of past events

which enable us to sketch the image of the past of a people, of a man, of an idea, of an institution, of a culture...

History requires an even more arduous second adventure; it demands the causal investigation of the great trajectories of the past. It does not suffice to study any historical process in detail. Barely after having examined it a demanding and pressing why stands before us. And this phenomenon repeats itself before each one of the infinite questions which form the cosmos of history; and I have used that phrase because history is a universe no less mysterious than the other; no less marvelous than the Universe with a capital U which fascinates us with its questions always acute and always without a possible answer. A cosmos which, like the other, each day expands a little towards the infinitely distant and the infinitely small.

Yes; history is the science of the whys. Behind each historical problem there is another one. Why did Rome succeed in founding its great Empire? Why did the Roman Empire fall and perish? Why did the Visigothic monarchy crumble? Why did the Cordovan Caliphate degenerate into a dozen factions? Why did Spain conquer America? Why has Spain fallen? Why did the French Revolution occur and the Russian Revolution break out? Why did the emancipation of Anglo-Saxon America and then of Spanish America occur? Why? Always why? How many contradictory and various whys! Facts necessarily demand a causal connection. The mysterious why which arranges and groups them as they were in a reality still not grasped. The mysterious why which enables us to understand the past: the great task of history.

Physico-natural sciences study the phenomenon of nature and from them induce the laws which govern the life of the latter. To verify facts and to deduce laws is quite a bit... but we historians have more to do. Physico-natural sciences have gone very far in their discoveries of the facts and of the laws which govern the cosmos but they have never succeeded in discovering nor have they even dared to ask themselves about the authentic causes of these facts and of these laws. Behind them there is always a string of disturbing mysterious whys that no one ever hopes to explain. And it will be so for ever and ever because such is the dramatic limitation of natural sciences.

History strives for more. It strives to discover the connection between the events, the causes, the whys of the events. Strives? The word is incorrect, it must. No reconstruction of the past deserves the name of «history» if it is a mere enumeration, a mere account of a series of events although it might disclose the historical profile of a man or a human community in detail.

Years ago Azorín wrote in his «Alma de Castilla» these cruel words about history: «History is an art of necromancers. All of history can be different from what it actually is. Little facts lend themselves to everything. They are like the minute little stones of the mosaics: thousands of combinations and figures can be formed with them. In Spain, for example, we

could demonstrate that the literature of the Golden Age fell because of the Inquisition, that the same literature flourished because of the Inquisition and that the Inquisition had nothing to do with literature... Little facts in themselves say nothing: art consists in selecting them, arranging them, generalizing them, expanding them, making them say what the historian wishes them to say. There is the necromancy».

With subtle irony, although perhaps without realizing the importance of the piece seized by his excellent aim, Azorín evokes nothing less than the essence of the drama of history: the decisive action of the man-historian in the making of history. Partiality is a serious sin of historians. Some have come to the point of wishing to convert it into the primordial virtue of the entire body and they have clamored that history must be designed with passion, with the greatest possible passion. They could have saved their breath. History has usually been written that way and continues to be written that way.

Among the writers of history we must distinguish between those who relate events of their time or of times very close to their own and those who occupy themselves in reconstituting a past far enough away for the slow decantation of the muddy dregs of human passion to have been able to occur. The first ones work for the second ones. The first write chronicles, the second histories.

The chronicles are indispensable for history; and the chroniclers' passion, does not make the historians' work impossible, even if it hampers it. Not only does it not render historical construction impossible but it brings to it a critical element of great usefulness. The greater or lesser rise of the mercury of passion in the thermometer of the past offers one or many indications to the authentic historian of today or of tomorrow. The chroniclers' passion reflects a conflictive state in the public opinion of the period studied: a wave of creation and change which clashes with the static historical forces; the dynamism of a personality or of an idea which stirs the stagnant waters of a people or the enlightened adoration around a man or men because of their heroic deeds or their genial concepts. And it is so in the negative form of passion which inspires rage as well as in the positive form which suggests praise or engenders legend. Yes, even legend which is the ultimate historical projection of passion is a factor not negligible for the purpose of the historian to reconstruct the exact profile of the past.

In the coming centuries with an electricity contrary to that of today, the events of this moment will cease to be current when Europe and America are crossing, in the magnificent spiral of history —many years ago before reading Vico and Hegel I already conceived histoy as a spiral—, curves opposed to the one we now are crossing. Historians who then will attempt to study these years of universal civil war —and I do not believe that the juxtaposition of these two adjectives will surprise— will have to sail on an ocean of opposite and irreconcilable testimonies. However, they will be able

to find an excellent barometer to measure the real historical pressure of today in their extraordinary contradiction and in the brutal passion which enlivens them.

I have said it before; the antidote of what is human is in what is human and man's reason is capable of the most amazing effort in the investigation of the truth. Nevertheless, there are some who approach history only to seek elements to build philosophical or political theories or to support them. Others seek in history the little stones of the mosaic which they have preconceived and whose design, colors, outline, matter and form are prefixed in their mind. And some launch themselves into the study of historical periods that are still, or that have become current again. And although they do not prepare to historicize them to serve a political ideal or a partisan cause nor are they impelled by the ambition for fame or fortune, they find themselves just as exposed to succumb to the temptation of partiality as those who intend to study their own times.

Philosophers and statesmen usually stumble over the mentioned reefs including the genial philosophers and statesmen. Theirs minds are too filled with political or philosophical principles, their posture before life is too subjective and upon making history, they twist it or distort it, not according to their whims as such fickleness does not dwell in illustrious minds, but according to their noble reasoning and on occasions according to the luminous or somber projection with which their penetrating and sharp intelligence looks and sees that today in which they move.

History of any period of the past can be written at any time. I have just said, however, that the historical creation becomes extraordinarily difficult when the events are still current or have become current again. According to Croce, all history is contemporary. But, Croce has hypertrophied a truth: that at times the past causes in us very vivid resonances and we consider it according to today's ideas and feelings. Currentness of historical events? Yes, and there is no paradox in the phrase. Historical events can be current in two ways. They are present when by their decisive action upon the present they either drastically continue to influence today or their drastic influence is still encountered in the very recent past. And they can be current much later. In the multi-millenary spiral of history people laboriously meander. They never go back over the once travelled road, but upon advancing through the eternal turns of the endless curve they sometimes pass before panoramas similar to those barely perceived on their way. When people find themselves before problems similar to those that others or other historical communities have already faced then, the historical events occurred in that part of the way forward without rest, become current once again.

If historical events are current by their sharp influence upon the present, the river of history is even more muddled and an extremely potent filter is necessary to make it clear. When historical events still vividly influence the passionate present, only a great historian gifted with superhuman

virtues and talents or with a spectral serenity of mind will be able to write about them dispassionately. When the events of the past become current again through their similarity with the present events, the near now can help us to understand the most remote past. Forced to live in a somber period of history, in tortured contemporaneity with despotic regimes whose cruelty has overcome the most foolish tyrannies of history, today we can look at the leaders of other times under perspectives other than those of our ancestors —Philip the Second would end up by seeming like a kind and liberal prince if chance does not cause a change of course in our historical life—, times gifted until now by the passion of those who lived in times different from ours. Ordinarily, however, when the facts of the past become current again, human passion usually purposely muddles the waters of history if they are not very, very far and a thick mist of centuries or millenniums has not yet been interposed between yesterday and today.

When historical events through a change of course of the times have ceased to be a live part of the present or when due to their dissimilarity with the always dramatic events of today or due to their considerable distance they cannot forcefully interest men of a generation, then the time of harvest has come.

Let us allow those who advise to write history without passion protest. One must go to history with sharpness of mind, but without apriorisms and without hatred. No form of sentimental castration is necessary to make history, but the scholar must approach history with a mind free from philosophical or political, national or religious prejudices, not to look for the little stones for his mosaic but to discover how the mosaic that these little stones formed was. It is necessary to approach history with a sharp and tense curiosity to see yesterday in all its different facets and levels, with its logical genetic processes and in function of the continuous connections which bind the forms of life and the ideas; but to see yesterday as yesterday was and not as we wished it had been. Man's intelligence must strive to reflect historical reality as the quicksilver of the mirror reflects the images to us, according to a happy phrase of the eulogy of history of the bachelor Pedro de Rúa.

With the clearness and accuracy of plain mirrors, we should make clear, because at times, just like the distorting convex or concave mirrors, historians disarrange the proportions of the historic reality which they attempt to grasp and they enlarge and hypertrophy or diminish and minimize persons, events, peoples, and problems, sometimes, because they still understand that history, as a discipline with its own contents, can only be military and political history —so Francisco Ayala still believes very erroneously—; sometimes because they scorn precisely that aspect of the past because they judge the history of culture —strictly limited within a very narrow margin— as the unique grasp of the past worth to be called history.

One must approach history with love because love is the best way to comprehension, with love not to exalt the men whose past occupies us and whose shadows we intend to revive, but to understand them. With love but without incurring idolatry because it is a flaw of many historians to fall in adoration before the man or nation which they study. Truisms? Yes, but truisms always forgotten and always contradicted.

Historical knowledge must still go up a rough grade in order to obtain the place to which it is entitled in the general framework of human knowledge and thought. Those who approach it must weigh their statements so as not to disturb the logical and legitimate ascent of history towards its logical and legitimate summit. The historian finds himself within the magnetic field of what is historical. But it is not permissible to write as Castro did that: «impartial history is an invention of the nineteenth century which does not hold truth».

The historian's effort to overcome his passions and his natural subjectivism in general is all the more necessary as the idea that his work cannot limit itself to the mere account of the events such as they occurred is affirmed as Ranke maintained. The positivism abhorred today lended two great services to history. It made historical methodology and criticism progress in a way unsuspected until the nineteenth century and in sustaining that the historian had to abstain from judging the events of the past it brought to an end the serenity of yesterday's scholars. Its precept was contrary to the intimate connection between the events and the ideas of history and the necessity for the authentic historian to look inside the historical events in order to understand them. But precisely because of that bond and because of the unbiasedness of this necessity, the interdiction formulated by Positivistic historiography to convert history into a tribunal was more fruitful. As always, in inciting a reaction against the old thesis, an intelligent solution to the inevitable double exigence to know the past with rigorous precision and to understand it with accuracy was successfully found. It involved the theoretical affirmation of historical impartiality. The historian, having overcome his subjectivism, had to scrutinize the past by trying to penetrate into the psyche and into the passions of the men who lived, in order not to separate the facts from the incentives that caused them. He had to judge the events of the past, not according to the mind and the sensibility of his generation, his country and his time, but in agreement with those of the actors of history. The benefit of this ideal pattern of historical work is extremely difficult but it is not impossible. In the end it will never be reached without the constant invitation to obtain it; we will never get close to the ideal goal if we admit beforehand the uselessness of the effort spent in attaining it.

In any case historical knowledge is not yet a belief today. Naturally it is not comparable to scientific knowledge and to philosophical knowledge. It partakes of both at the same time. It is a unique type of knowledge with its own unique theoretics not well defined yet; it is also an autonomous

type of thought which has not yet managed to be defined rigorously. The differences which separate history from the physico-mathematical sciences and from philosophy are to its honor not to its shame. And historical knowledge and thought are not the only ones that renew themselves, crack and fall. Philosophical thought changes *sub specie saeculi* in accordance with the changing characteristics of human life which in the end is history. And scientific truths —what is truth? It is always fitting to ask as Pilate asked Jesus— are corrected and perfected in the course of history. Newton has been amended by Einstein and he in turn will be amended by another future scientist.

2. About all limitation of the field of history

I have just pointed out that the supreme goal of historical knowledge —history, nevertheless, is much more— is to reflect the past as the quicksilver of the mirror reflects the images to us. But the past is many-faceted and multiform and history must include, therefore, a cosmos whose proportions are difficult to imagine; a chronological, spatial cosmos, with incalculable cultural and vital projections. It is lawful and even compulsory for the historian to limit the field of his studies, but he is not authorized to circumscribe the field of history to his whim.

Américo Castro considers every attempt to harmonize and to universalize man and the generalizations and abstractions of historical intellectualism, idealism and materialism failures because they consider him an «integrated being». «I do not believe —he declares in a categorical way— in the possibility of a purely and generically human history».

I cannot support this triple affirmation, but neither am I the one nor is this the place to study the problem of universal history which great philosophers and historians and some sociologists of very unequal stature have treated and continue to treat. The already attained unity of historical life on earth constitutes a firm basis for the future conception and realization of the history of humanity. It is still an arduous and very difficult undertaking because of the size of the geographical, vital and cultural framework it embraces, but it is not an impossible task.

Universal history is moreover, the harmonious history of the communities of men who form humanity just as national histories are the histories of the human groups that have integrated themselves in the historical units that we now call nations; for example one has not written the history of the Spaniard, but that of Spain nor the history of the Englishman but that of England.

The communities whose harmonius history constitutes universal history have been various and very different, obviously but —in spite of Spengler's thesis about the total autonomy and the total cyclic existence of those which, I do not know if rightly so, he has rated as cultures— have

not lived in isolation, disconnected, hermetic and ignorant of one another. Neither the great cultural circles nor the national groups that we call peoples have remained without relations and without contacts. They have communicated and interacted with one another from the most remote stages of man's life on the planet. Today it is demonstrated that the Paleolithic era from Persia and Turkestan spread as far as Africa and the Atlantic side of Europe, reached India and Australia, and via Siberia and China came to America and according to Menghin, its last ramification reached Patagonia. Now then, similar cultural and vital communications have taken place in all the successive stages of pre-history and history, along diverse roads, through different processes and at a very uneven pace; but with faster rhythm along the centuries— the progressive acceleration of such human migrations and of such contacts of culture from the Paleolithic until now can be recorded, with uninterrupted successes towards the historical unification of all the earth's inhabitants.

I am with all those who deny to universal history its condition as a quarry of valid laws for the cultural life —past, present and future— of societies and of peoples such as positivism saw it because my idea of history wich I express in these pages does not rhyme with the possible operation of such laws. But there are many other aspects of the past of humanity, many other authentic problems about historical knowledge which can only be raised within the framework of universal history. Only within the total limits of history is it feasible for the historian to grasp the great progress of humanity towards total rationality and toward man's freedom. The history of each people or of each group of peoples does not let us follow the curve of its progress because none of the historical communities or the supranational groups has ceased to suffer great lapses into mediocrity and the irrational. But while a human cluster or all of those that lived under the wings of a culture were thus going back toward barbarism or toward the servile subjugating of the majority of its members, the components of other peoples or groups of people were crawling up the spiral of history towards goals of rationality and of freedom, from which they had remained distant. Only the global study of history enables the historian to record the progress of humanity now, towards the knowledge and dominion of nature by man, then towards self-knowledge and man's self-dominion. Those two great historical processes have not occurred in a parallel and synchronized way in all nations or groups of nations; the contributions of each one of these human groups or subgroups have been different and discontinuous; but each one has more or less collaborated in the great adventure in its time. Only in the ample framework of universal history is it feasible for the historian to grasp the sometimes subtle threads of the lasting and continuous collaboration of the most diverse national human communities and of the most diverse cultural groups to the great enterprise of the very making of man, which has not been the exclusive work of the proud peoples of the West and even less of those who among them consider themselves to be

superior —and they are indeed so today— in the task of uprooting the secrets of the world. Only the total vision of history makes it possible for the historian to prove man's capacity to renew himself by re-creating himself in order to approach the knowledge of the mysterious and multiform human mind and to assure himself that the radical reality of the same makes of him a pure historical being. Only within universal history can the historian understand and overcome the very haughtiness of man and people. Of peoples because they judge foreign enterprises according to the measuring stick of their own enterprises and they scorn those that do not agree with their own. And of man because he has always thought he found the summit and he has acquired the conviction of having finally discovered the royal way which leads to his definitive deification, forgetting that his life is a slow but continuous walk towards a goal beyond which God appears. As he knows himself better and as he knows nature better he re-thinks the same thoughts of God; as he progresses towards self-mastery he approaches the fulfillment of God's law, and as he progresses more towards his rationalization and towards his freedom, he becomes more like the only being authentically free and without a blemish of irrationality: God.

The great symphony of the various histories of people and culture in a slow perpetual spiritual interbreeding and in slow but continuous blood transfusion, makes up universal history and only within it can one outline the particular history of peoples and of nations. It is not even possible to think autonomously of the past of a single one of the various historical units. The vertical history of any vital or cultural community can only be conceived of in a permanent connection with the horizontal history of the cultural and vital communities in which it has actively participated in the course of time.

Américo Castro has not clearly seen the inexorable necessity of that permanent and ineludible bond. He proves it in his recent answer to some sharp observations by Bataillon about. I recognize, as Castro maintains, that Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, and Saint Ignatius are not interchangeable. Each one is a necessary and representative exponent of a different human community. But Castro forgets that they are so before the same mass of spiritual problems which stirred up, in a fierce surge, the great swell of rising modernism, since before such a moment of the past of Europe the history which investigates the cultural and vital processes of each time, of each Spenglerian cycle or of each one of what Toynbee calls societies and the history which attempts to bring out the lasting lines of the life and culture of each people, pass and interact all along. And it will always be necessary to attack the horizontal study of the great cultural and vital stages before that of the perennial flow of life and of culture of each national human group.

Voltaire aspired to limit the temporal horizon of history: he maintained that only modern life of nations could be known. There are still scholars who continue to propose the limitation of the historical field to those

topics that can provoke questions with a possible answer. Others scorn the study of what is historically individual because they estimate that in this history does not reach a scientific hierarchy. If historians were not to face questions of arduous investigation in which the series of expressive and significant testimonies available is scarce, half of the history of humanity would be condemned to be ignored by man, this apart from the fact that it is never possible to judge the abundance, luminosity and the significance of the available testimonies before gathering them and tormenting them in the press of our mind. And the history of individuals is likewise indispensable, because exceptional individuals —only they often attract historians' attention— although limited and dominated by circumstances —temperamental heritage of the community to which they belong, the dominating ideas of their time— did not cease to influence in the historical sailing of their own people and at times in the history of the neighboring people.

I also want to object to another limitation of the historical scope and to the limited selection of the nature and volume of events that history must study. Francisco Ayala, from the field of sociology, dares to circumscribe the field of history to military and political events, and within the latter to those he calls decisive events of the past, those which resolve great conflicts of power and mark destinies in the historical body. Ayala curses as incompetent erudition which does not discriminate historical material in accordance with his thesis, and he scorns scholars who study secondary or minute events, which for him are not relevant to the flow of history.

Ayala gathers many old ideas. For centuries and centuries, the boundaries of history did not exceed the restricted limits of what is political, military or pertaining to the court. The historiography of the Enlightenment, coinciding, without knowing it, with some Spanish chroniclers of India, broke with those obstacles and studied the customs and the institutions of the peoples. Later, only a few isolated historians of the time of Positivism have maintained the primitive theory, while in the 19th century other writers thought of the limitation of what is historical to the field of efficacious happenings. However, both theses, still supported by Ayala today, have now been definitively superseded and forgotten by historiographers.

Ayala's serious mistake is explained by his distance from the theoretics and the technique of historical knowledge. History cannot, as some pretend, ignore the great military and political events which, if they have not decided the fate of the human communities —very few of them have caused definite revolutions in the becoming of history— have contributed to mark directions in the life of nations. Those facts form the bony framework of history; historical life would be incomprehensible without them. But the past would be found in mere bones if historians should limit their field of study to the mere skeleton of the past; history would then be the funambulatory march of skeletons through space and time.

Historians know very well that those events would not have occurred

if a whole nervous, glandular, blood, visceral and muscular system had not given life and movement to the body of history. No, one cannot limit the scope of history to the study of the specific events of which Ayala speaks. How many facts an even strings of secondary, minute, silent and forgotten facts... would we have to go through to arrive at Lepanto, that is to say, to the fact presented by Ayala as an example of a decisive event! A whole series of nerves, glands, veins, arteries, viscera and muscles had to carry out very complex missions in close connections, to arrive to an event, which as all those of a similar category, was only half-way decisive. Half-way decisive? Yes, without accepting Voltaire's sarcasms about the great battle and without denying its enormous transcendency, the nature which Ayala attributes it is questionable and the attribute decisive to most of the past great events is likewise questionable, because in each case, we cannot omit the complicated interplay of forces that make history and upon whose complex mechanism really depends the course of the life of peoples and cultures.

No historical event, however insignificant it may seem to the sociologist cross-country walking through the fields of history, ceases to be usable to fulfill the cognitive ideal of historians. From a distance the determination of the monasteries in which the «Commentarios al Apocalipsis de San Juan» of Beato de Liébana were copied and illuminated will perhaps seem as a vain and laughable task. Such a task will undoubtedly be anathematized by Ayala among those lacking in «relevance», as he writes, and do not interest history. Nevertheless, the stability of Castilian homeland for most of these «beatos» (pious persons), and the scorn of the Galician monasteries for their copying, enables the historian to go up river and to add a *decisive* profile to a characterization of two Spanish historical communities. No other historical emphasis will be granted from outside of history to the study of the insults with which the dwellers of Castilian cities addressed each other or to the study of their blasphemies and actions by force. And, yet, such insignificant events help us to know the sensibility and the passionate emotions of the chronicle about the repopulation of Avila hold for history conceived of Castilian people. Wath importance can the authenticity of the chivalrous in its conceptual grandeur? Or the way in which the people of Avila apostrophized their bishop? Or the attitude of some knights from my land in some city of Andalusia? Nevertheless, these three erudite details add new hues to the etching of the Castilian life style. It is only after grasping thousands of minute facts that the historian can understand why and how Lepanto occurred and why Lepanto did not decide the power struggle between Spain and Turkey.

Collingwood who strongly opposes the limitation of the historical field to events that have been efficacious —he considers this arbitrary and perverse— can induce in error those who approach history from outside a natural area of studies, by declaring that historical knowledge's own object is thought. Such a statement can only be accepted by giving the term thought a

disproportionately extensive meaning and such a concession seems dangerous to me.

Life of man and of the human groups is the outcome of a confused crisscrossing of instincts, passions, emotions... and thoughts. I will not deny that each one of those emotions, passions, instincts... ends up by stirring an activity of the mind, an acticity indispensable to be able to incite the will towards action, but many, many times this activity of the mind, this thought, has so little autonomy that it could really be considered as a servant of the instincts, passions and emotions... and in general of all the multiple impulses of life. It has been so in millions and millions of men through the centuries. Torturing pressures at the service of long lasting, merely passional reactions; fears, anguishes, angers, rages, vengeances... vital desires produced by the human impulse to ascend and to prosper and other series of tendencies that we could call infrarational, have been the motives of the authentic flow of the history of all the human communities in the various stages of their past. Not even the free interplay of the thought of the governing minorities has always been possible because the collective instincts, emotions and impulses have subjected it to pressure —unavoidable at times—.

Men of the Renaissance still considered history moved by the exclusive action of the passions understood as necessary manifestations of human nature. The Enlightenment saw man as abstractly rational and projected that concept into its idea of history. According to Hegel, man is always both rational and passionate but he accepted the continuous projection of the passions in the course of the past and assumed that they were always mastered by the cunning reason and its service. He was probably mistaken in sustaining that because passion and reason have dominated each other along history and together they have been ruling the life of man and of peoples. But even if Hegel had been right, the passional factor could never have been omitted —using the term in its most extensive meaning— as the forming force of historical becoming. Will it not be going too far to assume with Gollingwood that «History is the history of thought?» Would it not be more prudent to write that history is the history of life-of human life, naturally —in which the suprarational, rational and infrarational forces which generate and rule it intercross? Since I deem it to be so I cannot follow Collingwood when he limits the goal of history to the knowledge of the human mind. History does not only intend to know man's mind, it aims at knowing man himself, which in the final analysis, is the very work of his history.

History cannot confine itself to the study of these or those facts; it must confront all those which form the complex tissue of the life and of the culture of the past.

Life and culture! There is the fruitful connection of the dynamic projections of the past. It is not customary to confront them in order to produce the historical process by their juxtaposition. Philosophers of history

and sociologists often emphasize the binomial culture and civilization. The contraposition of what is vital which encompasses human reactions —spiritual, emotive and instinctive— before all the heterogeneous and heteroclite problems which life suggests to man and of what is cultural, in which must be included all of the ideas and values, concepts and techniques, systems and goods created by men. These are two historical scopes well differentiated but in constant connection and interaction. The vital reactions of the human communities before the multiple instances which life presents to them —before the comprehension and dominion of nature and men, before the mystery of life and death and before instinctive desires, the emotional enjoyments, and the darts of reason, the tensions of power, and the use of its excess of energy...— create the world of what is culturally historical. On the other hand, values, concepts, systems, sciences, arts and techniques influence in the various levels of what is vital, generation after generation, and year after year, from the remote centuries of dark pre-history.

What is vital and cultural in constant interaction depends on the human communities within a varied geographical range The human groups with similar vital reactions are less extensive. Cultural scopes often encompass wider areas. The vital contexture of a historical unity is much more lasting than the cultural structure of the great human community participant in a unitarian system of goods and values. So there has frequently occurred an uneven treatment of the common cultural heritages by popular groups with different life styles. On occasions, members of a concrete vital unit —at times entire towns— have been framed within cultural circles foreign to their historical lineage without altering the unique vital structure of the same.

Culture and life! Castro has perceived what is fruitful in this essential binomial of history: «Opposite the tendency to make history consist of cultures and civilizations, I would insist —he says— on the fact that the cultures are indissoluble from the people who create them, sustain them, and nourish their lives from them.» I do not know if Castro thought of this relationship in connection with Ortega y Gasset's notes about Dilthey's theories. «It is a mistake —the latter says— to suppose that the events of the cognitive conscience are impervious to the volitive and sentimental conscience... Knowledge depends upon the will and the feelings as the latter depends on the former.» From such an interdependence Ortega infers conscience's circular and closed system. But, does not that also imply the articulation of culture and life in another circular and closed system?

Castro's idea can be fruitful in corollaries provided that the indissolubility of life and culture may always be taken into account because, in truth, the historical communities in their continuous and slow crawling through the centuries have been molding singular forms of life and in close connection with them, they have been creating and transforming the system of goods and values which constitutes a culture. In a closed and circular system, life has spilled into the spiritual creations of the peoples and these

have nourished the vital contextures of the same. And so, the forms of life have been and are at the same time generators and exponents of culture, and inversely, cultures have been and are at once exponents and generators of forms of life. For that reason the joint study of the former and the latter, to be done, can change the panorama of history.

Castro has not understood, however, the transcendence of this magnificent task and he has come to frustrate the promise of his own thesis. He has not overcome the vitalist concept of history. The theories of Dilthey and of Ortega y Gasset which place life on the first plane of the historical scene have concurred in rooting in him such a conviction and, with those theories, existential philosophy in vogue in recent years. Ortega has written commenting Dilthey's stop at the half point of the integral formulation of some new ideas which were stirring in his mind: «it is a terrible anachronism to have to think the new idea with the ideas of one's time, that is to say with ideas that have come from another dying idea.» Castro has fallen into the same anachronism. The old ideas which do not connect what is cultural and what is vital have prevailed upon him and instead of continuing with his thesis about the indissolubility of cultures and of life styles, he has pushed those scornfully and has come to give to his investigation no other value than that of «an occasion to observe the behavior of the functional activity of the life of each people», forgetting his statement that people create the cultures and sustain their lives in them.

Castro declares that he does not believe in the history of ideas or of phenomena of culture and, letting himself be governed by his passionate devotion to his own peers, he ventures to defend a surprising historical concept His thesis took him very far —I will deal with it later— about the limitations imposed on each human community by its own structural function, upon confronting the future. It led him to write: «An adequate concept of history must make simultaneously possible the arrangement of the confused flow of life as something univocal and significant (Spanish, Roman, Chinese, etc.) and make perceptible the one to whom can be attributed surely and authentically the *Spanish*, the *Roman*, etc. of life historicized». History would thus be a mere classifying of forms of life and of historical types as species and genres of nature can be classified.

I beg to disagree with such a concept. I cannot help but show my disagreement with Castro's devaluation of the history of ideas which constituted a «perennial matter» of work of Dilthey, discoverer, nevertheless, with Ortega y Gasset of the idea of life as historical reason. With the latter, I believe that «the history of ideas forms one of the radical dimensions of the history of man». I also support the words of the great Spanish thinker about the parent ideas: «from a certain time on men are within them. All they do, think and feel, whether or not they realize it, springs from the basic inspiration formed by the historical ground on which they act, the atmosphere they breathe, the substance of which they

are made. Consequently, the names of these parent ideas designate the periods.

If we meditate a bit upon these words we will grasp their meaning and value against Castro's limited «idea» about history. Ideas, through creations of this or that group of men —rarely has a parent idea emerged mature from a single human mind—, they have never stayed imprisoned within the borders of a people. They have overcome all obstacles, conquered all resistances, and sooner or later have won over all the communities whose historical life occurred under the wings of a unit of culture and have decisively influenced in the approximation or unification, according to the cases, of its vital contextures. Thus we may not underrate the history of ideas to devote ourselves to a simple classification of forms of life in function of the historical groups we call peoples. How can that be if the very ideas of «life» and of «people» have been changeable and fickle in the course of time?

A corollary of one of these parent ideas would really be the same modern concept of the human communities which Castro selects as units for the arranging of the confused flow of historical life in something univocal and significant. Spain, Italy, France or Germany, are they not modern creations of the modern idea of nationalities? The relative unity of the life styles of each of them, is it not sometimes the still green fruit of an ideological process which has unified the various vital contextures of the diverse human groups that have come to form the national unity?

The very historiological concept of Castro, his idea of history as the vital disposition of a people to act and to create values, is rooted in this parent idea of nationalism and is the prisoner of the historiography's projections of the latest philosophical thought. Without this connection, would Castro have placed the special emphasis of his thesis on that differentiation of the human groups of Europe? If he had written before the triumph of nationalism, or if he were to write tomorrow in a Europe with a unitarian articulation, it is very doubtful that he would have begun the venture which has charmed him today. Without the statement of vitalistic philosophy now in vogue, his theme would have been different.

Life has been lived by men in function of their ideas; in spite of Castro, the history of Western Christianity, of the bourgeois spirit, of the Renaissance or of liberalism are notta chimera. The study of the vital peculiarities of each historical community is not incompatible with but assists in the study of the ideas which have formed luminaries and magnets for the lives of peoples who lived as neighbors and under the dome of such ideological currents.

Let us suppose that we would have come to know in detail the life style, the functional structure, the potential of possibilities and lack of possibilities of each one of the European peoples and of the world if we wish: we would find ourselves midway in historical knowledge. We would possess some marvelous tools to apprehend the past, but the past would

be there, waiting for us to discover it as it really was through the power of the harmonious reactions, opposed, confronted or cooperative, of each human group before the great cultural and vital problems that those very groups created and faced.

Castro's theory of historiography is in the contemporary tendency to draw historical schemes which aspire to constitute units within the cosmos of history. His distinction between the vital contextures of the peoples is obviously related to the differenciation between various cultures by Spengler and between various societies by Toynbee, although it lacks the grandeur and the subtlety of such classifications. Castro also considers the historical process divided by clear lines in parts mutually exclusive and minimizes their interpenetrations. Collingwood, in criticizing such statements, has written: «to place historical events into compartments we must first kill the living body of history in order to dissect it».

Castro pretends to articulate history upon a single unity: the community of men who live according to a particular life style which he rather unhappily calls «vividura». A vital style: Is there anything more difficult to define and express? Castro declares that «it becomes present in a way and course of life conditioned by tendencies that make possible and by tendencies that exclude, that is to say, by a certain way of doing and non-doing, by actions and omissions». Given that statement, it is possible to differentiate the life styles of the angel, the man and the beast, as Castro himself does; those of the Oriental and those of the Westerner; those of the Semite and those of the Indo-European; those of the Mediterranean *homo* and those of the Northern *homo*; those of the Latin, the German and the Slav; those of the Spaniard, the Italian and the French; those of the Sicilian, the Roman, the Corsican and the Lombard. those of the man of Salamanca, of Avila and of Valladolid; and we could go on like this to the point of distinguishing the life sytles of the dwellers of every valley and every village.

Each one of the mentioned groups has a different vital structure. The differences which separate the life styles here compared are becoming smaller as we go down from those that separate «the tendencies that make possible and the excluding tendencies» of the angel, man and beast to those that characterize «the ways of doing and non-doing» of the man from Salamanca, Avila and Valladolid. Still the vital structures of each one should be explained.

Where shall we stop to select the basic unity of historical creation? The answer is very risky, all the more so since each of the mentioned human communities is also historically, culturally and existentially inserted into another one of a much wider scope. In the continuous course of history it has grasped and received forms of life from the neighboring community with which it has lived for millenniums in belligerent or peaceful contact. At times, it has received or grasped the vital style of another historical

community which dominated both through the power of weapons or of the mind.

If there are no peoples ethnically and culturally pure, neither are there pure vital contextures. Castro compares and perpetuates equally what is Spanish and Mussulman; what is Mussulman but a scab, cultural rather than existential which conceals the face of a long series of different vital contextures and different human types from the Moghrib man and the Berber to the Persian and the Islamitic Hindu? The Spanish entity being much more solid and uniform —in spite of peninsular men who deny their Spanish condition today—, how many nuances should be pointed out between the Spanish-Levantine, the Spanish-Atlantic, the Spanish-Cantabrian and the Spanish-Andalusian?

Different functional structures in the course of the centuries have also marked, with each cultural cycle, the different human groups which beyond the boundaries of the historical communities of the time, have found themselves composed of members of the various social classes or of different professions. To those groups of suprastate or supranational scope, Castro's theory about the dynamic interplay of possibilities and impossibilities must be applied. Considering the pecularities of their vital contextures, they could be taken as units of study for history understood as Castro wishes. It would be just as legitimate to investigate what might be Spanish and who might be the Spaniards, as to study what might be the nobility and who might be the European noblemen or what might be the bourgeoisie or who might be the Bourgeois of the West. If within each of these groups, the life style of the different peoples of Western Europe must have left clear vestiges, in the functional disposition of each one of the latter cited social groups, in their turn, must have also had left an influence in virtue of their articulation, historical balance, of the vital power and the expansive force of each one.

Castro's theory has another vulnerable side.

Castro himself has admitted the changes suffered by the European historical communities and has accepted Toynbee's theory that «none of the present people of Europe existed one thousand years ago». Now then, those changes, exchanges and mutations have rarely occurred through sudden leaps capable of altering the vital contexture of a human community overnight. I said it years ago in a polemic with Ayala concerning Spanish decadence and not without great scandal for my opponent. So as not to be shocked he ought to have remembered that in saying it I was in agreement with the greatest figures of modern thought. For example, Ortega writes: «History is perfect continuity», «reality evokes and the knowledge of it must be genetic», and insists more than once on this concept in studying Dilthey and in other essays Collingwood, in contradicting Toynbee's dissection of history in schemes representative of different societies, wrote this about the past: «such as it exists in reality and as the historian really knows it, it is always a process in which something is changing in

order to convert itself into something elso. This process is the life of history... In history as it also happens in reality there are no simple phenomena of decadence: every decline is also a rising and only the historian's personal imperfections in knowledge or sympathy —due in part to pure ignorance, in part to preoccupations in his own life— can prevent him from seeing this double aspect, both destructive and creative, of any historical process considered».

Considering that the changes and mutations of the temperamental heritage of the historical communities occur gradually without pauses or leaps —Ortega believes that historical life changes at the slow pace of the generations to whose full productive activity he grants terms of fifteen years—, it is extremely dangerous to articulate history in units on the basis of the different life styles of the human groups, as Castro wishes. To the geographical difficulty mentioned before, the temporal difficulty is added.

No people have had one lasting life style but instead many different life styles connected only by obscure and tenuous similarities. Castro wrote: «Each European people have their music, painting, literature, Christianity, Catholicism, etc.». We accept Castro's statement as applied to the present with some reservations —what is a people?— But it is just as certain that each of Europe's human groups governed today by a different state structure —does Castro call that a people?— has known not one but various musics, various paintings and various Christianities in the course of the centuries. And they have known successive functional structures. What is Spanish, English, French, Italian, German are concepts with very limited temporal validity or with a long series of millenniums behind them depending on the meaning we might want to give to such expressions

It will therefore be necessary to combine the community of earthly place and time in order to determine historical unities which might possess different functional structures, but does not this forced conjunction take us, as in a vicious circle, to the already classical cycles of culture?

If the temperamental differences of the peoples who lived within each one of these cycles of culture do not suffice to break their unity, it will be wise to go no further in comparing the vital reactions of each one of those peoples and their possibilities or lack of possibilities of action towards the future, because at times, the differences that separate them are the result of a different rhythm of progress through the times, more than of essential differences in their vital contexture. Castro, contradicting Bataillon, points out «that Garcilaso the Inca, Quevedo and Saavedra Fajardo believed in St. James war-miracles», «because there did not exist in Spain a sharp division between 'reason' and 'superstition', nor an enlightened class and ignorant masses. These categories coined by French rationalism cannot be applied to Spanish life».

The inaccuracy of such a categorical statement referring to the whole course of the Spanish past is evident. There have been enlightened mino-

rities in Spain which have distinguished between reason and superstition in determined periods of history. As in other times the faith in miracles was common North of the Pyrenean range; it could have been just as common in the Spain of the seventeenth century in which the same Castro mentions the names of prominent people of the Spanish clergy who doubted Saint James' prodigious intervention in the battles of the Reconquest, and Castro does not ignore the fact that Descartes went on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Loreto to thank her for the inspiration he received in the inventing of his genial theories.

Time distinctions are important indeed not to distort the reality of history. The medieval life style may have changed faster in France than in Spain. The vital contexture generalized in the West during the Middle Ages may have lasted longer among us due to a large extent to tangential causes external to the inner Spanish temperamental heritage. That delay undoubtedly means a dramatic Spanish singularity, but it does not justify the drastic negativism about the operative potential of Spain or of Spaniards nor the cruel branding of the Spanish life style.

«I limit myself —Castro insists— to using certain mental forms which enable me to give reality to the history that I make so that it might appear as a *what* correctly predicable to a *who*. I pretend to investigate what kind of men we refer to when we say that Spaniards have done, are doing or cannot do this or that.» To reach such conclusions, however much it may displease Castro, he is forced to make what is usually called vertical or national history, and as he has been saying, there is no vertical history which is not in constant connection with horizontal history.

Laín Entralgo has rightly pointed out that following the main lines of Castro's historical idea, it would be necessary to discover how —other than in the mere fact of being men— Indíbil, Saint Isidore, the Archpriest of Hita, Ferdinand the Catholic, Saint John of the Cross and Narváez are alike. Because of the permanent changes of the human collectivities through the course of time —changes also suffered or enjoyed, though slowly, by the people settled in the Spanish peninsula —it seems fairly certain to me that the similarity between the group of Spanish personalities— will not be less than the vital and cultural relationship of each one of these with whom, in the other peoples of the West of Europe, they played synchronically —or in a stage of similar historical development— the roles represented by them in the great stage of Spanish life, because from Indíbil to Narváez, all of them experienced processes of life and culture which exceeded the limited boundaries of the historical community of which they were a part. Castro will not be able to deny that, apart from the cultural and vital differences that separate them, John II of Aragón is very close and perhaps even closer to Louis XI of France than to the Cid or to Narváez; at least he will not be able to argue against the fact that he has comparable or greater bonds with him than with other Spaniards.

If each of these historical groups that we call peoples has had a life style in the course of each of the great cycles of culture, as I said before, the different human groups forming those peoples have also had different functional structures, within the temporal scope of each of these periods; those people who over and beyond the borders that today we would call national have found themselves formed by members of diverse social classes or from different professions. So once again, it will be necessary to delve into the careful study of horizontal history to attempt to classify the continuous surge of historical life in vertical units...

I really cannot agree with the theoretical limitations of history thought and defended by Castro. I believe that history cannot be reduced to the vertical and autonomous investigation of the past of each of today's national communities to know the structures of their collective vital dynamism and the interplay of their operative possibilities and lack of possibilities. My disagreement with such a limitation does not prevent me from considering the study of the national histories today as one of the historiographer's most attractive and promising ventures in the fulfillment of the essential goal of history, obviously always assuming that the task will be accomplished with strict methodological rigor, in strict connection with the great historical process of horizontal projection, taking into account the changing ideological luminaries and the changing material desires prevailing in the supranational historical units through time, without temporal cuts that uproot the vertical history of a people or prevent the normal circulation of its vital sap to some of its latest buds, always harmoniously combining what is vital and cultural at each moment, avoiding the simplistic genetic explanations while studying the formation of the temperamental contexture of the people whose past is under investigation, without forgetting the occasionally decisive action of what is individual in the course of history, without scorning or devaluating any of the multiple facets of the total life of the community, with a spirit of continuity which grasps the uninterrupted flow of the historical happening and its logical action in the changing of the temperamental heritage of the nation, without preconceived pragmatic intentions, at the service of the truth and not of philosophical doctrines nor of social or political ideals, with an exact sense of the great moral responsibility of the historian himself, with passion's bridles tight, including the passion which every scholar can feel for his own and dearest theories, and above all with a clear vision of the interplay of forces which have been making history and of the most difficult but most noble mission of the knowledge of historiographers: the creation of the historical conscience, not only of the nation whose history is under study but also of the superior cultural and vital coming in which the historicized people are inserted and in the final analysis, of all of humanity.

3. The interplay of drives in history

An interplay of drives has been making and remaking history! Formation of the historical conscience of a national community! These topics deserve two books. I devoted some attention to the first in 1943. One day hordes of men abandoned the territorial headquarters which they occupied: motivated by primary drives or by indefinable restlessness, by the need to free themselves from cosmic or human threats, by incoercible impulses or anguishing fears, by the dynamism of an ambitious chief or the enlightened dream of a leader, by religious or political dissidences... United or isolated, these masses of men have gone to cultivate deserted lands as the initial nucleus of the autonomous life of a historical society, or have spilled into other national groups which occupied the desired country or the land accidentally found on their way. Thus has begun, at a very remote date, the sanguine and cultural complex peculiar to each people born as the outcome of a long series of more or less human volitions. And then? Then, history, history before history in the womb of the mysterious pre-history, because when peoples appear before our eyes in the pages of the most ancient historians or geographers, they are already thousands of years old; they already have a temperamental heritage of very firm outlines. Ortega y Gasset has rightly said: «History is like the grape, the delight of the autumn».

The strange prophecy —of a too risky physicist— that someday one could demonstrate that men and peoples act as infusoria, or as groups of infusoria, has not yet been fulfilled, nor will it ever be, because the action of the spirit in the life of nations and of individuals, is eternal, continuous and fruitful. I believe in the action of that mysterious drive which the human being possesses and which biologists and philosophers have attempted, are attempting and will forever attempt to grasp in vain. I believe in that mysterious drive which brings us close to the Divinity and which proceeds from the Divinity. «Man in himself —writes Max Scheler, who is no Father of the Church— is a being more lofty and sublime than life and its values and even all of nature; he is the being in whom the psychic has freed itself from serving life and has purified itself by ascending to the dignity of the spirit, a spirit at whose service life now enlists in an objective sense as well as in a psychic sense».

Let he who can believe that that being has been able to ascend to such a lofty state from pure animality by the spontaneous power of an evolutionary process. «The first humanization of man —Karl Jaspers writes— is the most profound mystery, absolutely unfathomable until now, and totally incomprehensible for us. We only succeed in dissimulating it by means of expressions which explain nothing, speaking of gradual evolution,

of transition. We can imagine man's genesis but such fantasies break down by themselves because when we hypothetically make man become, we have already placed him there without realizing it.» Science has not yet resolved the problem of man's origin for us nor will it ever do so. Every day the *monophyletic* derivation of the various races gains new adepts among the scholars. Biologists and philosophers point out more and more vigorously the differences between man and the superior animals. Portmann and Jaspers, for example, have emphatically brought them out. Both point out the singularities of human life. The latter speaks of the abyss which separates all men —conscience, thought, spirit— even from the animals closest to us. «Man... can —he writes— by virtue of freedom, enter into a process of spiritual transformation of himself which leads him to an endless ascension. This way, he became capable of history instead of limiting himself to invariably and infinitely repeating the natural cycle of life, as the animals do.» Actually starting from the evolutionary theory no one has ever explained, nor will, the disturbing and inexplicable contrast between the marvelous creation *in crescendo* of man and the multimillenary stagnation of all of nature's other beings in their primitive vital situation.

Those who consider man to be an evolutioned beast must face the ever more amazing outcomes of archeological investigation which prove that men possessed a great artistic sensibility in the most remote times, and also the fact, recognized by Portmann and Jaspers that during the many thousands of years old stage of the human past well known to us —from the very distant late Paleolithic era— biological changes and psychophysical mutations are not controllable in men. Those who deny any kind of divine intervention in the past of men are compelled to a vain waste of talent to explain the origin of the cultures and their progress, at times, parallel and synchronic from their point of view!

Most of us who believe in that intervention and those who cannot or will not believe in it, agree, nevertheless, that man is freedom and that the human groups have been and are spurred on by desires very different from those that drive the other beings of the cosmos; both by material and spiritual desires which have not essentially varied too much from the most remote times.

Peoples do not revolve passively, as the heavenly bodies, in orbits drawn up from eternity —at least from times which the human imagination cannot comprehend and we can, in the end, call that eternity. No, human events do not repeat themselves eternally in time— in an eternity towards the future similar to the one which goes back to the beginnings of life —as the events of nature. Things —including what in man is like a thing— «are», that is to say are static, and man is pure freedom and pure becoming. Yes, human life is essentially freedom, and freedom applied to action is not only, as some pretend, a «non fiat» which curbs the impulses of the instinct, but a positive, daring and creative force which drives and directs.

Have men been freely creating their destiny urged by the circumstances of the moment? Is it fitting to consider history the mere zigzagging trajectory of the eternal journey of the peoples, impelled by blind fate, ruled by the disorbed action of the «heroes» —guided by the luminous sparkles of the mighty intelligences or following the path opened by the thrust of a sword or the stabbing of fierce captains— or driven by mere economic desires?

If we could answer this question affirmatively, history would be a marvelous adventure novel, the most phantasmagoric and fascinating that the most unbridled and fruitful imagination could have or could devise, but nothing more than an adventure novel. Many historians have involuntarily «yes» to this question. It is logical to deduce this from the way they have thought and written history; and an affirmative answer frequently comes from the lips or thoughts of the educated men of our days.

Neither have people passively progressed through orbits marked out from eternity, nor have they, intoxicated by fortune, acted out a mere adventure novel. Human life is essentially freedom, but can man exercise that freedom of decision without limits, nor obstacles, nor restraints? Do not insurmountable walls rise up before man every moment of the day? Does he not clash every hour, even every instant, with insuperable obstacles born of his own idiosyncracy, of the nature in which he moves, of the other men with whom he lives and of the men who have lived before in the world? Ortega y Gasset has rightly said that to live is to feel limited and he has theorized about man's imprisonment by his «circumstance».

Dilthey's definition of life as a mysterious web of chance, fate and nature. Many thinkers have accepted it. It seems inaccurate to me What is fate? A transcendental force foreign to man and which interferes in his existence and determines his course? Only the Divinity can achieve such a marvel. Having accepted its existence, either we assume it rules each of the human acts and in that case man's life must be judged as a simple projection of the supreme will of God; or it is understood as we Catholics do; its terrible and generous gift of free will to mortals and then we cannot include fate in the interplay of drives which weave life. For those of us who believe in Providence, chance is the channel of its action in human existence. Those who do not share our faith in a Providence directing earthly existence logically cannot believe in fate; they cannot logically accept that a mysterious and transcendental power could mark outlines fatal to man's existence. Since for Dilthey man is history, human life would have been defined by him as a mysterious web of nature, chance and experience.

Since Dilthey and since Ortega who has completed and perfected Dilthey's thought —students of the theory of history from beyond the Pyrenees are still ignorant of Ortega's contribution about historical reasoning—,

it cannot be denied that man is history. But man is something more than history and in defining his life what is biological cannot, therefore, be prescinded from, in spite of many who, at times, dare to excommunicate those who «still» take it into account.

But if man is free to decide his fate within the limitations that his psycho-physical temperament, nature, his peers and the past impose on him, a people, that is to say, all of the man submitted, for centuries and sometimes for millenniums, to the same influx of the two powerful reactives of the earth and of heritage —of heritage, work of the race and of history— finds even greater obstacles against the exercise of the potentially full free will which are enjoyed by the human units that form it.

A man's life lasts a few decades; that of a people many centuries. If the stars have been millions of years in forming, should we believe the hypotheses invented by scientists' imagination to explain the «history» of the heavenly bodies —for some scholars the stars also have their history; and poets are not the ones who write it though it has much to do with poetry—, the peoples have been millenniums before emerging from their mother's wombs, the still mysterious prehistory. During the slow gestation, the infinite reactions caused in a group of men by the action of many centuries, over their minds and over their vital organs, of the physical environment and the moral climate in which they have lived ,have created a life style, that is to say: the fundamental features of a temperament, of a functional structure. Shortly after their birth to history, with historiography in full youth but after millenniums of authentic vital adventure, historians have drawn from them very surprising sketches of modernism; in them they have discovered lasting virtues, weaknesses, tendencies and flaws that have appeared later in full maturity. I stated so in 1943 —before Castro dreamed of writing *Spain in its History*— in a series of essays which serve as a basis for all this work. I confirmed it with numerous testimonies taken from the primitive history of Spain which I will repeat and expand in studying, forthwith, the primitive Spaniards. The sketches that Caesar, Strabo and Pliny draw of the Gauls disclose qualities and faults of today's Frenchmen. Ferdinand Soldevila has popularized the word of Saint Paciano, Bishop of Barcelona, in reference to the forefathers of contemporary Catalonians, who said that «they were soliciting, accumulating, trading, dealing, stealing, in the pursuit of profit». And a Greek traveler of the sixth century before our era declared that the people of Marseilles were very fond of jest and tales; his words have been reproduced, not long ago in *Cuadernos de prehistoria española.* (Notebooks of Spanish prehistory.)

The arch between land and history, repeated along the millenniums —during the obscure but not negligible centuries previous to the autumnal knowledge of the life of peoples through historiography— molded the peculiar life styles of the different human communities after a mysterious selective process of the various historical species which we call peoples. The

forging of the national types of each one of them began when a human group had to confront these two anguishing problems: to struggle with earth they inhabited and to communicate in peace or in war with groups of neighbors or invaders.

That life style of each human community constitutes a temperamental heritage in nothing comparable to *Volksgeist* or national spirit of romantic historiography. In 1943, I called these ancestral collective types which came to light at the dawn of history, historical constants. Years later when confronting the medieval and the modern stage of Spain's past, Castro spoke of historical invariables. I do not believe that the name that I used a decade ago is accurate today, and the one launched by Castro appears even less appropriate to me, because these common features, though at times they linger for centuries, are neither lasting nor constant and in no way can they be considered as invariable and indelible.

The style of each people is always in constant becoming because the battle of the potentially free will of the community with the obstacles which nature, heritage and other peoples around continuously place in its way, is never interrupted and neither are the successive comings of other human groups within its womb nor the contacts of culture. That struggle against the obstacles which nature, heritage and other peoples place in the way of each people and that permanent coming of foreign cultural and sanguine currents bring new qualities and faults, maintaining or modifying the old ones, arouse vocational desires more or less confused until then, casting into oblivion others which seemed secure and lasting until then creating material and spiritual necessities never before felt.

National forms of life —I am referring here to nations in the original sense— crystallize and change very slowly but do not stay unchanged throughout times. Sometimes they last millenniums because with the passing of time the historical circumstances from which they originated have lingered It is not always impossible to explain how or why some of the old characteristics of the ancient human communities have survived.

Do not the people of Marseilles continue to be fond of tales and jokes as the inhabitants six centuries before Jesus Christ, because Marseilles continued, throughout history, to be a happy and sunny harbor, frequented by crowds of sailors and traders from many different lands, countries, heavens and shores? Has Marseilles continued to be frequented by crowds of sailors and traders because in Marseilles they found cheerful relaxation, there they have exhanged impressions and news about distant ports free from the control of realistic witnesses, they have laughed and lied there, they have entertained dreams and hopes and have colived there with the country's natives among whom they have left even more vivid traces of their peculiar forms of life?

Tarragona, which had been the door and port of Spain facing the

Mediterranean and the Roman Empire, was ruined in the third century. In the fourth century of our era, Barcelona already was, as today, the urban nucleus, centralizer and channel of peninsular trade towards the old sea of ancient civilization; towards a sea which kept its millenary privilege for centuries and never lost its cultural and economic importance. This perdurable situation of Barcelona has also made lasting its sons' ambition for profit which Saint Paciano censured some 1.500 years ago.

The temperamental heritage of a historical community is slowly molded and slowly altered, but in the end, as in all life and history, it changes, is reformed and transformed. A good amplifier of the waves which the past sends would enable us to grasp the slow but continuous variations of the life of each human group throughout time. The peoples who have dwelled on a particular geographical terrain have been able to achieve spiritual or material tasks which they cannot undertake today, and today they successfully undertake projects of life or of culture impossible to achieve yesterday. A people do not have their directions for ever marked out either by the race or by the land, in their slow and difficult journey through history they are changing and altering, their own personalities. When we speak of historical constants or invariables we deal with pure abstractions. We refer to a limited time, to a period including at most the few centuries of the past of a human community known to us if it progressed through history imprisoned by adverse destiny; to a period usually extending to a briefer time in the past; to a concrete period of the historical life of the popular group favored by lucky fate. We frequently think about yesterday as if history were over. Hyperbolically, we could say that the sun catches every human group in a different functional structure, in its daily rising on the horizon. In the extreme flowing of time —forgive me the new hyperbole— the decades and even the centuries in which a human group offers the «same» reactions before the mystery of life is a mere wink, and I underline the word «same» because the slowness of the continuous change of the life style of a people prevents our near-sightedness from appreciating the importance of the changes undergone by the community in whose activity we participate daily or of which we are close witnesses, at the same time as it facilitates our grasp of the constants or invariables of its past way of life which are staying fixed on the quicksilver of the old mirror of history.

When the mirror, in reflecting the past of a people, sends remote images very similar throughout the centuries and those images even look like the ones that today our eyes could grasp in the great puppet show of the life of such a people, that will be the sign that the latter has progressed very slowly through history and a clear symptom that, for its own harm, its adverse fate —I speak of fate and destiny metaphorically— has been frustrating the logical changes which in its vital contexture it should have enjoyed or endured.

Whatever the rhythm with which the life style of each people has changed may have been and whatever the endured changes in time, in each moment of the past or present of a national community its functional structure or temperamental heritage marks directions for its historical life. It presents a wide variety of ways to its uncertain tomorrow, it offers a medley of possible paths in the continuous crossroads of fates which it meets in its uninterrupted ride towards the future. Dilthey believes that peoples are capable of unlimited possibilities and they are indeed in the perpertual march of time, but as I noted almost ten years ago, I now believe —and now Castro shares my belief— that before any new historical volition, the national communities can only select one of the various ways which their life style presents to their free decision. It is their leaders, among whom seldom appears a genius —before I called him a «hero», using the term in its ancient sense, still free from the warlike nuance acquired later —and it is chance which traces the direction in which the human group must follow on its historical voyage towards tomorrow.

Who will dare deny the action of the great people in the course of history? The «hero» theme has been too overtrodden by the many critics. Their gigantic influence in historical life cannot be denied by the most furious and irate adversaries of the efficacious history of the supermen, nor by the most cruel enemies of their peoples, their ideals or of the peculiar shade of their deed. The «heroes» have sometimes given unforeseeable thrusts in the historical progress of a nation or a group of nations, but their disorbed action has only been fruitful and lasting when the nation or group of nations were ready for the great march. An Attila, a Tamerlane, a Genghis Khan have passed through the infinite space of history as meteors leaving only a fleeting memory of their vertiginous progress.

«Heroes» are not thaumaturges capable of altering nature's laws through a magic gesture leading to the prodigy. There have been many geniuses who have not made a people or group of peoples advance one inch in the great spiral of history and at times men inferior to those who failed achieved incredible results denied to the others. The miracle can only happen when a «hero» sets the turbine of history in motion at the favorable moment. Would Caesar have reached such heights before or after the critical century which witnessed his dynamic existence? What would the Cid have done had he not lived in the confused and baffling years of the Factions and the Almoravid invasions? Would Pizarro have achieved his marvelous deed under historical pressure different from the one which enable the Spaniards to discover and conquer America? What memory would Napoleon have left behind had he been born in Corsica in constant fight with Geneva or in the France of the bourgeois Louis XVIII?

Any «hero», whatever his stature may be, has been able to achieve the marvel of his life only after the slow effort of thouands and thousands of men and when an opportune historical situation has enabled him, on a

favorable day, to hurl into the wind of history the electricity accumulated in centuries. The «hero» is the exponent of the historical dynamism of a people, the leader of a group of men who know how to use his qualities and faults in a vocational undertaking and at a unique moment. The «hero» channels the vital current of his nation with maximum results. The «hero» arises when a superhuman genius uses the temperamental heritage of a historical community at the opportune time which chance offer him and which he knows how to seize.

However, there have been few «heroes» in the course of time. Leaders of much less stature have selected the ways for the peoples in the crossroads of history.

The leading group of a community is always composed of a minority; in all the peoples there have been leading minorities from the most remote times and there will always be, although the techniques in which they have stood out have varied and will vary henceforth, the process of their rise and their influence on the masses. But those minorities in turn have been inspired and ruled by very few, at times by a single man, at times by a very limited handful of men. Somaetimes these exceptional individuals have freed some national communities, making them progress decisively or causing drastic twists in their march towards the future. Others have given ideas —created theories, discovered techniques or founded institutions— which have revolutionized a time and caused great historical incentives or that have delayed, twisted or directed great collective processes called to drown a civilization or group of peoples in its stirring waves. Leaders of the human groups: their thinkers, captains or politicians can, by their ability or foolishness, allow the vital force accumulated by their nations in the course of centuries to become lost, or they can waste it foolishly, but never can they create them out of nothingness. They can lead their peoples along the roads of perdition or through lighted paths, but never can they improvise the vital contexture of the community which they are going to lead towards triumph or ruin.

Leaders of nations are a part of the temperamental heritage or functional structure of the people in which they were born and have in common with their compatriots the treasure of ideas and values of their time. At times they can partially renew both; with more difficulty they escape from the weight of the vital law of the human group to which they belong. In selecting their way in the crossroads of those constantly presented by the life style or temperamental heritage of the community, they are driven by two forces which they cannot overcome; by the leading collective impulses in their people at the time and by the peculiar algebraic formula which directs its psycho-physical life. They are moved urged by the spiritual or material incentives which the vital contexture of their nation gives them and by those that come from their personal sources of energy,

as the outcome of the unique balance presiding over the trilogy of their instincts, emotions and minds, in connection with the carnal prison which covers them.

Can anyone deny that this connection between the temperamental heritage of the community —vital and cultural reactions and projections— and their own psychic or bodily peculiarities is at the basis of the relevant historical action of men like Luther, Philip II, Richelieu, Frederick the Great of Prussia, Napoleon...?

We may not, therefore, dive into the past of a nation to attempt to grasp its mysterious historical enigma, without parallely and synchronically studying: the vital heritage of the community —formed in the unknown centuries of distant prehistory and maintained or changed in the clear light of history— and the temperamental peculiarities of the exceptional people who have led the historical life of the community, because the leaders of the peoples —I refer to the directing minorities of the same and to the individual signals which inspire and guide such minorities— are not inanimate puppets whose strings are pulled by the abstract entity, culture or national life style.

Along the people in their entirety, with their qualities and faults and along the individual or group of individuals —the idea comes to me that among the hereditary qualities of every people is the usual numerical importance of their authentic leaders; some tend to follow one man, others a group of men, and that unequal tendency generates an unequal historical balance in the community —along every people and the minorities in charge of leading it through the paths of historical sailing— we could say with Machado, traveller, there is no road, it is in walking that the road is made! —chance completes the interplay of the forces of history.

Yes; the most spectral of historians, the most imbued with scientific knowledge, the most convinced of the decisive action of the vital style of the peoples in the course of history, could not deny the influence of chance in it. In thousands of cases a minute incident has changed the direction of the historical path of one or of many peoples. A battle won or lost at times through a mere fortuitous accident; a dagger or a harquebus hitting or missing its corporeal target; the cunning or the constancy of a warrior or a sailor; a temperament or weakness of a man or a woman; a death; a wedding; or even a smile or a joke; a threat and some ingenious or harsh words —dozens and dozens of examples come to my mind and any educated man can easily recall them—, have drawn the directions of one of the various human beehives.

Chance has been able to change the course of history. If Troy had not been captured; if the Greeks had won in Thermopylae; if Alexander had not been defeated by Darius; if in the Ides of March Caesar had not concurred to the Senate; if Constantinople had not fallen into the hands of the Ommiad caliphs; if in Guadalete Rodrigo had triumphed

over Tariq; if Charles Martel had been defeated in Poitiers; if Alfonso VI had not been defeated in Zalaca; if America had been discovered by Spanish Mussulmans; if in the Navas of Tolosa Spanish Christianity had fallen; if Joan of Arc had not galvanized French resistance; if Luther had been suppressed at his beginning stages; if a son of Philip II had ruled in England and Flanders; if Don Juan of Austria had married Mary Stuart; if the Spanish armada had really been invincible; if Henry IV had not been assassinated on the rue de la Ferronerie; if the eighteen Brumaire had not put an end to the French Revolution; if Napoleon had not been defeated in Waterloo...

Although there have been writers sufficiently endowed with novelistic inventiveness to turn the sleeve of time inside out —I recall two books on two of the mentioned topics: if Mary Stuart had married Don Juan of Austria and if Napoleon had won in Waterloo— the historian cannot dedicate himself to the entertaining game of the ifs and give free rein to his imagination in the design of a fantastic past different from the one which has brought us to the present. However, we cannot deny the efficacious and, at times, decisive action, in the course of the past, of the amazing outpouring of a brain combined with the fast beat of an audacious heart, or of the fugacious leap of pure chance.

Chance! While writing the last words, my mind has gone across the Atlantic to Avila, the cradle and coffin of my people. Under the Gothic naves of this old Castilian city's church of Saint Thomas, in the marble sculptured by Dominico Fancielli's skilful chisel, with the mortal remains of Prince Don Juan the frustrated history of my homeland is buried.

Because the son of the Catholic Kings very early loved a blonde Flemish girl and because of his illness as a child —undoubtedly curable today— which took to better life the Portuguese grandson of Ferdinand and Isabel, called to be king of the whole Peninsula, the Austrians came to rule in Spain and the Spanish historical course suffered a dismal twist. Can anyone deny that those two terrible reverses changed the history of the West?

The magic wand of chance in a critical moment causes a sudden change of course in the historical progress of the little national ship, hurling it into a storm or fair weather, letting it occupy a leading role in the great navigation of culture or strongly impels it until it crashes against reefs or rocks. Chance, however, does not create the vital force of the nation which is going to triumph or fail. The Austrians governed Spain because of two fortuitous events which might have not occurred. Let us imagine that the magic leap of fate had taken the Habsburgs to Poland, France, England or Portugal; let us imagine Philip II as the exclusive king of any of these kingdoms, and, as with an algebra problem we will be able mathematically to deduce with accuracy an outcome opposed to the historical equation: Philip, Spain and Modern Times.

Meanwhile, Prince Don Juan or Prince Don Miguel and their sons and grandsons would have continued the Catholic Kings' politics, normal projection of the Spanish vital contexture; without the twist that the casual presence of the Austrians imposed on Spain and in the directions and with the rhythm which its own personality would have dictated and today we could face an algebraic historical equation which escapes our fantasy but would undoubtedly have been different from the formula: Philip II, Spain and Modern Times, which chance imposed on us.

Yes; I cannot doubt it: the functional structure or life style of the community, the exceptional men who have ruled its fate and the mysterious and unpredictable chance, have been making and remaking history. Yes; history is the outcome of the interplay of these three forces: the vital contexture of the nation already sketched in prehistory but always dynamic and in perpetual mutation; formed by a complex system of impulses, of curbs of desires, of material necessities and also of ideas, ideals and even of dreams. The leaders of the people, of different stature but always moving between the tensions of the temperamental heritage of the human group in which they were born and raised and of the unique vital balance of its own psychic contexture —spirit, emotions and instincts— and of the fleshy jail which imprisons it. And chance —the Ancients would have said fortune—, blind force, difficult to conceive and explain by those who do not believe in the creative and directed action of life by divine power; and for believers, the marvelous projection of the supreme will of God whose mysterious goals, our human reason, both powerful and miserable at the same time, cannot grasp.

These creative forces of history have acted with unmatched intensity and unmatched efficacy in the course of the centuries. At times, the strength of its vital and cultural heritage has determined the fates of the community, because chance did not decisively occur on the way and because of the latter having gravitated on the spirit of the minority leading national life with exceeding violence in order to crush in it all innovating desire. At times, a genial leader or a group of outstanding men have succeeded in overcoming the crisis caused by the clash between the meanderings of chance and the vital contexture of the nation. At times the functional structure of the people has been so jolted and disturbed by the uncontrollable ray of misfortune, that its leading minorities blinded by its light and paralyzed in their action, have not known how to, nor have been able to straighten the historical direction of the community in the storm.

Those and others of the many and diverse equations which have reflected the changing balance of the creative forces of history —inured riders have unsuccessfully attempted to spur on tired horses and good crews have tried in vain to steer leaking ships, and inversely, vigorous thoroughbreds have been ridden by clumsy horsemen and excellent vessels

steered by inexperienced mates—, those and other various historical equations have made emigrate from one country to another the leaders of the beehive of nations whose life developed under the dome of the same culture. Hegel attributed such mutations to a mysterious and inexplicable shift of the «Spirit» from one country to another. The country where the interplay of the creative forces of history reached in every stage the most perfect balance, in function of the urgent task of those days, has assumed the leadership of the beehive, either because its temperamental heritage was the most propitious to carry out the great venture of the moment, or because it had audacious and capable leaders or because it had received the favorable kiss of chance Shortly, new winds, carriers of new material desires or of new ideas and emotions made the weather wane of history turn and the life style of the community, a leader until then, ceased to be the most called on to carry out the new undertaking; or the fatigue of a nation which to that point had carried the burden of the leadership of historical existence sterilized the womb giving birth to its leading minorities or the great leap of chance torpedoed the common ship — at times in conjunction with the implacable hostility of the earth, a new people assumed the leadership of the group.

It would be easy for me to quote many examples to support this theory if I could possibly tarry in the theoretical prologue of a book which does not pretend to create a philosophy of history but to dive into the past of my Spanish homeland. In it I have found —and whoever wants to read this work will also find— abundant testimonies of the changes suffered by Spain in its posture before the world because of the unmatched tension between the needs of the peoples who have lived under the dome of Western culture and the changing balance: of chance, of the leading groups and of the vital structure of Spanish people.

4. The meaning of History

The historian must necessarily apply with the greatest possible rigor the most strict scientific method in order to know inasmuch as possible —no one can completely overcome the difficulties which the task of historiography places on his way— the authentic course of the past, genetically linked in vertical lines and carefully marked out in the horizontal lines of the great cycles of culture. He must be attentive to the complicated interplay of the trilogy of forces that are making and remaking history in order to attempt —he will never be totally successful in this attempt— to discover the causal curve of historical happening and to understand the men and groups of men who have been impelling the collective life of people and civilizations towards today. And he must carry out the most arduous and daring mission which closes the cycle of his

effort: to use his historical knowledge to contribute to the formation of the historical conscience of his nation and of his time.

We have witnessed a general crisis of values. That crisis has exceeded the already wide boundaries of the world of politics and economics. It has extended to sciences as diverse as physics and psychology. The whole rationalistic and mechanistic concept of nature has been in crisis, a concept devised by modern men to replace the theocentric concept of life prevalent during the Middle Ages. The total belief of the previous generations in physical reason has slowly died. The idea of crisis and of its peculiar profile has been general, with various nuances, among the thinkers of both sides of the Atlantic.

History has not escaped from the winds of the crisis. It has, however, risen and not declined. Completing Dilthey's thought, Ortega y Gasset has written: «Man is nothing but a drama». «Man has no other nature... than history». «Man... finds himself, as truth, as history», and adds undoubtedly arousing the anger of those who, with a phrase of Ortega, we could call «gentlemen of materialism»: «Unproven as the evolutionary theory is, whatever its probability may be, we must say that today's tiger is no more nor less a tiger than that of a thousand years ago: it inaugurates the being a tiger, it is always the first tiger. But the human individual does not begin humanity... he starts from another which is already developed and has reached its culmination: in short he adds to his humanity a way of being a man already formed».

For Ortega man is history and he rightfully replaces physical reason by historical reason and places it as the basis for the comprehension of man and of humanity «Historical reason —he writes— is more rational, more rigorous, more exigent than physical reason... Historical reason... does not accept anything as a mere fact, but it fluidizes every fact in the 'fieri' from which it proceeds».

The ideas of Ortega y Gasset force us to consider the meaning of history from another visual angle than the classical one until yesterday. History, naturally, is not a science of nature, but it is something more than a narrative science. To say that it is one of the sciences of the mind is not to say too much. It has also been included among the sciences of reality with sociology and psychology. If we agree with Dilthey, and with Ortega y Gasset that man is history and if historical reason is going to replace pure reason in the center of the thought of the future, we could well consider history as a science of life.

Ten years ago I rejuvenated an old and very remote simile and I spoke of the river of history. Today the comparison still seems to be a good one to me. Like the rivers in their continuous progress, peoples are opening up a way through plains and mountains; they carve gorges between cut cliffs or they curve to obviate straight peaks; they push forward rapids, tarry in backwaters or leap in torrents; they trace meanders

or travel in straight lines; they receive powerful or insignificant tributaries; they swell with thawing ice or thunderstorms; their waters go down or they hide below the ground; they take on the color of mud or of blood; they bellow or whisper; they are fruitful and they obliterate; they suffer bleedings which are going to water near or distant lands; they serve as borders or as lover's knots; they allow themselves to be sailed by ships, checked by dikes or spanned by bridges; they are eternally the same and different —the same in their riverbed and different through their waters which flow differently every day— and finally, they empty out into domaines of other greater rivers or into the liquid contents that we call seas. I would have no difficulty in quoting examples to prove the reality which this string of metaphors encloses. Any average knower of the river of Spanish history will be able to place events of my homeland's past behind each one of them. By way of example, I will recall how it served as a boundary between the Orient and the West many times, how it was crossed by highways which connected both worlds, distinct but complementary, and how it made huge far away areas of the new continent fruitful.

The river of History! No simile is perfect, but this one is not too risky. Like rivers, peoples progress in a continuous search for the future. They never return to their sources although at times, they bend towards them and at every moment of their progress the travelled road is present. Yes, the course of a river is something alive in which every section constantly acts upon the near-by section, as it, in its turn, has been vivified, stirred, jolted, driven by the preceding section.

The river of History, always alive and dynamic, on a perpetual journey! It is imperative to reject the idea of the spectral and inoperative past. The past is there, behind the present, pushing today at every step, hourly pouring into the channel of the life of every man, of every people, of every continent and of humanity, the troubled or clear, calm or bellowing water, with which fountains, rivulets, brooks, torrents, streamlets and tributaries have been swelling up yesterday's course.

It is necessary to reject the image of history as a science of the dead and of death, as the study of what has been, of what is not and of what cannot be. History is the science of life And the mission of the historian cannot stop with nor limit itself to the study of the past. José Luis Romero rightfully called history double fronted. To the scientific and genetic investigation of the past, the historian must add his intelligent contribution into the forming of the historical conscience of his country and of his time. Arduous and magnificent mission. Contradictory task of the strict methodological rigor of historical science. Undertaking which requires genial gifts possessed by few men. Risky venture which detains most.

This venture involves a sharp grasp of the messages of history. History does not have laws, but it sends messages. As sons of the potentially free

human will, historical events never repeat themselves. Things —including what is thing-like in man— «are», that is to say are static, and man is a pure becoming. To live is not to see reoccurrences, I have said and written many times changing the poetic phrase of Azorín which formerly said the opposite, into a negation.

To live is not to see reoccurrences; historical events never repeat themselves but men and peoples do not react every day nor every generation nor every century; hyperbolically we could say that they never react in an absolutely new way without any precedent, in an unsuspected and unsuspicious way before the various problems which life presents to them.

Besides all that separates the amorous theoretics of the Andalusian Mussulman from ours, Ortega y Gasset has pointed out more than a few coincidences Some of the similarities between the Cordova of Ibn Hazm and today's Spain can be founded, according to Ortega, upon the limitation «of the keyboard of human gestures which our intimacy finds at its disposal to express itself». But various of those and of other relationships that could be quoted cannot be attributed to such a limitation. Is it not possible to suspect, completing the thesis of Ortega, that, inversely, in the keyboard of signs wich man uses to express his intimacy, we have at times selected different harmonies to give life to the same feelings?

Identity of reactions before the tempestuous course of life throughout history? No, not even within the same historical community. However, I am not sure if the possibilities of man and of peoples before the series of vital situations —not infinite either— in which they can find themselves, are unlimited, and I invite whoever does not share this doubt to go over the rupestrian paintings of the Spanish Levant, undoubtedly previous to the neolithic, because in them will be found examples of human reactions —those ancient forefathers already painted in execution— similar to those shown by other men more modern in the course of time.

Therefore, if specific actions of men do not repeat themselves, men have followed more than once —and peoples many more times— historical processes not extremely different, upon encountering cultural and vital problems not too dissimilar. Before those analogies neither frequent nor rare, how not to heed the echoes of the past?

The historical symphonies of men and nations had to be infinitely different and never related; and it will always be necessary to count on history. Since history is there pushing us towards tomorrow, it is barbarian and fatal to prescind from its impulses, to refuse to know the roads that it offers to us, to continue to contradict its precepts or messages, to attempt to break the bonds that unite us with it.

I have mentioned before Croce's statement «all history is contemporary history». This statement should be accepted not with the meaning which its author gives it but with a different one. «All history is contemporary

history» inasmuch as there is in it something to learn and to grasp for the life of our own time.

Castro is right in stating that facts are not history. After having emerged from the womb of mysterious pre-history —may I be forgiven the repetition of the metaphor— each people live their lives very slowy in the light of history. Very slowly? No, at the same speed as in other unknown centuries of their millenary gestation: but since they live before our eyes, as we look at their historical progress we receive a strange impression of slowness and, as we appreciate the details of their continuous progress, we lose or cannot admire the web of the matter; we grasp the details which appear before our amazed eyes and we miss the thread of its great progress. In history, we cannot see the forest for the trees. Facts which are not history, as Américo Castro rightfully declares, send us historical messages.

Messages of history! Yes, physico-mathematical sciences are governed by laws, history sends messages. The laws of nature are coercive; historical messages are not so, but they are unavoidable. Man can unheed the messages of history, but at his own cost and risk, suffering a traumatism no less intense than if he attempts to violate the laws of nature. Man can defy physical laws gambling with his health or his life. Man believes he can mock and he has usually mocked the messages of history —it has been said that historical experience is of no use—, but history always avenges itself from such a mockery. And as the latter is always collective, the traumatism which it causes reaches not only those guilty of scorn or oblivion but the innocent masses of a whole people, of the neighboring people and even of humanity. What man of these days, witness of the tragedy of these past few years, can doubt the validity of these statements?

Once again history directing life? Yes, in spite of all the reasonings of those who deny it such a mission and all their scornful anathemas against those of us who believe in it, history continues today as yesterday, to send us numerous messages whose contempt, yesterday as today, has caused and does cause great evils.

Messages of history! Yes; it will not work to smile before this group of words. The first one, the essential one, the one that comes out from all the pages of history, at every moment and in every kind of tone, the easiest one to grasp, the clearest one, the one that does not need a key because it transmits itself equally in all languages and to all men, as ingenuous as it is rigorous and scorned, is that of the caducity and the eternal change of what is historical, that of the fickle renovation of what is human.

Message of caducity and of perpetual renovation of what is human in its double aspect: of the stiffening and of the death of all that stagnates and tarries and remains; a continuous blossoming of new philosophical and scientific systems, of new values and ideals, of new forms of sensibility, of new vital desires, of new economic, social, and political organizations...

Message full of ineludible and unavoidable precepts that we will attempt to unheed, but which in the end will impose themselves strongly, inexorably, upon the human, rebellious or inattentive will.

It is a vain and fatal desire to wish to maintain the world of ideas, regimes, institutions, and systems immovable from one minute of history. Fatal because if at the price of extraordinary efforts the life of one instant could be prolonged the people or the culture thus detained in their historical change would hopelessly perish as they has always perished in the end, in similar cases, in the course of the past. Besides, the attempt to detain what is uncontrollable is always in vain: the change, the mutation, the birth and the death of social classes, of economic ways, of political systems, of ideals and of ideas.

The past of the West offers many dramatic examples of the failure of the most prolonged efforts to detain the river of history. In vain did the kings of the early Middle Ages attempt to contain the ascensional movement of the aristocracy in their state; feudalism overpowered them. In vain did the feudal lords try to prevent the liberation and organization of the bourgeoisie in the cities: they had to compromise with it. In vain did the nobility struggle vigorously and forcedly to curb the biological growth of the absolute monarchies; in the end it became courtier. In vain did the princes try to curb the ideological and political impetus of liberalism; they were defeated by it. In vain did aristocracies, bourgeoisies, tyrants and fox hounds wish to smother the political, social, and economic changes of the times; in the end they too will be defeated. In vain tomorrow, will regimes which today believe to possess a lasting future attempt to establish systems which they consider as the goal of the material aspirations for equality of men; from their midst will come, as ever since the most remote past and as in the most remote future, new social classes, new political institutions, new economic forms and new philosophical systems.

It is a vain and fatal desire to insist on not heeding this message of history. Men go through history so rapidly and we are generally so near-sighted to see its distant panoramas, that at times we imagine that we have succeeded in winning the battle against the eternal change of time. Skirmishes and fleeting victories. The river of history flows and flows always and never goes back to its source, although at times it bends its course in the impossible search for its origin. Ingenuous truism? Maybe so, but no one listens. The organizers of any new ideological, social, economic or political structure believe they own the world until the end of times. And even thinkers of such excellence as Américo Castro have recommended to the Spaniards to persist in their vital contexture of past years.

Messages from history! There is the one, bewitching but not always successful in deserving our attention, which proclaims to us the potentiality of the forces of the spirit, with transcendental influence even in the economy.

During the Middle Ages, people from all parts of Europe went to visit the supposed or authentic grave of St. James in Compostela. Thousands of princes, knights, bourgeois, jongleurs, priests abandoned their homes to travel thousands of miles through unsure and difficult roads, they crossed mountains and rivers, they went through friendly and inhospitable lands, suffered snows, rains, sun, and they lodged where chance gave them shelter. Dressed in the humble clothes of the pilgrim, they suffered pains and fatigue in order to obtain the pardon of their sins, to ask for graces or to give thanks for favors. Religious fervor impelled them as far as Compostela. Nevertheless, those psychic forces gave an abundance of fruits in the literary and artistic life, in the political and social organization and even in the economy of Galicia, Spain, and of the West.

To retrieve Christ's tomb from Islam's dominion the Crusades were organized Spiritual impulses set armies and armadas in motion. Thousands of men went to fight and to die for a pure idea: to render homage to the Son of the Most High. Few historical processes in the course of the past have had more tremendous consequences on the economic, political and social life of old Europe.

It has always been so in the past, it is so today, and it will be so tomorrow; in spite of the profound scorn by the forces of the spirit of the world which agonizes and even more of the one which is being born, only concerned about supposed economic paradises and about the material desires of men. There is no lost spiritual effort, not even the «dark night» of Saint John of the Cross can be neglected as inoperative in the course of the constant flow of life and of history. Men will be able to unheed that precise message of the potentiality of the forces of the spirit but sooner or later they will understant their error. Sooner? Later? No, today, this very day, they should realize what is vain and fatal in their scorn for this historical message, in comparing the enormous uneveness which separates the dominion of nature by man from the limited moral dominion that the latter has managed to have over himself and in facing the incalculable consequences of this lack of balance upon the future and the peoples.

Messages from history! Multiple messages, clear m..... sharp messages, continuous and constant messages, not only pragmatic but fatal at times, frequently ineludible without harm for the great masses of men. Messages still poorly known or ignored. History, leader of life! History is there behind us, in us, as water in the river impelling us towards the future. We will be able to unheed or not carry out its messages, but with danger for the life of the peoples and even of humanity.

Arduous and magnificent task of the historian! Dangerous adventure which detains most. Next to the rigorously scientific investigation of yesterday, next to the intelligent diving into the depths of the events in order to understand men and peoples, next to the study of its genetic curves according to the dictates of the most exigent historical reason, next to the diligent investigation of the changing balance of the creative forces of

history, the dramatic duty weighs on the historian: that of listening with a sharp ear to the messages that the history which he investigates, sends to him. In none of these various adventures will he be able to reach perfection because in all of them too many subjective filters go between the historian and the authentic reality of the past. Not even before a work of art integrally preserved «in situ», nor before the municipal law preserved until today on its original parchment, will he be able to grasp, without the danger of falling into error the emotions and the ideals which they caused in his contemporaries. His problematic knowledge of the past suffices —the subjective filters of historical knowledge, although they make it difficult, do not make the accuracy in the understanding of the image which the quicksilver of the mirror of history gives us impossible— so that the historian can accomplish the third and most arduous of his four adventures, because the messages of history do not emerge from the detail of the events of the past but from the projection of their great processes, and do not require a previous moral judgment which would have to be absolutely subjective, but the intelligent reception of its pragmatic ways, which sociologists and politicians then change into operative techniques of practical action, according to the realities of the life of the moment..

Historians must recover their past standing rooting the historical meaning in the leaders of the nations, for which it must be inculcated in the whole people from whom they come by the magic of chance most of the time. It pertains to the historian to grasp the messages of history and to divulge a series of ideas which proceed from them. Nothings is indelible and permanent in what is human; all the social, economic and political regimes are transitory and perishable; free co-living has always been fruitful in the end and intolerance and violence have been toxic; all human creation has been the final fruit of a series of attempts and approximations, of the slow and contradictory efforts of all our ancestors and of the collaboration of very different peoples; there are no nations of masters and there is not one which by itself can carry the inmense burden of the leadership of history; all the advances of civilization are supported by certain virtues and imply concrete duties and can one day get lost, evaporate, and be annihilated; other cultures have succumbed under the weight of their faults; it is dangerous to jump into the darkness of history: the steps back and the vertical falls and the return to dark or somber periods are possible; the people who have wanted too much have died victims of their ambition and of their pride; the birth of cultural and vital new ideas is always painful and dramatic in history; there is no lost intellectual effort and the human spirit needs a moral climate of freedom in order to create; the reciprocal interference of the spiritual projections of man and of his material desires is continuous and fruitful; the progress toward the freedom and the dignity of the greatest human masses has never been interrupted: it even continued under the most despotic ancient political regimes and continues also under

the tyrannies of these days, because one cannot confuse the rights of the leading minorities of the peoples of the world with those of all the men on earth.

Man and history come from very far and are going very far. The Hegelian idea of the proximate combination of the great historical process has been convicted of error by contemporary reality. But the invalidity of the idea of indefinite progress has not been demonstrated. It was thought that the goal of history was there, within reach, and a bright and near tomorrow was dreamed of. That tomorrow has meant an enormous step back in the freedom and dignity of the man of the West or, better still, of the minorities of men of the West who dominated the peoples by their techniques or their wealth and who exploited the world with them as instruments.

Before, I have pointed out how in the progress through the spiral of history man has achieved various successes, either through the road of knowledge and dominion of nature, or by the path of knowledge and dominion of himself and that creative stages have followed periods of diffusion through the world of the cultural fruits obtained by the people then leaders of the historical becoming.

The freedom of spirit and the juridical order based on the respect for human dignity enjoyed by more or less numerous men of the West have gone backwards. Science and technique have kept on realizing prodigious advances, culture and its vital projections have reached the masses and have expanded from the Western world to areas exploited by very few people till now; and these subjugated multitudes in many different countries on earth began to see the hope of a freer, more worthy and more just tomorrow.

In his great historical adventure, man, not identifiable with those of us in the West who had reached the past lost today, has continued along his magnificent road. There will be many different creative stages following one another. Technical progress will be followed by those which tend to man's self-dominion. Freedom and human dignity will be restored in a hierarchy not yet attained, and many groups of men who until now have not even been able to dream of reaching them, will indeed enjoy them.

«History as a deed of freedom», we could say with Croce but at least annotating such a concept with Augustinian or Christian ideas. History as a deed of freedom —granted to man by his Creator— under the inscrutable and watchful will of the Most High— Unamuno defined history metaphorically as a dream of God —through a weary crawling in spiral— human progress has never gone in a straight line, —delayed from time to time by great crises and downfalls —man has always progressed this way—, towards a distant kingdom of God on earth, which, will not naturally imply a general enjoyment of imaginary economic paradises, but a free and worthy life,

victorious over nature, but also over man himself, according to the equality and fraternity of all men, willed by divine decree «a natura» and in permanent preparation for the life after death. History as a deed of freedom and freedom as a deed of history; freedom here below; under the Spirit of God of whom Saint Paul spoke, and above, in the full freedom of the afterworld.

Who will dare to deny that this process will take millenniums? Who will dare to maintain that the center of history will move from Europe? Will Christianity return to the catacombs as Jesus foresaw (Luke 18:8) perhaps when He doubted that there would be faith on earth upon His return? We, historians, are not vulgar impostors capable of guessing the future from the lines of the hands of people. But in spite of the phantasmagoric court of monstruous violence which the political and war-like superstructure of history discloses and the evident steps backward and the downfalls which are recorded in the course of the past, we cannot doubt that on the whole, humanity has greatly progressed on the road to the mastery of human life by reason and towards the freedom of an always increasing number of people, notwithstanding, the numerous crises of people and cultures and the numerous degradations to stages of barbarianism and bestiality of some human groups in the course of time. In spite of all the justified pessimism of the Western men —many more pages could be written— it would be out of place here —as an answer to those who forget that the cases of delay, going backward or downfall have always been regional and partial and to those who deny the reality of the common human progress and consider it philosophically impossible. Historical thought can and must contribute to the affirmation of faith in the reality of progress. It can and must moreover collaborate in its realization, enlightening the collective conscience of the people in a way that the philosophers, sociologists, politicians and moralists cannot do, because only historical thought can be rooted in the solid ground of the millenary human experience. Only history can be backed not by mere theoretical constructions but by the vivid example of the very events of men.

If history were to lack meaning and were a mere unfortunate zigzagging of man through time and space on a drifting vessel; if it were a pure adventure novel with no other law than that of the triumph of ambition and force and no other goal than that of achieving an ingenuous earthly well being, it would deserve the contempt wich it finds today and even the derogatory judgement which Castro passes on it in saying that at most it is a secondary literary genre. History is a form of knowledge philosophically justified, an original and autonomous knowledge which has or should have fruitful projections in the becoming of the peoples of mankind.

I do not aspire for my theory of history to gain the assent of historians, but it is mine, and if I have taken time in explaining it, it is because it has directed the writing of this daring attempt to interpret Spain's life.

CHAPTER II

LAND AND MAN IN SPAIN

Repeated explanations free me from any possible accusation of enlisting in any school following any kind of historical determinism. They will dispense me from justifying my refusal to consider the land as an essential mover of history. In studying the motivating forces of historical happening, I have repeatedly recorded my belief in the action of the ground on the molding of the temperamental heritage of the peoples during their slow gestation in the womb of the remote prehistory and in the prolongation or mutation of this vital contexture in the course of history. The land did not determine the course of the past, but how to deny the fact that it contributed to its formation along with other dynamic factors of human becoming?

The student who would intend to investigate the relationship between the land and man in Spain would have a very ample range of questions before him. I can barely sketch them here but it is impossible to attempt to understand the Spanish past without looking into the horizons that these relationships offer to us; horizons, because these relationships involve many different aspects.

It is not permissible to omit the notation of the influence of the geographical milieu on Spanish history. Geography has influenced the past of any country in different ways. It made its cultural contacts easy or difficult by granting it insular or peninsular situation or by enclosing it in the center of an extensive continent; by situating it on the shores of an easily navigated sea or on the shores of a sea navigable only a few times a year. —Braudel recorded differences of that nature which separate the Aegean from the Western Mediterranean—; by placing it in the center of the fruitful currents of spiritual life or of the economic life of each historical time or by placing it far away from them. It has favored the easy unfolding of its national energies through the gift of a fertile and rich soil, a favorable climate, easy and inexpensive communications, or it has forced it to waste those energies in the hard struggle with a poor and rugged land, intemperate climate, mountainous and difficult roads or in the struggle against a land of great contrasts, or cut by

mountain ranges which forces pasturing and nomadism and favors banditry. It has rendered the development of the industrial life of the nation easy or difficult with the abundance or lack of the raw material necessary for it. It has moved the spirit to concentrate upon itself or it has driven it to journeys towards the exterior world. And through other series of circumstances and very different processes it has prompted or disturbed the forming of one or another vital contexture.

The refusal to see in the course of the past the pure action of necessities and material desires is fruitful; but the *modus operandi* of any people cannot have matured in a mere world of ideas apart from any contact with the eternal tyranny of living. In the gigantic interweaving of actions and reactions, which is history, the spiritual and material forces have constantly influenced one another. The temperamental contexture of a community is formed in the battle with the environment and from it, it receives lasting impressions and it influences in the intensive or unintelligent use of the conditions offered by the environment in function of the many times undeniable permanent action of the environment on the biological articulation of the active members of the community.

At times, the land compensates a people's disfavors by favors, and vice versa.

The wealth of the Spanish subsoil made Spain enter into history. The peninsular copper, tin and silver attracted Oriental navigators to the coasts of the Spanish *Finis Terrae.* The fact that Spain was at the very far West was overcome by the greed for our minerals in people whose life was already occurring in the light of history. And since then, one of the poles of the vital and cultural axes of the ancient world was leaning on Spanish beaches.

And if the copper of the first Spanish Ebro —of the Red River— the Portuguese and Galician tin and the silver of Tharsis and Mastia —of Andalusia and of the Southwest— won for Spain a place in history coinciding with the ascending moment of culture in the oriental basin of the Mediterranean, the Asturian gold and the Cantabrian iron later determined the incorporation of the North of Spain into the Roman Empire at the very moment of its definitive structuring. In the extreme West the *homo hispanus* was, therefore, incorporated into the course of the life and of the ancient cultures in virtue of its land, of the same land which had kept it apart from them. Later that land was going to put lead in the wings of the Spanish eagle on its flight towards the heavens.

The extraordinary demographic growth of what came to be the capital of the world at the beginning of our Era and the necessities which the macrocephaly of Rome caused, maintained the communication between the Spaniard and the imperial metropolis. Its wheat, its oil and the wealth of its mines, along with the martial roughness which the North gave to the Cantabrians and the Asturians, continued to overcome the extreme Western position of Spain and facilitated the growing unfolding of the spiritual

life of peninsular men. The fall of Rome, first by the displacement and the division of the capitals of the Empire, and then by the ruin of the latter, once again relegated Spain to the *Finis Terrae.* The off-center situation of the land inhabited by the *homo hispanus* became stronger later when Western culture became territorialized and the weight of Western history went Northward and even more when Al-Andalus entered into the historical orbit of Islam whose spiritual center was in the Orient. This change greatly influenced the historical life of Spain until 1492, because the ideological incentives of the great spiritual centers of the time arrived here slowly and from afar and it could not actively and opportunely collaborate in any of the great cultural processes of the East or of the West.

In 1492, the great change of course in the historical navigation of the West which the discovery of America by Castilian vessels signified, suddenly changed the geographical situation of Spain in the world. By finding itself at the extreme West of inhabited land it came to occupy a new strategic situation, overwhelmingly favorable to be able to offer to Europe the gift of a new continent, to bring to this side of the Atlantic the ancient culture and to occupy a position of hegemony in the world.

Neither during the Roman conquest, nor during the rule of Rome, nor throughout the Middle Ages, nor in the course of Modern times, did the land decide —obviously— the destiny of Spain, but no historian will be able to scrutinize the Spanish enigma while ignoring the multi-faceted action of the national terrain on Spanish history.

Let us strip the theme of man and land of rhetorics. The delights of Spanish country life were literary topics for those who were not farmers and did not have to struggle with pain and anguish; literary topics for those who only sought pleasurable rest from their urban work in the country or, better still, comfort for their court spites. Let us overcome the warm, pure, nostalgic, passionate devotion which, in exile, binds us to the Spanish motherland; that devotion which tortures us with anguish and makes us send arrows of pain and of love towards the Spanish land across the Atlantic. Let us strip the theme of man and land of rhetorics and overcome this ardent and passionate propensity for the Spanish land in order to confront it with serene eyes. At the risk of being excommunicated as a materialist, I will have to point out that in the ruggedness and poverty of that land and in the hardness and harshness of the life it has imposed on those who have lived by tilling it, some of the roots of the vital Spanish contexture are buried.

* * *

The *laudes Hispaniae* which go from Mela and Pliny to Saint Isidore and Alfonso the Learned... could mislead us about the wealth of the Spanish soil. Their words distort reality. To the real appreciation of the agrarian fertility and of the mining wealth of some zones of the Peninsula

by Mediterranean people from lands no richer than Spain —I refer to Braudel's magnificent book— are added the foolish adulation of emperors of Spanish origin, or the refined patriotic love of some Spaniards. The praises devoted to the latter by Greek and Latin writers seem more founded, praises of men who had to struggle with the Spanish land.

Two thousand years ago in his *Geografía* II, 1,1 of the Peninsula Strabo said: «For the most part it is not habitable as it is covered by mountains, forests and with plains with very poor soil and unevenly watered».

It is well known that only about 40 % of the Spanish soil is arable; the rest being mountainous or barren lands. The cruel winters and the burning summers of many regions of Spain, its uneven and uncertain rains, the limited fertility of the majority of its soil, the meagerness of its customary harvests not compensated by the rare good years and the growing action of the lords sucking the crops up along the centuries —caused not only by history but by geopraphy since it is not easy for seignioralty to appear in poor and dry lands—, have hardened the Spanish peasants forced to suffer the inclemency and misfortunes during millenniums, and have moved them to abandon their fields in search of fortune. Severe, violent, cruel! How could they be gentle and sensitive when they had to fight against the sky, the land, their lords and the companions of their disgrace, year after year, generation after generation, one century after another? The slightest hesitation and laziness, then poverty. A bit of leisure in the more than sober daily existence and likewise, poverty. A few bad years, untimely frosts, dry spells, thunderstorms... again, poverty. An inclement God, an unmerciful lord and usury immediately shackling the poor Castilian peasant impelling him to break his shackles through violence, to run away from his payments, and to seek his daily bread further in more fertile lands, in the city, in war or in life outside the law.

Land higher than 500 m.

Land higher than 1000 m.

Idlers, vagabonds, rogues, bandits! It is easy to accuse them, but not difficult to justify them.

The economic infrastructure of Spain has not been and is not favorable to an easy life for the Spaniards. Spain is a castle built on rocks: «By whatever shore you enter Spain —Unamuno writes— the terrain soon begins to appear accidented; then you enter an intricacy of mountains, gorges, ravines and you finally arrive after climbing to the central plateau crossed by bare mountain ranges formed by the great basins of its great rivers».

Geography supports his statement and makes it even more gloomy. The land starts to get rugged within less than twenty kilometers from the coast where usually high mountain ranges rise, rarely accessible and at times quite elevated. Access to the Peninsula is relatively easy only from the Portuguese Atlantic coasts and even from there the climb to the plateau is not easy. The plateau is far from being flat. The profile of any vertical cut of the Spanish soil is more eloquent than any description. Even the Ebro depression finds itself strangulated in the vicinity of the Mediterranean.

On the whole and apart from Switzerland, the Peninsula is the highest land of Europe. 24.31 % of the Spanish land is between 1.000 and 2.000 meters high and some 41.92 % between 500 and 1.000 meters above sea level. The land is not very fertile; it contains 10 % bare rocks; 35 % of terrains very unproductive because of their excessive altitude, their extreme aridity or their poor composition; 45 % of averagely arable land, with little water or not very good soil and only 10 % of the land is really fertile.

The thermic irregularities of the greater part of Spain are tremendous; they frequently exceed 50 degrees centigrade between the annual extremes, sometimes even more. In the whole of Spain the temperature differences reach 73 °C.

Rains are rare in dry Spain which includes two-thirds of the national land and since the radiation of the sun is great, the aridity becomes worse with time. That zone comprises 314.084 square kilometers. In 247.702 of them there is less than 500 millimeters of rain per year and in most of the same area less than 400 In Zamora and Saragossa there is less than 300, 200 in Monegros and 196 in Cabo de Palo. Compare these figures with the 800 millimeters of average rain in France. The precipitations are not regular; months elapse without rain and when they come they are sudden and torrential, damaging the land and cutting the rocks. The rainy area of Spain coincides mostly with the mountainous region of Cantabria and the Pyrenees.

Spain is, with Hungary, the only country of Europe with steppes which make up 7 % of the country, in the Mancha, in the depression of the Ebro River, in some enclaves of Andalusia, on the Southeast coast.

The tormented vertical configuration of Spain makes the Spanish rivers

either very short or very leaping and at times short and torrential at the same time. The scarcity of rains, their intermittence, their frequent torrential nature and the strong solar evaporation make the course of the rivers very irregular and not very abundant. The low water marks of our rivers are tremendous, their gauging very uneven and the quantity of water poured into the sea very limited. The Loire, a little longer than the Tagus, pours three times more water into the ocean. The difference between the highs and the lows of the Guadalquivir varies between 1 and 1.000; in Cordova, for example it goes from 12 m^3 per second to 7.000 and ordinarily does not go beyond 64. In Paris the Seine has an average volume of 134 m^3 per second and varies between 75 and 1875. Legendre, with no hostility towards Spain, has said that without abusing geographical terminology, one cannot say that there are rivers in the Peninsula. In fact, only the Guadalquivir is navigable until Seville. The abrupt configuration of the country often makes the communication of those rivers through channels impossible and most of them can be crossed without getting one's feet wet in the Summer.

Foreign writers of the past and of now who have travelled through Spain have frequently spoken of the Spanish desert. Being used to the green land of a Europe covered with meadows and abundant forests, they have hypertrophied a thankless reality: the reality of the severe struggle of man and the land in our homeland. Spaniards have been working it with great hardship for millenniums and they have lived more poorly every time, but the land in turn was becoming poorer troughout the centuries because of the disastrous history of its sons, especially from 722 on. All of the land became a border between Moors and Christians and suffered havocs and fires which deprived it of the forests which covered it before.

Spaniards ¿idlers, vagabonds, rogues, bandits? It is easy to accuse them, not difficult to justify them.

Due to the lack of water, in most of the land occupied by the Christians the intensive growing of vegetables and fruits was impossible until well into the 18th century and it is still that way in most of Spain today. Between the various stages of farming in cereal lands the Castilian peasant was always idly waiting the following days with «anxious eyes if the rain tarried», or as in the Gospel parable, he had to come to the village square to wait, in the sun, for someone who might hire him, since the very early day when there were many men without land because of the unfortunate changes of History. What efforts have been necessary to eke out meager crops from the millions of furrows of the arid and worn lands of the two Castiles, of Estremadura or of Aragón, sometimes tilled with human shoulders at the plow to replace the ox, the muler or the ass which they had to sell and which they had not been able to rent! And then the rent and what is even worse, usury, the fierce and barbarian usury. Yesterday and for centuries, the Jew, at 100 % annually and sometimes 12 % weekly. Whoever has known how implacable was the goad of the usurer in today's

Castile will easily understand the growing rage of the Castilians of the late Middle Ages against the Hebrews first and against the *marranos* * or converts later, against the latter who, besides draining their wealth through feigned conversions were rising as new Christians —at the service of contemporary Spanish usurers— in the government of the kingdom, of their cities and of their fields.

Agriculture was never valued as the needs for food and therefore the vital needs of the country required Neither the governing peninsular men of the Middle Ages, nor the Catholic Kings, nor the Austrians devoted a careful and zealous attention to it. They especially cared for the wool-producing sheep because due to the dryness and barrenness of the greater part of the country, the lack of rain and the poverty of its pastures, the development of bovine cattle was not possible except on the Atlantic coast. But the drought which the burning sun caused in many areas during the summer and the snows which covered others during the winters made the transhumance of the flocks necessary on a large scale whit the logical need of greater stretches of land for few sheep, the necessary reduction of the possibilities of life for country people and the formation of a unique vital contexture; because the shepherd, the transhumant one especially, leads a very peculiar life ataken out of a home-centered life, unsed to the hard working days, soon seeking to go to strange lands, attracted by the annual change of horizons and with the mind very ready and hoping, to jump toward an unearthly beyond, under the eye of God, in his slow pilgrimage with his flocks from the plains to the summits.

He who could escape from the burden of the rough, hard and miserable life of the village, emigrated in search of the Southern lands which, his imagination, driven by chronic hunger, converted into flower gardens, but which were not so. Or he entered into the city life burdened by his ignorance of any work other than tilling the fields or caring for flocks and hoped in vain that the doors of urban work would open up for him. In vain, because the local industry did not need many hands: the Jews, the merchants and the bankers had not supported it —not even in Catalonia according to Murrúa y Villarosa; and because the Christian, the Moors and the Jews were more than sufficient to carry out its tasks. In vain, because trading and business required training and capitals which only the Jews possessed and which the miserable peasant could never dream of having.

As long as there were lands to populate, the migratory flood had a channel through which to go, but once the Reconquest was over, the fugitives from the country came to increase the ranks of the urban proletariat without work. Forced idleness —hunger in the country and hunger in the city— impelled them to enter the servive of some knight —many times, poor too—, drove them to follow in the heroic footsteps of their ancestors who were both workers and warriors, influencing them to enter into religion

---

* Marrano = pig. Derogatory way to refer to the Jews who had converted to Christianity while they were remaining faithful to Judaism.

or impelling them to roam through the world in a roguish existence in flight for fear of punishment. Soldiers, monks, rogues, servants were the products more than of any strange psychic and biological combination, more than of any symbiosis or cultural or vital graft of the people of Castile, they were the products of that severe and rugged struggle with the earth and with man —usurer, lord, foreman or brother in misery— of the Castilian peasant.

Those who did not escape from the land and remained tied to it by habit or lack of audacity, and most of those who had found refuge in the urban centers —including those who had entered the service of a knight— if they had not been able to find refuge in a convent were living a living death. «Spain or an excessive way to live» has been wrongly written. Spain or a miserable existence, would be a better way of putting it. An existence with a diet bordering on hunger.

The history of the millenary Spanish undernourishment is still to be done. Ordinarily, on this earth which is supposed to have been deified by the Spaniards, many of them have not been able to eat what the strictest contemporary rationing has enabled the English or the French people to bring to their tables. Spanish frugality! Yes, but necesary frugality. «They hang by force». The Spaniard of whom Pliny said that he conquered the Gaul «corporum humanorum duritia» and of whom Pompey wrote: «dura omnibus et adstricta parsimonia», was frugal and strong because he could no be otherwise since the land never allowed him to satisfy his desires. Because Gaul's soil was much more generous with the Gallic man, the Greek and Roman authors give a very diferent image of it. The lasting difference between the lands on both sides of the Pyrenees has prolonged in time this millenary diversity. Thus, at times, rise and survive the poorly named historical constants.

If only about 40 % of the Spanish land is arable, the French can use very close to 90 % of theirs. To build 15.000 kilometers of Spanish railroads more dynamite has been necessary than to build the 75.000 kilometers of French railroads. As a Spaniard, many years a resident on the other side of the Pyrenees, has observed, it is as difficult in Spain to find wood to make a bonfire and so easy to find a stone with which to scare a dog away as it is easy in France to find the wood and difficult to find the stone, to that extent is the contrast between the fertility and the ruggedness of the terrains of those two countries manifest. As in the greater part of the Mediterranean basin, in the greater part of Spain, as Braudel has just pointed out, «the soil dies when it is not protected by farming; the desert lies in ambush for the tillable land and once conquered by it it does not let go of it voluntarily».

The Dominican, who in the days of Philip II compiled in Seville a «Floret of anecdotes and various items» —Sánchez Cantón has edited it— writes: «The Italians say that the Spaniards do not risk much when they risk their lives; it is so bad that when they lose it they do not lose much, because they walk barefoot, naked and mistreated; as for the Italians, they

are well dressed, rich (with) beautiful women, and for that reason they fear the loss of life.» Any comment is superfluous.

Frugality? We could say misery without hyperbole. Misery for most. Misery which at times reached hunger. «Guts carry the feet» says an old proverb which Cervantes puts on Sancho's lips. The empty stomach also influences the head's stirring. «Man does live on bread alone.» Yes but he does not live without bread. Celestina considered hunger as a great sharpener of the wits. Does it also sharpen genius, that is to say the creative intellectual power? How many thousands and thousands of Spaniards have been lost and are lost for the great task of giving birth to ideas because hunger has deprived them of the vital luxury necessary to devote oneself to the undertakings of the spirit? It is obvious that without hunger pangs we Spaniards would not have written many decisive pages of our history.

It would naturally be stupid to explain Spain's history by the Spaniards' misery but it would not be less stupid to prescind from this misery in looking for the key to the Spanish vital contexture, from the misery wich the poverty of the land in function of its climate and its geographical situation in the world —let it be said that Spain has suffered throughout history of the terrible evil of its extreme western situation— imposed upon millions and millions of Spaniards through the centuries.

Some day the history of hunger in Spain should be written; a great topic for a scholar. The poverty of the land drove the Portuguese people against the rich cities of Andalusia and probably the Cantabrians —they were eating flour from acorns— against their Southern neighbors; disputes which occasioned the conquest of these Spanish people by Rome. Strabo III,3,6 wrote: «The origin of such anarchy is in the mountainous tribes, living on a poor soil and lacking in what is most necessary, naturally wished the goods of others, since these in turn had to abandon their own work to reject them, they had to change the care of their fields to militiamen; consequently the land not only ceased to produce even the fruits which grew spontaneously, but it became populated by thieves».

Some decades after the Mussulman conquest, from 748 to 753, Spain suffered cruel and long years of famine. The Arabic chronicles and histories —the Ajbar Machmua's, Al-Bayan al-Mugrib...— have preserved items about those years which they call «years of the Barbate» because in the mouth of that river many people set sail for Africa in search of more benign lands. That famine contributed to paralyze the Islamic expansion in Europe and the depopulation of the valley of the Duero decisive in the destiny of Western Christianity.

Arabic annals and chronicles continue to record numerous years of famine in Mussulman Spain and as soon as they begin to enter into detail, the annals of the Christian kingdoms also give frequent informations about the great famines. «And there was hunger in the land», the *Anales Toledanos* (Toledan Annals) say referring to the year 1192. «Great was the famine on the land», they repeat in 1207. «And people were dying of hunger... and

the famine in the kingdom was severe until the summer... and they were eating the animals and the dogs and the cats and the boys that they could steal», they say in 1213. The *Cronicón de Cardeña* (Chronicle of Cardeña) records the famine of 1258. The *Cronicón Conimbricense* (Coimbra Chronicle) relates that in 1333 so many died of hunger that they were falling in the streets and there was no room in the churches to bury them, and for that reason they were buried outside it in groups of six. «And this year was very bad and worse throughout Castile and Galicia», adds the writer Whoever studies hunger in Spain in the Middle Ages will be able to prove how peninsular people often became attached to the service of a lord.

Professor Ibarra in studying «The problem of cereals in Spain during the rule of the Catholic Kings», has gathered data on the crops of some years at the end of the 15th century and beginnings of the 16th. They were only good in 1489 and in 1508-1509.

In 1521 hunger made people die in the streets and animals in the fields in Andalusia; the Venetian Navagero referred to the catastrophy and added that the country was left deserted.

Philip II, then prince and heir, in writing a dramatic letter to his father pushing him to ask for new taxes from the *Cortes* (Spanish Parliament) already saw in 1545, as many of us see today, the tremendous misery of the towns which were part of the Crown of Castile and as is obvious to us today, in this letter, now famous, stood out the enormous difference of wealth between Spain and France. Here are his words: «The common people having to pay tribute are reduced to such calamity and misery that many of them are naked without having anything with which to cover themselves, and the damage is so universal that this poverty does not only reach the vassals of your majesty but it is even greater in those of the lords who cannot pay them, nor have anything and the jails are full, and all are going to be lost.» «The comparison you make —he says later, answering Charles V— of the tribute that the kingdom of France has done to its king, being consumed with friends and enemies, is not the same in all the kingdoms because the abundance of that kingdom is so great that it can bear it, the barrenness of those kingdoms is well-known to your majesty, and because of one bad year the people are left so poor that they cannot raise their heads in many years.».

Because Philip stayed on in Flanders preoccupied by Spanish misery, his correspondent Francisco de Osorio kept him informed in detail, from Valladolid, about the food situation of his kingdoms in a series of letters dated in 1559. This phrase of Guzmán de Alfarache about the hunger coming up from Andalusia is well known. And many other testimonies of the poverty of the peninsular men could be added on.

In the eighteenth century Feijóo wrote about the peasants of Galicia, Asturias and the mountains of León: «Four rags cover them up, or better said that because of the many holes, uncover them. Their dwellings are as shattered as their clothings so that the wind and the rains penetrate them.

Their food is a little bit of black bread accompanied either by some kind of milk or some vile vegetable, but all in such small quantity that there are some who barely get up from the table satisfied once in life. Added to these miseries a continuous extremely rugged physical work from dawn to nightfall. Let anyone consider if the life of those miserable workers is not more distressing than that of the delinquents which Justice places in galleys.»

Who can agree with the phrase about Spaniards as prisoners of their land if we give a sharp twist to the thought enclosed in those words. That prison was not a love jail but a genuine dungeon. It prevented the flight of millions and millions of Spanish minds towards horizons of light and of reason because it forced them to maintain a harsh battle with life in order to obtain, not the Eucharistic bread, but the daily bread. It confirmed his old inclination to passional enterprises in preference to the free exercise of the mind, it debilitated his spiritual impulses calming them in lasting quietism, deaf to the calls of hope and full of scorn before the charm of changes and of new ideas. At times it even weakened his very vital impetus, decreasing his strength and his physical vigor and relaxing the springs of his will. And in the end it hurled some Spaniards against others in a barbarian attempt to break the chains of misery, in order to escape from the prison of hunger.

While the Mussulmans possessed the supposed garden of the South and the Hebrews owned the movable wealth, to the impetus of the divine and national war against Islam and to the anti-semitic religious rage, perhaps became united as a motivating drive of our medieval history, the incentive which the Christians received from the poverty of their land to launch against Moors and Jews with the hope of replacing them in the enjoyment of their goods. Later, America canalized, not only the ancient Spanish missionary impulse and its ancient agressive dynamism, but also the desperate dreams of many who had not managed to live, away from misery, on the old and poor Spanish lands. But later and to the degree that the Spanish population increased, that poverty of the national land, a poverty which could not remedied —it was only possible to remedy it recently when science made gigantic progress after millenniums of impotence—, unfortunately collaborated always with the Spanish passion and with the singular Spanish equation between power, wealth and service, to drive some Spaniards against others because there were not enough seats for all in the banquet of life. This controversy has become more acute now because the number of peninsular men has increased, because the valves which let the vital pressure accumulated by misery spill outward have been closed and because the unfortunate accidents of the impact caused by the old struggle about the round table of life, have prevented technology from changing the productive capacity of the Spanish terrain.

That land deified by the Spaniards, if one is to believe an essay writer pretending to be an historian, hindered, besides, Spain's industrialization and the development of an active commerce. Strabo pointed out that the

distribution and the course of the rivers in France enabled the easy transportation of merchandise from one sea to the other. Those rivers also facilitated the circulation of the products which the Gauls made. The horizontal and vertical configuration of the Peninsula, its transversal mountain ranges which can only be crossed by rugged roads, and the rivers separated by them, rivers sometimes drained in long low periods, thwarted trade in Spain and have continued to do so through the centuries, in medieval Spain and in modern times. It has been cheaper to take products from Geneva to Seville and from Bruges or Antwerp to the Cantabrian coasts than to take them to these coasts or to any Andalusian port from Segovia, Avila, Toledo or Cuenca. The Spanish rivers were not navigable nor were the roads practicable except by droves of mules or by oxen-wagons. Isabel of Valois who had arrived in Spain in a state coach had to go by horseback upon entering the Peninsula to marry Philip II. If sometimes it was difficult to confront foreign competence in the very country, it was always impossible to dream to compete with foreign industry outside of the Peninsula, because it was situated so far west, away from the economic axis of Europe which then went from Lombardy to Flanders and Spain was separated from both by the tormentuous Cantabrian Sea or the Bay of Biscay or the Western Mediterranean —much more agitated than in the east— through the centuries only navigable during the brief summer months. Only in few parts of Spain was it possible to find good and sufficient wood for the building of boats. Philip II had to import wood from the Baltic for his war fleets —Braudel has verified it— and according to Duarte Gómez' brief to Philip IV, when the Dutch captured some Hispano-Portuguese vessel, they did not incorporate it to their fleet due to the poor quality of the wood with which it was built.

1.—Naturalistic paintings of the Hispano-Aquitaine civilization. *The wild boar running and the female bison bellowing from the Cave of Altamira (Santander)* disclose the extraordinary pictorial talents of the Spaniards of the late Paleolithic era to reproduce the beings of nature with which they lived and struggled; and at the same time the most remote ethnic and cultural community of Spain in the countries of the West.

2.—Impressionistic paintings from Spanish Levant which, in rocky protection but in the open air, already reproduce human life and seize movement and action. At later dates —even today— they appear in Africa, even in the South. That extension and perdurability give evidence of very ancient Hispano-African relations and our probable mastery South of the Strait. *Hunting scenes from the cave of Remigia (Castellón).*

When the industrialization intensively began in the West, Spain could not have followed the paths of other countries with an abundance of coal since it has very little, and it is not even easy to follow them today because droughts frequently reduce to a frightful proportion the electrical energy of the dams built in Spain while the nations of humid Europe can use theirs without obstacles.

The configuration, the climate and the situation of the Spanish land, in impeding the development of Spanish industry and commerce in general and even more of the industry and commerce of Castile, collaborated with the absorbing and at times anguishing process of the Reconquest and of the Repopulation, in keeping Spaniards from economic activities, moving the Spaniard and especially the Castilian to seek an outlet for his vital tension throug epic or passional channels, with his back to the task of peace and finally apart from pure activities of the spirit.

The land, stepmother of the Spaniards —if we look at it with the eyes of men forced to the consideration of economic problems— collaborated from other standpoints to complete the siege of Spaniards by the singular psychic desires which contributed to slowly carve the channel of their vital contexture. I am referring to the action of its exterior crust, to the influence in the funcional structure of peninsular men, of the scenery in which their millenary monotonous existence has elapsed.

Man does not make the scenery nor can he even modify according to his whim the fuzz of trees of the earth. Equally powerful and impotent before nature and himself, this being marvelous and poor at the same time —man— can destroy more than create. With the surgical knife in the brain he can suppress a mental function, vigorous until then. Can he give vitality back to another one? Capriciously he annihilates, if he so wishes, thousands of millions of lives. Can he create a single life out of nothing, I mean out of inert matter? Until yesterday man could destroy a forest by fire, but in the basin of the Mediterranean the pressures of history have rarely allowed him to replace the destroyed forest, in the struggle with the land, and with the sky. Until recently —until the century of the triumph of science and technology— he could not produce light nor keep great reserves of water for the great expanses of land. And even today the inclement sky mocks at times and changes back to their original condition through thunderstorms and droughts lands which man had made into gardens.

The Castilian had been called an enemy of trees. It is as easy to accuse him as it is difficult to make trees grow in the arid lands of Castile, where the lack of water, including for the most imperious necessities of human life, has forced men to gather in centers, with their backs to the fields under the lee of a brook, a spring or a well. It has been difficult, and continues to be, to conserve the forest because the lashes of the cold —reaching 27 °C below zero in my native Avila and not much less in extensive zones of Old Castile and also in the plateau of the Tagus—

have not been cured for centuries, no will they be, except by throwing wood into the fireplace.

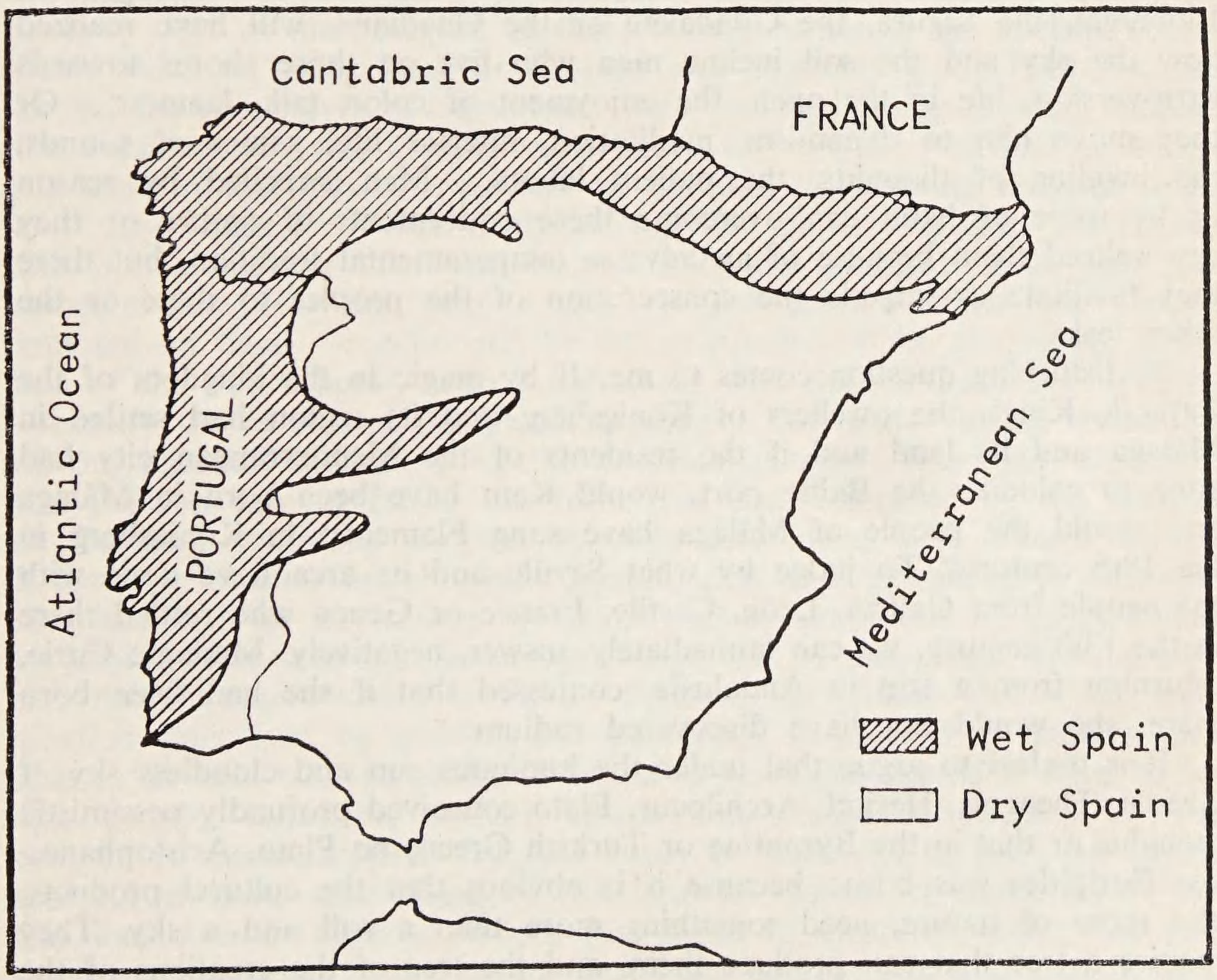
There is nothing in this world which can make of Castile a gentle and mild land, shady and sad, ready to marvel before the melodies of the Mediterranean lyre or the Atlantic flute; a land of nostalgia in need of lyricism and tenderness, attacked by the arrows of imagination and fantasy, peopled with goblins and ghosts, tortured by the fear of earthly mysteries, able to tie man with unbreakable love bonds to its burned and dry fields, not even in its rugged edges where the land rises towards the sky in rugged sierras and forms beatiful valleys between them. From the Christ of the Pardo in Madrid from the Rastro of Avila or from the merlons of the fortress of Segovia can be seen the sierra part of Castile and there is already the peculiar Castilian landscape shooting its biting arrows.

The changing or monotonous tasks of the peoples, their pugnacious and peaceful contacts with the neighboring human groups have been forming the channels of their vital styles, but in competition, collaboration or battle with the land, as the source of life and with the scenery as the source of emotions. Who will dare deny that the lasting life of the peninsular men in struggle with their land or their lands, submerged in their scenery or sceneries —celestial or earthly— has contributed to the forming of the Spanish temperamental contexture, at least as much as its war or peace relationships with the cultures or nations among which they have lived?

One could quote in proof of this affirmation the subduing of the successive conquerors of Spain —from the people of the Brass Age to the Islamites— by the Spanish scenery and land. There are disturbing cases of the decisive influence of the land and of the scenery in the forming of the disposition of the peoples. The flatness of the Duero and of the Andalusia of the Guadalquivir saw their population almost completely changed, in the Middle Ages, with hordes of Northern immigrants. The catalyzing power of the Castilian and Andalusian scenery and land has been so strong that it has blended and recreated two new human communities, very united by temperament with those that had preceded them long before in dwelling in those two regions of Spain and very different from those that had made up the historical womb from which the northern colonizers had come.

It would be wrong to interpret the historical enigma of Spain in function of the land and of the scenery, but it would be just as wrong to omit the action of the scenery and land on man, in searching into the genetic mystery of the Spanish structure of life. History has differentiated the man from the Levant from the Castilian and from the Galician-Portuguese of the Atlantic coasts and has likewise distinguished the Andalusian from the Castilian and the Cantabrian, but land and scenery have also differentiated them, as the scenery and the land, for or against history, have opposed and confronted Spaniards, Englishmen and Frenchmen, for example.

In the greater part of Spain —in dry or Mediterranean Spain— centrifugal forces which force man to live in communion with nature have failed and the centripetal forces which push him to gather in towns, with his back to the fields, have triumphed. The land and the scenery combined with the climate have made the urban centers very rare and have increased the demographic density of the same from the Basque settlements to the tiny villages of the Galician valleys and of the sierras of Cantabria and Asturias to the great Andalusian centers. Has not this triumph of the centripetal forces over the centrifugal ones in grouping or scattering men over the bull-like skin of Spain been an important factor in opposing Spain to humid Europe? Has it not been important in differentiating the Spanish regions? Do not men form different life styles when they are scattered through the country or in small villages and when they are grouped and gathered in urban centers? Do not irritation and frictions grow, and therefore, passions and rages, in nuclei which are neither courts nor farmhouses? On the other hand, does not the pride of the solitary dwellers of the mountainous settlements grow when they rely upon their own strength and cannot contrast their values with other peoples' values? And do not the feeling of the limitation of one's desires and the tendency



to peaceful co-living with the compatriots, become strengthened in dwellers of centers of considerable demographic importance? It is not difficult to apply these psychological realities to the characterization of the Castilians, the Basques, the Andalusians or the Levantines.

Land and scenery —the land as a source of wealth or generating misery; and the two sceneries, earthly and celestial, between which man lives, as sources of opposed emotions— have had other decisive influences on the temperamental heritage of the peoples. Those who have lived enclosed in shady and narrow valleys under the dome of rain or of snow or in plains with woods under the white mantle of the snow and the flagellating lashes of the cold, cannot face life in the same way as those who have seen centuries go by in plains barren under the fiery sun, in which one can look in the distance and find not a single drop of humidity nor a line of trees, or in luminous and happy valleys but burned by long and cruel summers and dried up by the absence of rains or of snows. In these differences are in part rooted those that separate Spaniards from other peoples of Europe and which distinguish Spaniards among themselves. Whoever has lived with an alert mind on the shores of the Spree, the Danube, the Elbe, the Rhine, the Seine, the Thames, the Tibre or the Po or in Spain on the shores of the Miño, the Arlanzón, the Arga, the Llobregat, the Segura, the Guadalete or the Guadiana, will have realized how the sky and the soil incline men who live on those shores towards extroversion, life in the open, the enjoyment of color, talk, laziness... Or they move him to dynamism, meditation, interior life, games of sounds, the juggling of thoughts, the patient labors... Men impelled by reason or by force of habit can overcome these enticements of nature or they can unheed them because of an adverse temperamental tradition, but there they facilitate or impede the consecration of the peoples to these or the other tasks.

A disturbing question comes to me. If by magic in the kingdom of the Catholic Kings, the dwellers of Königsberg and its region had settled in Málaga and its land and if the residents of the Mediterranean city had gone to colonize the Baltic port, would Kant have been born in Málaga and would the people of Málaga have sung Flamenco in Königsberg in the 18th century? To judge by what Seville and its area have done with the people from Galicia, León, Castile, France or Genoa who settled there in the 13th century, we can immediately answer, negatively. Madame Curie, returning from a trip to Andalusia, confessed that if she had been born there, she would not have discovered radium.

It is useless to argue that under the luminous sun and cloudless sky of Greece, Theognis, Hesiod, Archilocus, Plato conceived profundly pessimistic thoughts or that in the Byzantine or Turkish Greece no Plato, Aristophanes, nor Euripides was born; because it is obvious that the cultural products, like those of nature, need something more than a soil and a sky. They require a tree that can produce them, and the tree of the creations of the

spirit demand a delicate and complex gift, uneasy to obtain and which does not mature at any time.

The life style of the people is the son of the link between the land and history —of the link between the land, source of life and of emotions and man in his historical being— repeated throughout the centuries. Link initiated in the distant and mysterious prehistory and repeated in the multimillenary biological process of transformation and selectivity of the historical species in which, naturally, life and culture have intercrossed and interacted continuously. In leaving aside as a factor of historical creation one of the great springs of human life, the land, we cannot forget it. People will be the land's sons all the more as they find themselves closer to what we could call the absolute historical zero point.

* * *

Some example of the fruitfulness of that link between earth and history in the molding of the temperamental heritage of the peoples can be quoted. The Galician life style is not only the son of the Galician land and of the human group dwelling there. The Galician disposition owes much to the successive accumulation of numerous layers of conquerors from the faraway days of the neolithic, in that extreme corner of the ancient world, from which no going back or forward was possible; going back because behind the new waves of immigrants were pushing; going forward because the unknown sea was holding them back. The people who had remained prisoners in that *Finis Terrae* had to get used to enduring the new lords and they learned to defend themselves by slyness, intrigue, cleverness, will power and the intelligent evocation of the juridical norm. But will someone dare deny that next to this defensive posture which their history imposed on them —conditioned by the singularity of the geographic situation of the native land— also collaborated, the Galician land and scenery —exactly the reverse of the Castilian scenery and land— in the formation of the peculiar contexture of the Galician people? Who can dissociate the Galician way of facing life from that land tempered by the current of the Bay, ordinarily covered by rains and mists, with always limited horizons, protected by abundant forests, rich and inexhaustible pastures, rich and with an abundance of waters and so propitious to be inhabited by man in many and minute human groups, and of that gentle, mild, shady, sad, lyrical scenery which favors the flight of the fantasy and of the imagination populated by goblins and phantoms, leading to meditation and able to tie man with unbreakable bonds of nostalgia? Could it have be an epic people, vehement, exalted, extroverted, confident, tortured by the concern of the ultracelestial beyond, ready to battle out of faith, persistent, scornful of death after living on this land for dozens of centuries? If the Cid was born in Castile, Galicia gave birth to Gelmírez —the lion and the fox—; if from Castile was the fierce and heroic sailor and captain Don

Pero Niño and his chronicler, the very rational and reasoning Gutierre Díaz de Gámez, was from Galicia; the brave but subtle Conde de Gondomar could rebel against the harsh Duke of Alba; and it is no coincidence that Saint Teresa and Saint John of the Cross were born in Avila and Feijóo in Orense.

The work of the Apostle could have only been imagined in the lyrical, nostalgic Galicia, terrified by the mystery, clever in intrigue, suspicious, closed in upon itself, saturated with juridical, ironic, smiling spirit, without edges, always on the defensive, eager for the present, in intimate communion with nature, more reasoning than belligerent... As a spiritual force of Spanish history, St. James was an invention of the Galician fantasy and was perhaps later recreated by the epic people of the plateau of the Duero, converting him in *Miles Christi* with time. With a defensive intention (subconscious?) the clever Galicians exploited it as a source of ultra-celestial and cis-celestial prestige, and the proud Castilians did the same, candidly, with offensive objectives, as a source of war energy.

Before the Apostle passed through Spanish history there already existed between the two regions of Spain the same contrast which has later existed between them. Two very significant factors have been forgotten: Strabo declares he has read in some ancient authors that the Galicians were atheists while he maintains that the Celtiberians and their neighbors to the North –that is to say the ancestors of the Castilians– were monotheistic, that they adored an unknown divinity to which they offered cult during the full moon, but which was not the moon. Later the adoration of nature triumphed in Galicia while in the plateau the spiritual religion persisted, to judge by the abundance and the silence of the inscriptions about the gods in the two regions. The two peoples had already faced in a different way and long ago the mysterious forces which men foresee as leading life and the world.

Not one of the many old manuscripts of the *Comentario al Apocalipsis* by Beato which has reached us, comes from Galicia; the great majority of them were copied in Castile. The Galicians of the 9th and 10th centuries were not attracted by this book about the last judgment; they were not jolted by the same anguish as the Castilians before the future. Galicia was already a country where life was less harsh and dramatic, more at peace in the present, more serene before the problem of eternal salvation.

The two regions were inhabited by a hybrid people —in no other region of Spain was the crossing more complex than in Galicia— in which the Celtic element predominated. One will therefore have to concede that the different land and scenery had to influence the spiritual differentiation.

Only Compostela, the city which grew and prospered on account of the Apostle's grave, was its work, or better, the work of the faith in St. James of Spain, of Western Christianity; the city created by the great

touristic movement of the medieval centuries, by the fruitful current of the pilgrimages.

Neither the Apostle, the millenary history in which James was one more potential factor —neither the first nor the last—, the millenary history: now conditioned by the land, now in agreement with it, has made the Galician people such as it has been and as it will be forever.

History in function of the land has been giving life to the various historical groups which form Spain from Cantabria to the Strait of Gibraltar and from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean. If Galicia has equally been the *Finis Terrae* and the *Finis Hispaniae,* Catalonia has been the door of Spain. If in Galicia have been gathered most of the invaders of the Peninsula in successive layers of dominators, through Catalonia have penetrated many peoples and many cultures from the other side of the Pyrenees and overseas and the Spanish cultures and peoples have gone outside from the Paleolithic era to our days. In passing through this door of Spain, always half open, that double current, spiritual and sanguine, which went towards the heart of the Peninsula and from there went to the plains of France or glided over the smooth surface of the Mediterranean, has repeatedly enriched the historical land of Catalonia. The people who through that door of Spain were crossing from the North to the South or from the South to the North and from sea to land and vice versa have left in Catalonia different traces of their different ethnic traits —the racial mixture from which the Catalan people have come are as complex as those which are at the origin of the Galician people, although they are not the same. And the cultures which through Catalonia have entered Spain or from Spain have departed, have left in Catalan lands an intense spiritual ferment, a taste for new ideas, a passional inclination to receive and adapt the ideological currents and techniques which have appeared in the world and an extreme facility to catalyze them or at least to try them. If the Galician land and scenery, dominated by the rains and mists of the Atlantic along with the historical condition of *Finis Hispaniae* of Galicia, have been creating the Galician style of life, dominated by the changing slyness of a nostalgic people, lyrical and usually on the defensive, the history of Catalonia as the door and port of Spain, along with the Catalan land and scenery, dominated by the sun and lights and transparence of the Mediterranean, have created a different life style, dominated by the dynamic concern of a people, proud, happy, fast, artistic, lovers of new ideas and less skilled for political intrigue than for historical offensive. Thus, always and everywhere in the Peninsula, history and the land in fruitful union have given birth to Asturias, Castile, the Basque Country, Aragón, Portugal, Andalusia and Valencia; in the same way outside of Spain, in Western Europe, the various historical communities which serve as human subjects to today's nations have been differentiated.

The prehistorians —archeological or linguistic— have enjoyed stressing the action of the race in the forming of the forms of life of the people.

Bosch Gimpera has supported the historical continuation of the primitive Spanish tribes from antiquity through the Middle Ages —later, I will have to confront that theme— and Tovar has explained the solidification of the Islamic in the Spanish Levant by the racial commonness which united the dwellers of these Levantine lands with the invaders, Mussulman, African or Oriental like them. I will not deny their part of truth to this way of seeing the relationships of man and the land by these two profound experts in the remote past of the Spanish Peninsula. Someone who, like me, has verified the disturbing similarities which join the vital contexture of the Spaniards at the beginning of our era with the temperamental heritage of Modern Spaniards, could not deny it; someone who like me has been observing in great literary figures of Mussulman Spain, psychic and vital traits of the Spaniards of the far away peninsular past and of the Spaniards of our days although the causes of these bonds and of those contacts and those continuations seem very complex to me and not purely racial.

It is not easy to answer the question: What is the race? It will not do to respond merely from the biological field saying that it is the outcome of the genetic transmission of certain differential traits because it is not possible to disregard what is historical and cultural in the formation of the races. It does not even seem possible to me to so pose the problem in relation with the great and authentic races which form the human species and to which I am referring here. I see the race as the fruit of a multimillenary link of very complex reactions of the land and of history over the human groups under their lasting influence. Man would thus be twice history, because he is in himself genetically and essentially a historical being and because the groups of men bound by ethnic similarities are historical.

As everything in history happens slowly and changes slowly if it is something more than a fugacious and passing meteor, human communities based on vital and cultural relationships have seen their psycho-physical contextures prolonged in time.

The land and man! Decisive contact in the making of history. Too dramatic a link to let it be reduced to a mere bubbling of the literary themes. Complex confrontation whose consequences can only be outlined here.

Chapter III

FROM THE REMOTE PRIMITIVE SPAIN TO THE SUPPOSED MUDÉJAR * SPAIN

1. Spain, crossroad of cultures

Historical life is at once a continuous creation of cultures and a continuous existing within the human scope of the same. Those cultural structures and those vital contextures have continuously crossed in peace or in war. The human communities that we call peoples and nations are the outcome of the uneven intercrossing, pugnacious or peaceful of such cultures and of their human peoples and finally of their styles of life. These symbioses and antibioses have been achieved preferably in some parts of the planet, geographically favorable so that in them the paths followed by various groups of men in their historical progress through seas and lands, might be confluent. The Spanish Peninsula has been one of these natural intersections of the roads of the world. In Spain, many times, very unlike ethnic groups and civilizations have been confronted and joined. The geographic situation has made of Spain an authentic crossroad of cultures.

In the course of long milleniums of the life of man in the basin of the Mediterranean, in the extreme advance of Europe towards the South and towards the West, which is Spain, there have been many crossroads of ethnic groups and civilizations; the most diverse cultures have always crossed from the Paleolithic times, and naturally, so have the vital styles of the peoples bearers of these cultures. It could not have happened differently because all the roads of the ancient world coincided and ended there. The land roads which started from the Danube, from Germany or from the Baltic; those that came by sea: from the Near East, from the islands of the East Mediterranean or from Greece, or those which from the Africa

---

* *Mudéjar* refers to Mohammedans who became subjects of Christian sovereigns without changing their religion to Christianity.

of the Nile, the Sahara or the Moghrib arrived crossing the strait. In the Peninsula the immigrants and conquerors who had come by those roads clashed and mixed as did their cultures and their forms of life. From these clashes and crossings were born new cultural and vital structures which usually expanded later beyond the boundaries of Spain, over and above the obstacles of the waves or the mountains which encircled it.

It has been so since the Paleolithic era. In the archaeolithic age cultures as remote as the Clactonian, African, and the Tayacian, European, came to the Peninsula. In the late Paleolithic era came the Aurignacian, Gravetian born from different geographical wombs from the other side of the Pyrenees and which coincided there later: Solutrean African' (?), Hungarian (?), or Spanish (?), and the Magdalenian, Artic (?) or of European Oriental origin (?). Other peoples bearers of other civilizations continued to arrive from the North and from the South during the Mesolithic and the Neolithic periods, and always the same. Ceramics, agriculture, mining, cult for the dead and for the mysterious forces which occur in life, urban and state organization and many other ideas, sciences and techniques were coming from the Orient by way of Africa or of the Mediterranean. Each unique cultural stage could have had a people behind or not, since some changes in the civilization could have been the fruits of spiritual contacts and not of dense human migrations, but it is difficult to imagine that a change of culture was not accompanied by a change in the life style. The introduction of ceramics by the Hispano-Mauritanians; the apprenticeship of mining with the people from Almería having come from Africa or Asia and the acceptance of the cult for the dead and of a kind of organization based on territorial lordship —that is to say of the dolmenic culture— brought by people from Asia or the Oriental basin of the Mediterranean... how could these not imply the forming of new ways of life?

Then, came to the Peninsula, from different regions from the old world, the people from Thyrsus, the Iberians, the Ligurians or the Illyrians —that is to say, the pre-Celts—, the Celts, the Greeks, the Phoenicians, the Carthaginians. When all those peoples bearers of different temperamental heritages, new cultures and new forms of life must have faced one another and intermingle through successive grafts, crossings, cultural and existential symbioses and antibioses... How can the situation of crossroad of cultures be denied to the Spanish soil? From that crossing were born the Spanish civilizations and the vital styles, from it sprung not only anecdotes and confusion, but the topics of Spanish history with its changing functional structures.

In no other country of Europe did such cultural and vital crossings occur. Until 1492 Spain was the far West, the final goal for the emigrants or the European, Asiatic and African invaders. It could not, therefore, be a passing place of races and civilizations. Those who had come through the passes of the Pyrenees rarely passed the Strait and those who had come by sea never crossed the Rhone and the Garonne and soon ended up by

losing their extrapeninsular dominions. The peoples who converged on Spain must have caused extreme defensive reactions, and after breaking the umbilical cord which tied them to the historical womb from which they proceeded —so the Iberians and the Celts and later the Germans and the Islamites—, created new races and hybrid cultures which extended and triumphed outside of Spain.

It is not easy, but it is not impossible to study that series of human and cultural clashes and contacts which filled the millenniums prior to Spanish history, nor is it easy to examine the fruits of such symbioses and antibioses —I will do this in studying the origins of the Spanish nation. Many such migrations and crossings prefigure those achieved later in the advanced centuries of the historical life of Spain. Bosch Gimpera has compared the invasions which engendered the Hispano-Mauritanian and Ibero-Saharan cultures of the neolithic with the Almoravid and Almohad invasions of the end of the eleventh century and the middle of the twelfth century of the Christian era, and although it is neither simple nor easy, it is not an impossible task to determine the differences which separated the fights and the crossings which generated primitive Spain from those that led to the formation of the other people of the West.

When the Mussulmans landed in the mountain of Tariq —Gibraltar— during the night of 27th to the 28th of April of 711, Spain became again what it had always been: a crossroad of cultures and life styles. In its geographical land the cultural and vital roads of people who had come from the North and from the Orient crossed again. It is not, therefore, permissible for any historian to disdain the temperamental heritage of the old hybrid people whose historical path was going to converge first in the Guadalete and then in Covadonga, with the roads through the Strait by the Africans and the Oriental invaders. It is, therefore, erroneous to omit thousands of years which precede the crucial moment of the Arabic invasion and the unavoidable problem of the crossing of such paths in the crossroad of cultures and life styles which Spain was becoming.

It is a difficult and arduous task to study the temperamental heritage of the Spaniards who suffered the impact of the Moslem invasion because it would force one to go back to the mysterious days of primitive Spain and necessitate the study of the changes suffered by the vital contexture of the old peninsular people when their roads were joined with those of the Romans and the Germans in the ancient crossroad of cultures and life styles which the Hispanic land was.

If hundreds of years of living in conflict and in contact with Islam had to create a peculiar «way of existing which the prolonged tradition determined in tenacious and indelible traits» —I accept the first adjective but not the second because there is nothing indelible in the past—, one will not be able to argue that in the thousands of years previous to history, «by repeating itself» the same type of actions, the human groups of Spain would have managed to elaborate a unique form of life with lasting

features. And it will also be impossible to argue that that unique form of life had to maintain itself or change in the course of the millennium which elapsed since its contact with the imperial people from the other side of the Mediterranean and from the other side of the Pyrenees.

«Peoples as individuals —it has been written— find themselves at times in anguished situations and on the verge of annihilation. In such a tight situation there are some who let themselves die or let themselves be... But there are occasions in which the people stand up determined to continue to exist at any price...» One can only agree with that simplistic dilemma, but it will not be possible to deny that the peoples placed in such a dramatic danger will die or stand up according to their own vital energy, fruit of their past, matured in a propitious geographical scene. It is the vital contexture of that people forced to elect their destiny in a critical hour, the one which marks their direction in the decisive moment and which guides it in their progress through the new paths of history.

2. Life styles of primitive Spaniards

In advancing towards the sources through the river of Spanish history I have been surprised by the continuation in the Spain posterior to 700 of many features of the Spain anterior to Christ; features which I had considered to be the singular fruits of the peculiar life of the medieval Spaniards, and I have been able to understand the causes of many of the reactions of these men in their martial and peaceful contacts with peninsular Islam and how these contacts accentuated or weakened, vitalized or eradicated, twisted or transformed the old Hispanic historical traditions in the continuous flow of historical happening.

Against what has been said, it is impossible to know the essence of what is Hispanic prior to 800. It is not possible to maintain that the people from Numantia, Viriato, the Basques or the Cantabrians are for us mute figures, nor that every feature of the life styles of peninsular men before the Moslem invasion escapes us. One simply needs to listen to Spaniards of the second century before Christ, the contemporaries of the crisis of the Roman dominion in the 5th century or to those who witnessed the downfall of the Visigothic monarchy in the 8th century. After that examination it will prove to be an error to suppose many of the tendencies of Spaniards before Christ or of Spaniards before the Mussulman conquest to be the fruit of the medieval Christian Islamic-Hebraic symbiosis.

It is undeniable that symbiosis was possible because the traditional forms of life of the Galicians, the Asturians, the Cantabrians, the Basques pushed the highlanders of the North of Spain to rise once again against the invaders of the Peninsula during the 8th century.

I cannot take the time here to consider minutely how the Spaniards prior to 711, thought and how they felt, their processes of conscience,

their passional movements, their psychic profile, their scale of values, their way of being in life. Some day I will use the great wealth of materials that I have gathered to achieve this task exhaustively. Now I cannot help but outline a schematic picture, a sketch of the oldest Spaniards. If those who faced the Moslem invasion had not been as they were, Hispanic history would have been very different. Their social contexture fell then into the forge of medieval Spain and even to those that the Romans found in the Peninsula in the year 219 before Christ does modern Spain sink its roots.

Floro, Valerio Maximo and Orosius report the wild fierceness with which the Basque Calahorra resisted the siege of Afranio after the assassination of Sertorius. Appian refers to the heroism with which even the women of the Galician lands fought for their freedom, against Brutus. Floro relates that the Asturians of Medulas, after fighting for theirs until the end, killed themselves, some by the sword and others by taking poison, in order not to fall into servitude. Through Strabo we know that the Cantabrians, when the Romans managed to dominate their magnificent fury, preferred death to slavery to the point that mothers killed their sons and sons their fathers to free them from captivity, and even to the extreme that, crucified, they were happily singing because their near death was offering them the hope of their final deliverance.

Other peoples of the East and of the West struggled against Rome in defense of their national freedom and some of them also fought with undeniable courage. But something must have differentiated the impetuosity, the resistance, the scorn for life and the love of independence of the peninsular men for them to be pointed out with amazement by the classical writers —when they wanted to praise the difficulty of some undertaking they were saying: «it is more difficult than to make a Cantabrian turn around»—, and for the Romans to delay two centuries in conquering Spain, while other countries had been dominated by them in a single campaign, and in only one decade the brave and strong Gauls were overcome.

This fierce passion of freedom led the Basques, the Cantabrians and the Asturians to fight again for their defense against the Goths, some until the kingdom of Leovigildo, others until way into the 7th century, the Basques until the days of Rodrigo. Hidacio, Juan de Bíclaro, Isidoro de Seville, Taion, Julián de Toledo and the Mozarab of 754 enable us to guess that these three peoples from the North of Spain fought against the new Germanic dominators of the Peninsula with no less fury than five centuries before against Rome.

The anguished situation in which the Mussulman invasion must have placed them, their traditional ardent inclination determined them for the third time to fight for their national freedom when all of Spain had already succumbed. Asturians, Cantabrians and Basques fought again without caring a bit about the decrease of their strength and without reasoning about the gloomy perspectives of the future. Without calculating and without

reasoning? Yes, I have not written such words casually, because differently from the other Western peoples more dominated by reason and by calculation, without sparing their energies and without reasoning about the dangers of the future, Spaniards before and after 711 have made their history.

Menéndez Pidal has popularized Pliny's phrase about the *vehementia cordis* that is to say about the passion of the Spaniards of his time. A passage of the life of Sertorius by Plutarch shows them moved by such impetuosity that they could not be calmed «by reflection nor discourses». And other texts from Greek and Roman writers confirm that passion and that lack of taste for «the reasonable composure» which Alonso de Palencia found later in the Spaniards of the medieval fall. On the other hand, no author said, as Caesar of the Gauls, that they were fickle, quick-witted, talkative and skillful.

Strabo says of the Vettones —they lived on horseback in the Sierra of Gredos, from the Duero to the Guadiana, in a land of future «conquerors»— that «seeing once certain centurions come and go while on guard as if taking a walk, they thought they had become mad and they wanted to take them to their tents since they did not conceive any other attitude than that of sitting quietly or fighting». The account is disturbing, «sitting or fighting!». Without great hyperbole it could be said that such has been the attitude of the Spaniards in the course of time. From the frenzy of action to somnolence and to lethargy. Strabo did not say anything similar about a non-Spanish people.

Menéndez Pidal has also popularized Pompey the Great's phrase about the frugality of the Spaniards; in contrast with such an affirmation the classical authors record the avarice, the intemperance, the fanfaronade and the taste for luxury of the Gauls.

Many times the Spaniards have shown their generosity with the conquered; in the Portuguese wars and those with Numantia, for example. No one accused them, as the Gauls, of cruelty.

Strabo affirmed that the Gauls were arrogant in victory and disheartened in defeats. The Spaniards showed a very different temperament. In qualifying their resistance to the Romans as extraordinary, Polybius pointed out how one, at most two battles decided the fate of wars provoked outside of Spain, while in Spain the struggle against Rome went on indefinitely. Titus Livy also wrote that: «Spain was on purpose to make and remake wars because of the nature of the country and of its inhabitants.» Of their determination to forget disasters and to continue fighting really the primitive Spaniards gave many proofs in the Celtiberian, Portuguese and Cantabrian-Asturian wars, the same under the orders of Viriato as of Sertorius. Because the Spaniards have kept this condition, a battle has never determined the fate of the country as has often happened on the other side of the Pyrenees, of the Rhine, of the Channel in civil and foreign wars.

The tendency of the Spaniards to let themselves be more attracted by faith in one man than by the appeal of an idea has been explained as the outcome of eight centuries of pugnacious and peaceful relations with the Islamites and the Jews, but such an inclination clearly shows itself in the unions of the Spaniards before Christ with their own and foreign chiefs. It will not be difficult to verify it by carefully rereading Livys' pages about the relationships of the peninsular people with Scipio, those of Diodorus of Sicily and Appian about Viriato, those that Plutarch devotes to Sertorius' deeds in Spain and those that in *De bello hispaniense* relate the devotion of the people of the Peninsula for Pompey the Great. The last two groups of items will inform, besides, about the Spanish loyalty to two men, who at the extreme Western point of the Roman world, confronted the political forces which already dominated it. Pelayo next to the Picos de Europa in the first third of the 8th century and Umar ben Hafsun in the Sierra de Ronda during the last decades of the 10th, obtained the same devotion and fervor as Viriato, Sertorius or Pompey and in circumstances no more promissory or attractive. With the same words, Diodorus of Sicily and Ibn 'Idari describe two Spanish chiefs separated by a millennium: the Portuguese Viriato and the renegade Ibn Hafsun, and it is not difficult to prolong till now, through the medieval and modern centuries, that chain of which only the first known links are quoted.

It is not necessary either to go into subtle and complicated philosophical commentaries about the peninsular medieval life to explain the disposition of the Spaniards to go to the sacrifice of their lives because of mythical or passional impulses —beliefs in the beyond the grave, national liberty, sworn loyalty, firm friendship, pride or rage— more than to sacrifice themselves in the defense of undertakings of reason. Many texts and items of Polybius, Caesar, Livy, Strabo, Diodorus of Sicily, Valerio Máximo, Plutarch, Floro, Appian, Dion Cassius, etc... about the barbarian combativeness, the heroic resistance, the magnificent arrogance and the scorn for death... which the Spaniards showed at the service of such mythical and passional impulses, during their struggle with Rome and in the civil wars of the last stages of the Roman Republic assure it.

The loyalty of the Spaniards towards their chiefs and their faithful performance of the pledged oath or word led many of the Roman generals and magistrates to surround themselves with personal guards recruited from Spain, according to Caesar, Plutarch, Suetonius and Appian.

It is possible to verify the early appearance, centuries before 711, of some of the characteristics which have been considered the fruits of the Christian-Islamic-Jewish symbiosis.

What has been called «the integrality of the person» is an explosive mixture of Iberian pride, which Strabo noted, of the passionate vehemence of the Spaniards pointed out by Pliny, of their resistance to indigence, fatigue and pain witnessed by Polybius, Livy, Pompey and Valerio Má-

ximo, of the restless need for adventures which Livy attributes to them, of their ardent passion for personal freedom which they prefer to life itself and recorded with amazement by the classical historians and geographers, and of their mental capacity for death which Pompey notes.

The Spaniard, whom the classical writers depict, had to be a man of rough and bold angles and from within he must have violently felt the roar of a passionate and frenetic ego which furiously clashed with the neighboring, opposite or tangential egos, no less violent and exalted as his. This explains why more pacts of hospitality are found in the Peninsula than in any other Western country. They were necessary to curb the violence of those exalted and vehement Spaniards of whom Pompey says rightfully that if they did not have a foreign enemy they looked for one at home.

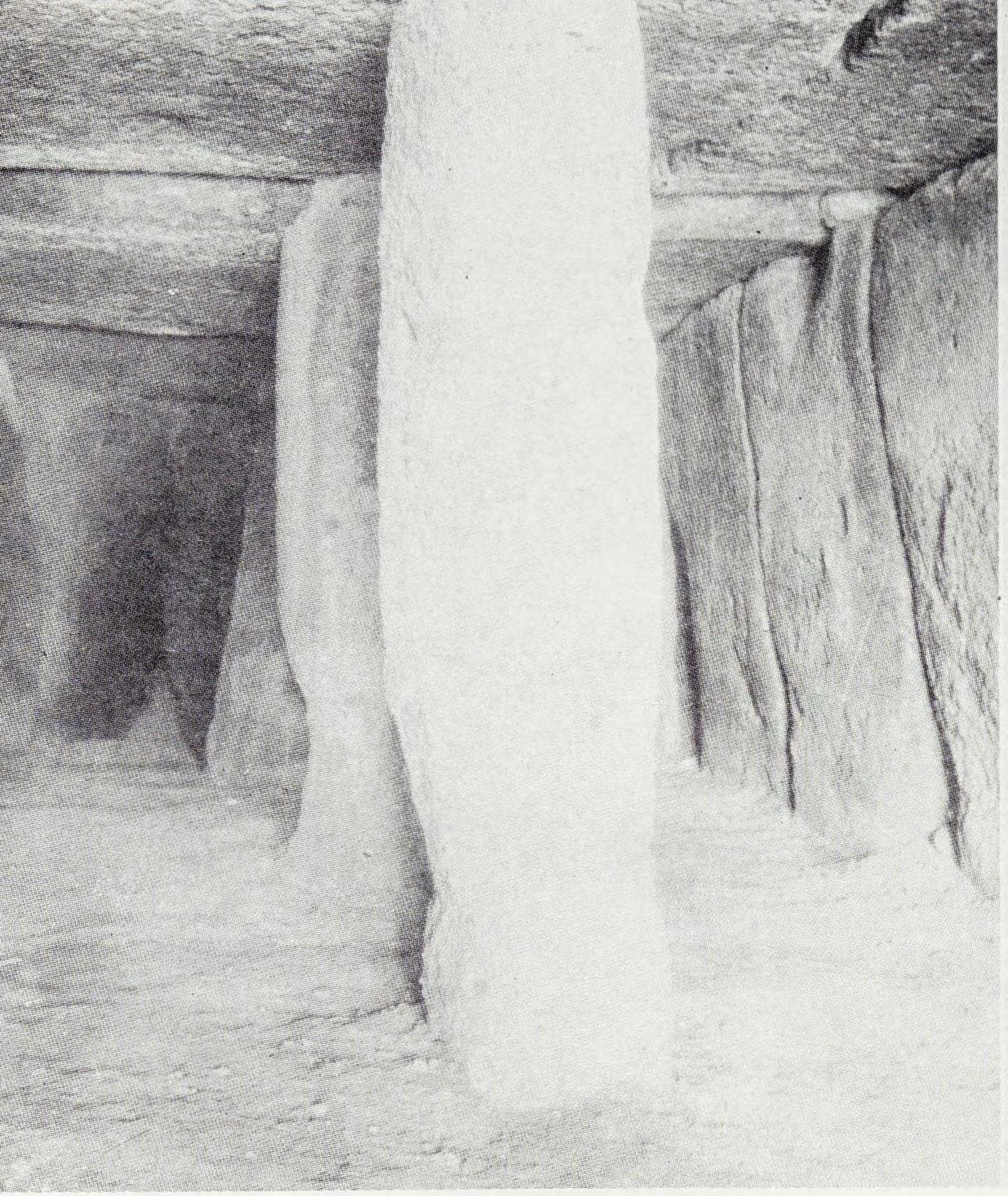
Before the *collegia* became necessary in the last stages of the Roman Empire, Spain was the country in which the least number of them existed. The Spaniards of the first centuries of our Era were, therefore, the Westerns least inclined to associate themselves on their own. Their irascible temperament, which made the signing of pacts of hospitality between them, necessary translated itself in their taste for a life free of bonds, in the uncurbed projection of personal initiative, a taste and projection already exceptional then in all the neighboring people. How can one not feel tempted to relate the passionate violence and the anarchical individualism of the medieval and modern Spaniards with such singularities?

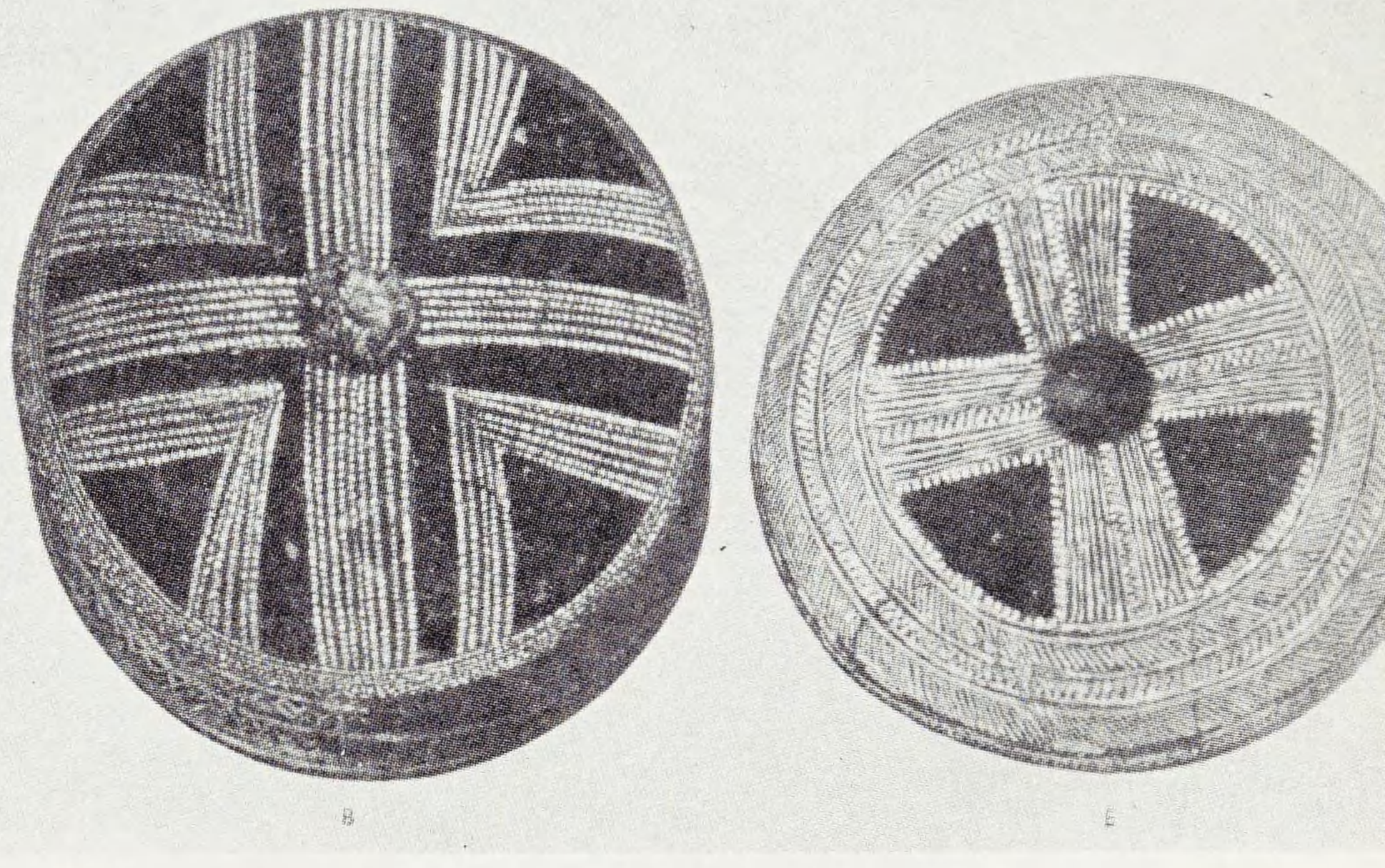
This explosive temperament of the Spaniard before Christ made of him «a whole man and only a man» as Unamuno defined the modern Spaniard after sharp pages of exegesis of the nine centuries of contacts and battles of peninsular Christians with the Moors and the Jews.

Those Spaniards before our Era get to believe in a unique concept of their relations with the mysterious forces of beyond, and at the same time they let their ultraterrestrial devotions interact in their ciscelestial life and their human impulses, passions, desires and fervors enter into their intimate essence and in the forms of expression of their beliefs.

One has come to imagine the frequent consulting of the future in the observation of he birds' flight by Castilian knights, the outcome of the imitation of similar practices of Mussulman warriors. One has forgotten that Strabo attributes to the Portuguese a special propensity to consult the future and that in *Historia Augusta,* Alexander Severius is presented as such a clever interpreter of the flight of birds that he surpassed the Basques and other Spaniards. One has also ignored the information of St. Martin de Dumio on the continuation of such practices among the peasants of his diocese in the second half of the 5th century.

One has not taken into account either the enormous number of stone and bronze votive offerings which appear in the Iberian sanctuaries of Spain, nor that it was an Andalusian, Trajan, who first broke with the Roman tradition and considered religious dissidence as an offense, in a

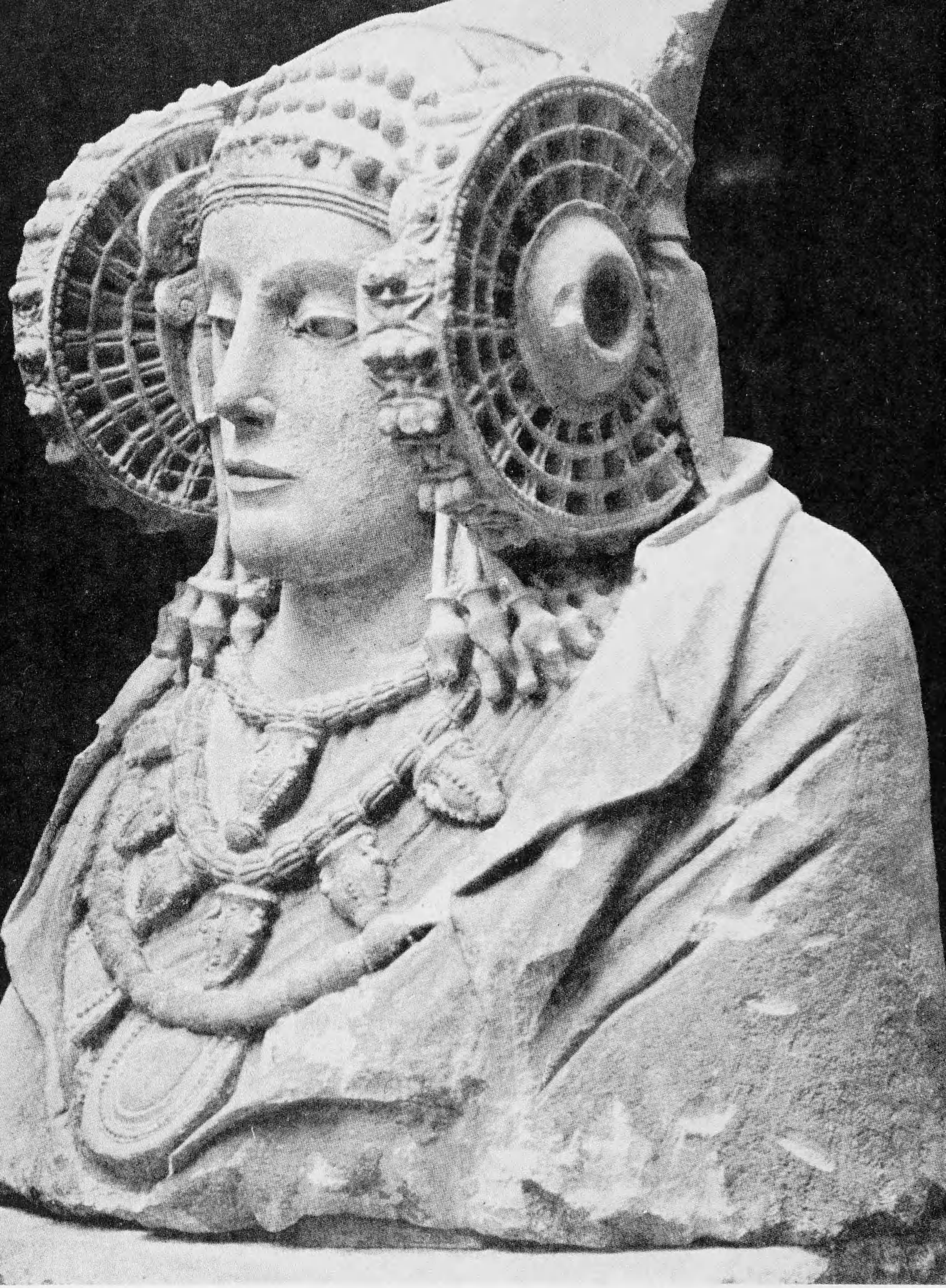




3.—Dolmen cultures and from the campaniform bowls, from distant Oriental origin but which the peninsular people from the eneolithic era recreated and propagated: one along all the European coasts of the West, and another through the interior of Europe, even further than the Elba. For the first time the Hispanic people exercised a decisive mastery over the Continent. *The Cave of Menga (Málaga) and Campaniform bowls from Ciempozuelos (Madrid).*

4.—Totem sculpture from the Vettones, a pre-Celtic tribe that lived South of the Duero, in the lands of Ávila, Salamanca and Extremadura; the tribe whose men lived in battle or resting from it. With those sculptures the millenary ancestors of the «Conquistadors» used to protect the entrance of the inclosures where they kept their cattle —at the foot of their acropolis— and the fertile fields. Before those *The Bulls of Guisando (Ávila)* Isabel the Catholic was sworn in as the heiress of Castile.

5.—Oriental luxury on the *lady of Ibiza (Baleares)*, today in the National Archeological Museum of Madrid. Many times, through the millenniums, the Oriental Mediterranean cultures and races influenced Spain; many times and considerably before the arrival of the Mussulmans at our coasts in 711 and their renovation of the remote, repeated and perdurable spiritual and ethnic contacts with the Oriental countries and civilizations.



6.—*The Lady of Elche (Alicante)* represents a princess or Iberian priestess and it is the work of a Spaniard educated by Greek masters. A delicate Hispanic melancoly replaces in it the Hellenic serenity. The necklaces, roundlets and mantilla prefigure those typical in Murcia and Valencia of today and disclose the very antique taste in jewels of our primitive grandmother *(Museo del Prado, Madrid).*

letter to Pliny; nor the fruitful invention by Theodosius of the idea of State-Church, nor a constitution of Arcadia and Honorio aimed at preventing the Spanish Christians, driven by their fervor for their new faith, from destroying the temples of the old gods.

Here are various facts —they are not the only ones— of these double tremendous interacting of belief in life and of life in the belief of the Spaniards before the Fall of Rome and of the continuous mixing, in their lives, of the eternal and the temporal and of the temporal and the eternal. Because this strange religious sensibility kept alive in th Spanish-Goths, St. Isidore thought and defended the submission of the civil power to the religious power and in the Hispano-Gothic monarchy was invented the rite of anointing of the kings with holy oil with which priests and bishops were anointed, a concept and rite later accepted and extended on the other side of the Pyrenees.

The Hispanic passion of which Pliny spoke penetrated religious life. Only that passion explains the initial history of Priscillianism. Passional torrents caused the disproportionate attitude of the prelates hostile to the ascetic movement of Priscillian and his disciples, the violent reactions of the latter, their implacable persecution by Idacio, bishop of Ocsonoba and the unjustified and most vehement appeal to imperial justice by the founder and director of the group, appeal which led him to the gibbet. That same passion later hypertrophied the quarrel of Adoptionism.

When Al-Andalus was not yet orientalized and Mussulman Spain still lived the ancient pre-Islamic tradition, the peculiar passion with which Spaniards conceived of their relationship between man and the divinity caused the Cordovan revolution of Arrabal. The Cordovans, recent converts to Islam, considered Al-Hakam I impious, and their faith and fervor, along with their pride which could not stand the arrogance of the emir's mercenaries, incited the Neo-Mussulmans to revolt. The projection of the religious sensibility and of the passion of the peninsular men prior to Christ in this rebellion is undeniable.

It will also be difficult to deny the connection of the Oriental gests of those Cordovans of 818 with the temperamental heritage of the Spaniards before our Era and with the undertakings of the peninsular men of subsequent centuries. Defeated and expulsed from Spain and having emigrated to the Orient, they achieved the great adventure of conquering Alexandria first and then Crete and of maintaining their rule over that island for about a century, against the emperor of Byzantium and against the caliph of Bagdad.

The contrast recently pointed out by Richard Franke between the pure dogmatic struggles of the Christian priests with the Ulema Islamites, common outside of Spain during the first moments of Islam, and the ardent, martyr-like resistance of the Andalusian Mozarabs can only be explained as the outcome of the connection between the tremendous religious exaltation and the bold personality of the Spaniard.

It is also fitting to witness the literary overflows of the primitive integral Spanish personalism. Antonio Almagro has just collected numerous lacunas of vivid expression in the «Cuestiones naturales» *(Natural Questions)* and in the «Epístolas» of the Cordovan Seneca. Frequently the great Hispano-Roman philosopher publishes in his pages memories of strange events which he witnessed, lets confidences and confessions appear and involves his life in his books.

The reading of the ingenious and keen epigrams of Martial enables us to reach the same conclusions. The authentic Spaniard that the poet of Bilbilis was —I hope to prove that Martial was the first Spaniard in the strict sense of the word (also see Dolc's book)—, is immersed in and continuously present in his work and «with his whole being». Life and the world are in it «inseparable from the process of living them», as has been said of the spiritual beliefs of the post-Islamite Spaniards.

Some accounts of Orosius and Hidacio come to mind about the events which occurred at the time of the barbarian invasions, passages and accounts which reflect the same integral style. Students of Carolingian history say that the Spaniard, Teodulfo, was of all of Charlemagne's collaborators the one who wrote the most personal poetry and who most placed in his works details of his daily life, and they have pointed out the strong personality of another Spaniard: Agobardo.

The stone and bronze votive offerings of the Iberians reflect a surprising realism; no Roman philosopher felt such a clear inclination for dirty and even malodorous accounts as Seneca and Martial surpassed all the other Roman lyricists of the Augustan time and of the first century of the Empire in his taste for the vile; all of these traits characterized the peninsular men later.

One can consider the dissociative pride of the Spaniards to be of very remote origin, a pride which has not been deemed as a motive force of Spanish history nor as generating factor of the Hispanic forms of life. It became evident in the fragmentation of the Peninsula into a great number of political units during the 2nd and 1st centuries before Christ. The Romans had to submit almost a thousand free communities in the Spains while in the three Gauls Caesar found less than sixty. Strabo attributes the conquest of Spain by Rome to this dissociative pride. His observation is correct but it is undeniable that it also contributed to delay it since it forced the Romans to conquer Spain tribe by tribe and city by city.

I suspect that if the Spaniards did not show the absence of objectivizing thought which has been attributed to the medieval and modern Spaniards, they did give evidence of a lesser devotion to technology than the other European people of the West: a lesser tendency to make industrial products than metropolitan Italy and even than conquered Gaul. We do not know the economic history of Roman Spain well —not even Rostovsteff knows it— but from what we know of it, we can deduce that as in the late Middle Ages and throughout time until now, in the Roman times

the Spaniards exported minerals, products of the soil, wool, preserves... and imported manufactured objects on a great scale. The literary texts, the inscriptions and the archeological findings attest to it; I refer to Louis C. West's book. In the Hispano-Roman mosaics, for example, so abundant in mythological representations or in acts of the heroic life, scenes from the industrial or commercial life more frequent in the mosaics of Italy and Gaul, can barely be traced.

The whole man that the Spaniard of the first times of history was, a whole man urged on by an ardent devotion for the questions of the mysterious ultraterrestrial beyond, could not feel equally moved by a passionate interest in and a sharp attention for the problems of this world. Those require a down to earth vision, a slow, continuous, minute and firm activity, not at all heroic, the offering of pride and of vehemence to the god of humble daily work and serene reasoning, and the limitation of one's individual action for the benefit of the community. The primitive Spaniard precisely had the qualities which most contradicted that vision, that sacrifice and that limitation.

Moreover, they lived at the end of the world and on a rugged land with very difficult interior communications. In the Gauls and in Italy, interior transportation was easy; from there the products of their industry and their technique could be sent to other countries in all directions by land or by sea.

If I had not outlined elsewhere my personal concept of history in a precise way, it is possible that before these pages one might have reacted accusing me of having attempted to revive an old thesis —Francisco Ayala gratuitously presented me recently as a defender of the Volksgeit of the Romantics accusing me of ignorance. Again, the theory of the racial differences —one might have argued—, another defense of the continuing existence of Spain as an inalterable entity.

Permanence of Spain as a fixed entity from before Christ to now? Immutable national spirit in the course of time? No. No historian can believe in such survivals and it has been an insult to Menéndez Pidal to affirm that he considers them as the key to Spain's history. No historian can believe, nor believes today, in the eternity of anything ciscelestial.

Racial differences? No, national differences as a consequence of the ancient action of the land and of history on the dwellers of Spain, Italy or Gaul. Of the land, because different were the horizontal and vertical configurations of the soil on which they lived, different the scenery and the climate which they suffered or enjoyed, uneven the productivity of the soil and of the subsoil exploited by them and unlike the geographical situation of each one of the three in relation with the nerve centers of the predominant culture and of the other peoples of the known world; let us not forget that the Hispanic Peninsula suffered from its situation of *Finis Terrae* for millenniums. And of the history, because after barbarian wars or through peaceful migratory infiltrations, either in vertical or

seigneurial projection, or as fruit of equalizing horizontal crossings, various human groups bearers of diverse cultures and of diverse forms of life were successively incorporating themselves in the primitive ethnic complex. That is to say, national differences as the outcome of the continuous diversification of the vital contexture of the Gauls, Spaniards or Italians, for example, caused by the slow or fast race of their history before History. The formation of the national traits of each historical community began when it had to face the two anguishing problems of dominating the land it inhabited and to communicate with other human communities. Ortega y Gasset, coining one of his beautiful sentences, has written: «History is, like the grape, the delight of the Autumns» When we begin to have abundant information about a people, it is because they have ceased to be young. When the Greek and Roman historians and geographers began to tell us about Spain, the Spaniards were already a people of millenary life.

If what is Spanish was not, therefore, in a nebulous state at the beginning of our era, as it is certain that the Romanization did not alter the psyche of peninsular men —I will point it out forthwith—, although the number of the Romanized people was not negligible according to Rostovtzeff, it cannot be surprising to find in the Spaniards before the Muslem invasion various traits more or less similar to those which characterized the Spaniards of the end of medieval and modern times.

The eight centuries of martial or peaceful contacts of Christians, Mussulmans and Jews accentuated many of the old ways of being in the life of the primitive Spaniards, modified others and created new ones, just as the modern centuries have confirmed, changed, eradicated some and engendered and blended others and as according to us, the primitive, the medieval and the new ones are being revived, transformed or terminated. Only Castro has dared to prescind from what is Hispano–Islamite.

3. Rome and what is Spanish

The temperamental heritage of the primitive Spaniards suffered some changes during the long centuries between the Roman and Arab conquests of the Peninsula. These centuries did not pass in vain. The conscience processes, the passional inclinations, the sensibility, the whole life of people change slowly but continuously. Ninety years passed between the landings of the Scipios and those of Tariq and Muza. We cannot, a priori, deny efficacy in the formation of the life style of the Spaniards over such a long period of time, to an era filled with transcendental events for the history of the old world. In order to see Spain in its history it is neccessary to stop to examine to what point the domination of Spain by Rome and the settling there of the Germanic invaders contributed to the formation of the character and of the destiny of the Spanish people.

It is a hard undertaking. I cannot go into it in detail; it deserves a book, but it is fitting to open the way as I have just done in relation to primitive Spain.

The ancient struggles of the inhabitants of the Peninsula against the emigrants and invaders who had come there since the most remote times of the neolithic era and the subsequent ethnic and cultural crossings with them —struggles and symbioses among the most daring and venturesome peoples of Europe, Asia and Africa since they were the first ones to abandon their primitive and transitory headquarters to keep going and reach the *Finis Terrae* at the extreme limit of the known world— had created in the Spaniards a most singular vital contexture. They had made him hungry for adventures, a lover of freedom, a bearer of pains and hardships, with the taste for leadership, not reasoning, a hater of foreigners, strong, proud, bold, fierce, impulsive and vehement. It could not be otherwise with the heir of the most daring communities, of the most restless peoples of the ancient world who for being restless and daring had come to the western end of the earth. Their passionate vitality was such that it transcended their impetuosity in their relations with the mysterious forces of the beyond and went integrally into their literary and scientific creations and even reached the point of putting death at the service of their ardent vital desires.

«Hispania, non quam Italia terra sed quam ulla pars terrarum, bello reparando aptior erat, locorum hominumque ingeniis», wrote Livy. His words explain the tremendous slowness of the Roman conquest of Spain. From the landing of the Scipios in 218 B. C. to the final submission of the Cantabrians in the year 9 B. C., more than two centuries elapsed. The nature of the country and of the Spaniards of which Livy speaks had determined the two century–long campaign. The complicated horizontal and vertical configuration of the Peninsula made its defense easy and attack difficult. The usual ruggedness and vigor, the impulses and pride and the same love for freedom moved peninsular people to fight furiously against the invaders. Each tribe in its turn fought with ferocity. Acts of heroism can be found in all Spaniards, including in the people from the South and from Levant who had been in contact with foreing peoples and cultures for centuries. The lack of solidarity, the secessionist pride, the lack of political sensitivity and the ultraindividualism of the Spaniards made the conquest easy and difficult at the same time. They made it possible because Rome was able to conquer city by city and tribe by tribe since it never had to face even united great tribal groups. Scipio needed 70.000 men to conquer a small place like Numantia which had been fighting alone for twenty years. We can imagine the effort it would have cost the Romans to overcome the Celts and the Iberians together. The same functional structure of the Spaniards which so facilitated Rome's victories made the total conquest of the Peninsula difficult. The greatest victories only gave to the Romans the mastery of the tribe or of the city which they had conquered. The defeat of a tribal or urban community did not alter the

designs nor diminished the valor of the neighboring urban and tribal communities and Rome had to continue to struggle without rest.

The Roman conquest must have exposed the vital essences of Spain. The barbarian struggle which the peninsular men must have suffered during the two centuries before Christ, centuries during which Rome was conquering the various Spanish people with the help of the first ones defeated and captured, undoubtedly accentuated the strong features of the rugged forms of life of the Spaniards. And then? What happened after the conquest of the Peninsula?

Some years ago I studied the slow «Process of the Romanization of Spain from the Scipios to Augustus». The Romanization of the forms of life and the subsequent unification started in the regions most imbued with the Greek and Punic cultures, through the land of the ancient empire of Tartesso: Turdetania, Baetica or Andalusia which had a millenary civilization behind under the egis and lordship of the great merchant city at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, an area which, used to the frequenting of the peoples of Phocis, the Phoenicians, the Carthaginians, had become porous to the new cultural ideas; through the Levantine coast, open to the Phocian Etruscan and Punic winds; in whose Mastian and Bastitanian zones, the Iberian civilization, satured with Hellenism from the 4th to the 2th century before Christ and whose beaches in Tarragona easily communicated with Italy had flourished. Roman life immediately floods from Andalusia, the valley of Guadiana and the Atlantic limits of Portugal; and from Catalonia it inundates the valley of the Ebro to the extreme point of the Basque country, today's Navarre; through the basins of Jalón and the sources of the Duero and Tajuña it penetrates in the two Celtiberias: in the two central plateaus of Spain. From the Tagus and Duero, it goes down to the West, extending through the high plains of León and Castile, rising from Lusitania to the land of Braga between the Duero and Miño. With difficulty it crosses the ways which lead to Galicia, to transmontane Asturias and Cantabria. And finally it infiltrates as far as Caristia and Vardulia whose old lands are now occupied by the Basque provinces, to lands which have not completely accepted the clearest exponent of Roman civility of then and of now: the language of Latium and its legitimate child, the language of Castile.

Strabo's words about the state of Romanization of the peninsular men at the beginning of our era are well known: «The inhabitants of Turdetania, especially those who live on the shores of the Betis, have completely acquired the way of life of the Romans to the point of forgetting their own language... The Iberians who have adopted this way of life are called togaed, among whom are the Celtiberians, although in other times they had had the fame of being the most ferocious». To him we also owe specific items on the rugged coarseness of the Galicians, Asturians, Cantabrians and Basques. We do not know well the late Romanization of these peoples, but it is evident that it was very intense in Galicia, in the Asturias on

this side of the mountain and in the Basque area of the Ebro, lesser in the mountainous and marine region of Asturias and Cantabria and very minimal in the Basque area of the people of Caristia and Vardulia and in the greater part of the Pyrenean Basque country. However, I am not interested in tracing the curve of the long Hispano-Roman history here. I only want to examine how the conquest and the Romanization of Spain influenced the making of the Spanish temperamental heritage.

We cannot yet evaluate with precision the action of the long half millennium of Roman mastery over the greater part of Spain in the forming of the historical personality of the Spaniards. However, it is fitting to say that those who consider it decisive err as much as those who consider it inoperative. Only being poisoned by political passion can any one deny that the domination of Rome was fruitful in the making of Spain, it was so in two ways, because it attenuated the differences which separated peninsular people by facilitating and causing contact between them and by saturating them with Romanism and because later it favored their understanding of superior Hispanic unity through unifying and unitarian institutions and with the possibility of their contrast, outside the scope of the Peninsula, with the other members of the Roman Sphere. And it is clear that the undeniable action of Rome in the making of Spain as a historical unit cannot be underestimated in the appraisal of the Hispanic channels of life and of the life of Spain in History.

Perhaps the long rule of Rome over Spain was not as effective in altering the temperamental heritage of the primitive Spaniards. We cannot affirm as Ortega y Gasset that the Roman domination was a neutral element in the maturing of the Hispanic personality. Five centuries are a long time not to leave vestiges in the forms of thought and of volition, in the sensibility and in the passional impulses and curbs of the peninsular people However, we really do not know well the substructure of the Hispano-Roman history and it is not possible to specify in detail the features of the symbiosis of what is Roman and what is Spanish. These will only be clearly established when an authentic historian of ancient Spain appears. None the less, one should note some indications of the occurrence of the domination of Rome in the Spanish soul.

The unique Roman concept of the relations of the metropolitan city with its colonies not assimilative and very distant, proud and passive —more like that of the modern English Empire than of the live, passionate but profound and incisive one of the Spanish Empire—, does not allow to bring up the hypothesis that the Roman rule revolutionized the vital contexture of the Spaniards and molded it in the image and likeness of the metropolis.

Nevertheless, the adoption of the Latin language by peninsular people —with the only exception of the mountain peoples of Navarre and of the Basque countries— and their receiving from the world of ideas —neither very original nor very brilliant but the sum total of the cultural patrimony— which filled the Roman minds, had to make impressions in the processes of

conscience and in the mechanism of sensations and desires of Romanized Spaniards. It is accredited by the integration of the Peninsula in the frame of Western culture, in spite of the centuries of Islamite mastery, and the similarity which, over and beyond their substantial differences, brings the life style of the Spaniards close to that of the other peoples of the West, Since this double relationship cannot extend its roots as far as pre-Roman Spain, whose vital contexture had been the outcome, as has been said, of the symbiosis of peoples and cultures which, either did not reach the land of the sister nations of Europe or did not mix in them and which, therefore, could not cause crossings similar to the one which the life style of the peninsular peoples conquered by Rome engendered.

The inhabitants of the South and of the Levant of Spain had known centuries of contact with the culture and the vital modules of the peoples on the shores of the Mediterranean. The flooding of the whole Peninsula by them, through the state machine of Rome and in the midst of a peace ruled by the law could have opened the way to the serene meditation and reflection of the Spaniards through the barren plain of pride and of impetuosity, enriching thus with the wealth of reason the barrenness of their temperamental exaltations. In the battle of thinking as the motivating spark of willing, against the pure passional desire, it could have altered the balance of integral forces of the self, accentuating the action of the spirit in the life of peninsular peoples, until then dominated by the complex of the impulses, sentiments, emotions and desires and of the instincts and the organic sensations. It could have moved them to the serene meditation on the problems of man and of nature, to the increasing objectivating of their thoughts in diverse techniques and to the perfecting of their mechanism of conscience until they reached introspection.

Some of these possibilities —the repeated variety of possibilities that history offers— were really used by the Spaniards. A minority, at least became saturated by the cultural patrimony of Rome. There took place a graft of what is Mediterranean and what is Hispanic in the life of the spirit. The works of Priscillian, Prudentius, Orosius, and Egeria prove it, outcome of the symbiosis between the temperamental Hispanism of their authors, pointed out more than once and upon which it is fitting to insist, and the heritage they received from the late Roman Empire. The extreme Northeast origin of three of the cited literary figures and the fact that one of them was a woman, proves the intensity of mixing of the races.

Confirming that intensity and attesting the continuation of its fruits: the maturity and the relative brilliance of the Spanish culture, the depth of its philosophical and scientific thought and the evolved processes of conscience during the Gothic period. One cannot suspect that the dedication to science of Saint Isidore, Saint Braulio, Eugene, Liciano could be the outcome of the Gothic lack of culture, any more than the outburst of spiritual intimacy of Saint Isidore, Saint Alphonsus, Saint Valery and Saint Eugene, outbursts not to be forgotten.

It also seems certain that the domination of Rome had a sobering influence upon the exalted personality of the Spaniards. The long peace which Spain enjoyed in the extreme Western part of the Roman world and the rigorous and involved juridical dispositions which ruled Spanish life, probably curbed and attenuated the old impulses of the Spaniards, softened their sharp angles, placating their vehemence, taming their pride and bending their vital vigor. In fact Spanish resistance to Germanic invasion was much less vigorous and energetic than in the case of the Roman conquest and we find a complete lack of vitality in the Spaniards of the 5th century as can be verified in Hidacio's lines.

It is not prudent to go too far in admitting a profound change of the structural function of the peninsular people under the egis of Rome, because the Romans could not transmit to the Spaniards forms of life which they did not have. They had adopted the cultural Greco-Oriental traditions and had filtered them through their own temperamental contexture, which made them tend to the mastering of men and of things and to the regulation of the relations between men among themselves and between men and things, more than to the analysis and investigation of the mystery of human life and the mysteries of nature and the world, to action more than to thought and to desire more than to reason, to the willful projection of the impulses more than to the triumph of the reasoning intellect over the will, to ramble about ethical problems more than to meditate on philosophical questions, to the free interplay of feelings more than to deal with ideas, to the imitation of reality more than to the dream of fantasy, to the valuing of physical effort more than to admiration for the subtle creations of intelligence, to measure human acts by the courage they demanded more than by the ideal goal to which they led; to exigences of what is practical more than to ideal abstractions; to relish lordly life more than the laborious life of work...

Bad masters to change the roots of a still primitive people and who had most of their qualities and their faults. Bad masters to make of the Spaniards what they were not. The Roman domination was not a neutral stage of the history of Spain. I see it affirmatively; affirmative of the functional structure and of the primitive psychic contexture of peninsular men. If the martial antibiosis between what is Spanish and what is Roman exposed it, accentuating its angles, the temperamental heritage of the Spaniards who had to confront Rome, then the fruitful Roman-Hispanic symbiosis far from changing the old vital heritage formed in millenniums, must have contributed to make it last, and it must have increased it with new tendencies, not contradictory but auxiliary of those already part of their way of life.

To verify the reality of that guarantee of the primitive Spanish temperamental traditions and their complement by additional ones, it will suffice to compare the vital contexture of the peninsular men of the beginning of our Era, such as it is summarized before, with the ones which disclose

the actions and sayings of the Spanish Christian during the Middle Ages. A centering of the organic structure of the community around the diamond-like axle of the human person, master of life and ruling the world, and as such serene and erect before the web of the surrounding world; this centering is an essential characteristic of both. This coordinate of Hispanic existence which involves the tendency of man to not become submerged in things, not letting himself go towards things, to attract them to him without penetrating them but ruling them: does this not marvelously tie in with the psychic Roman contexture? For that reason the two outcomes mentioned before of the inundation of Spain by the culture and the vital modules of the Mediterranean tradition through the Roman state machinery were short-lived and not fruitful: the scientific vocation of a select minority and the soothing action of the rigorous and involved juridical system which Rome imposed.

The first one illumined the Southern and Eastern part of the Peninsula, like lightning, having been in contact with Greece and the Orient for millenniums and during the Gothic period, still closely connected with Byzantium. A lightning which rapidly lit those two zones of Spain —the generation interested in science did not last more than half a century— and left in the dark all the Central and the Northeast parts of the Peninsula where Spain was to be born. Priscillian, Orosius, Egeria were interested in religious and historical problems, but they did not search in the secrets of nature.

It is certain that if they did not receive their profound juridical sense from Rome —it is suspected that it is prior to the Roman conquest— Spaniards maintained and strengthened it by their ancient contact with their Latin dominators. Sometimes I wonder if the contrast between the abundant and prolific legislative devotion of peninsular men —consequence of their vivid juridical spirit— and their scorn for the fulfilment of the law, does not have some of its roots deeply buried in the early resistance given by haughty Spaniards to their lords' legislation, that is to say: the legislation of Rome. That resistance which we would call patriotic now, could continue during the Visigothic rule against the laws of the new masters —there are proofs that some of the legal norms of the *Liber Judicum* were never carried out. At the end of the centuries between the landing of the Scipios (218 B. C) and that of Tariq (711 A. D.), it could have been part of the second nature habits of the Spanish people. The theme is very complex and it is related with the posture of the Spaniard before the State, equally providence and enemy through the centuries.

Nevertheless, one thing seems certain to me: the forming of the acute juridical sense of the peninsular people —their guarantee— by the symbiosis between what is Hispanic and what is Roman, and the long peace ruled by law which Spain enjoyed during the long domination of Rome did not produce a radical change in the bold way of being of our ancestors of fifteen hundred years ago.

The reappearance in the medieval centuries of many of the old temperamental characteristics of the Spaniard before Christ —these coincidences are a matter of record— permit us to conjecture that the action of the Roman rule over the bold and vehement personality of the peninsular man, must have only been a fleeting sedative which did not succeed in essentially changing the character and the destiny of the Spaniards. One may even suspect that the narcotic was less efficacious in the most primitive and less Romanized mountain peoples of the North, from Galicia to the Basque country, peoples who were to initiate the restauration of Spain after the Moslem invasion.

The endemic and very extended banditry during all of the Roman domination —literary and juridical texts and inscriptions disclose its continuation— must have served as an escape valve, always ready to give way to the old impulse. With banditry, the continuous service under the Roman eagles in all the battlefields of the world —Spain was a center for raw materials and a hotbed of soldiers— must have also contributed in maintaining the life of the temperamental exaltation of the Spaniards. The great and early social and political crisis of the Empire and the invasions of Spain by Moors and Germanic groups in the second and third centuries must have put water in the wine of the juridical order and of the peace in which could have matured the slow change of the vital essences of the Spaniards and in which their integral activism could have been moderated. Finally in the 5th century, in the obscure times when various areas of the Peninsula «without king nor castle» were left unprotected from anarchy, orphans from the imperial authority and always threatened by the next coming or return of the Barbarians, Spaniards had to live again times similar to those that preceded the triumph of the Roman *lex* and *pax* and finally had to fall back to their pristine life style.

The extraordinary success of the peasant revolt in Spanish lands —I have studied that topic somewhere else— proves that such hypotheses are based on the going back of the Spaniards to their ancestral forms of life, especially in reference to the mountain peoples of the North of Spain whose subsequent resistance to the Gothic domination confirms it. Everything proves that old desires, fervors, passions and prides had not died in them, or what comes to the same thing, that after the happy enchantment of peace and of the legal order of the Roman times, the primitive psychic powers and the primitive temperamental tendencies of the Spaniards triumphed again actively and abundantly, especially in the peninsular peoples of the North.

4. What is Hispanic in the Hispano-Romans

One final problem occurs in our reflection upon the history of Spain under Rome's rule. Great figures of Roman thought, literature and politics

were born in the Peninsula. Some were pure Spanish and they matured in Spain. Others had more or less Spanish blood but they were sons of families settled in the country for some time but raised in their native land, or in Rome-Hadrian had a strong Andalusian accent. Many modern scholars have pointed out the projection of the racial and therefore temperamental Hispanism of these Spaniards in their literary and philosophical creations and in their political and human deeds. The irruption of peninsular writers in the Latin letters of the first century of the Empire has come to explain the stylistic peculiarities that distinguish them. Great figures in modern erudition, Mommsen, Menéndez Pelayo, Gaston Boissier have concretely related some aspects of Seneca's personality to his Spanish roots. In the *Farsalia* of Lucan, Menéndez Pidal has seen the prefiguration of the Spanish epic. Gaston Boissier, Pierre de Labriolle, Menéndez Pidal, Angel Castellán have noted Spanish traits in Prudentius works, René Pichon in Orosius' and Menéndez Pidal has pointed out the reflection of the vital Hispanism in the man Trajan and in the religious politics of Teodosius.

A particular essay writer is irritated by the common feeling about the Hispanism of the Hispano-Roman authors and writes: «the repetition of being 'Spanish' Seneca, Lucan, Martial, Prudentius, etc., is greatly disturbing in realizing what is effectively real in Spanish life». His irritation is understandable, he insists on giving an incisive cut in the history of Spain. For him what is Spanish was born after 711, date of the Arab invasion of our common land. What is Hispanic would have evaporated without leaving traces and a new vital contexture would have occurred according to him. If before the moment of the generation of what is Spanish —in I do not know what unknown and mysterious womb, since Spain, then already millenary had left no clear traces—, if before 711 the essential traits of what was later Hispanic could be verified, his thesis would crack in its foundations.

«For someone who knows the literature of Rome and the history of Greek thought —he writes— the pretension of those who speak of Spanish Senequism (Ganivet, Menéndez y Pelayo and so many others) is as surprising as would be the attempt to link Ruben Darío's poetry to the Indian cultures (much more important than the Iberian one) and not with the literature of Spain and of France.» Let us ignore his comparison between the Indian and Iberian cultures, the peninsular civilization many centuries before Christ compares well with the American civilizations of many centuries after Christ; the megalithic Hispanic constructions are much older than the Indian ones which were appearing when in Spain for millenniums no one had entered the Cave of Altamira, the civilization of Tartessos was forgotten, the diadem of Jávea and the lady of Elche had been buried for many centuries, the Theater of Mérida and the amphitheater of Itálica had been destroyed, the aqueduct of Segovia and the lighthouse of Hercules had fallen into disuse, and even the mosque of Cordova and the Cathedral of Compostela had been built. The comparison between the primitive cultures

of little Spain and big America is not important here, the other one is referring to Ruben Darío's poetry.

No one has pretended to link Seneca's thought, nor the epigrams of Martial, nor the *Periestefanon* of Prudentius with the Iberian civilization. What people who knew Greek philosophy and Latin literature have affirmed is something very different. Who has doubted that the spiritual creations of the Hispano-Romans were within the strict boundaries of the Greco-Latin culture? It is true that Seneca was formed in the school of Socion and Atalo. Yes, Seneca, Lucan, Martial, Prudentius, etc., thought and wrote following the spiritual currents triumphant during their life in the Roman world. But the philosopher, the writer, the politician are not mere puppets whose strings are pulled by an omnipotent and mysterious being to make them think, speak, move, act with borrowed ideas, feelings, emotions, passions, desires, gestures, voices and words; they are not mere puppets animated by an omnipotent and mysterious being, who, according to a contested thesis, would be identifiable with the abstract being of a culture. The philosopher, writer, politician live immersed in a cultural ocean, but according to his unique temperament, the unique union of his reasoning spirit, his emotional sensibility, his vital impulses. According to his unique psycho-physical equation? Yes and no. Yes, inasmuch as every man has his own. No, inasmuch as being man he belongs to a historical community and participates in its temperamental heritage. Here is precisely where the problem lies. The thinker, writer, or politician lives within the cultural climate where destiny has placed him, but he lives according to his own vital contexture, generated by the union between the heritage received from his race and his people and the projections of his own individuality. Seneca, Lucan, Martial, Prudentius, etc., thought and wrote in agreement with the Greco-Latin cultural traditions, but according to their Hispanic condition and their peculiar psycho-physical equation, as thought and wrote all the writers who thought and wrote with Latin words. The Roman Empire was a complex and multiform world in which many different peoples communicated. I cannot believe, as has occurred to great historians before, that the birth within the boundaries of this gigantic political conglomerate ruled from Rome and from outside of Rome, could suffice to uniformize the consciences, the temperaments, the inclinations of Gauls, Britons, Italians, Illyrians, Spaniards, Lybians, Egyptians, Greeks, Syrians... I refuse to believe as famous scholars have before, that the vital structures of each one of these peoples did not fall in the spiritual creation or in the political deeds of those of their sons who thought, wrote or performed in the Roman Empire. In circumstances no less favorable to uniformity, the postures of the thinkers, the writers and the politicians of each people of the West have also been different before the diverse cultural processes which history has been suggesting to them.

Only the irritation of the quoted writer before the possible cracking of his thesis on the genesis of what is Hispanic, if before 711 some penin-

sular people had shown temperamental traits characteristic of the Spaniards of the medieval and modern centuries, explains his refusal to concede to the Hispano-Romans the peculiarities that he concedes to the Hispano-Jews. He supposes that the latter distinguish themselves within the cultural and vital scope of Spain because of their Hebrew condition although they had lived for centuries under the Hispanic temperamental dome, although they had changed faith and in the end had accepted the complex of ideas and emotions of the Spanish Christians and although in many occasions, streams of non-Jewish blood flowed through their veins. He refuses to recognize that the Hispano-Romans —at times, as in the case of Martial, pure Celtiberians and born when their regional homeland was still in the unconcluded process of Romanization— would also mark, somehow, their Spanish life style in their way of thinking, writing, and working on the Roman one.

The same person who denies any trace of Hispanism in the Cordovan Seneca, supposes that Montaigne singularizes himself among the French writers and that he shows clear traits of temperamental *españolia* because his mother was the granddaughter of Spanish Jewish converts who had emigrated from Aragón to France three generations before.

The life style of the peninsular people from the beginning of the first century after Christ is more or less well known —there is a schematic outline of it—, but who will dare doubt that it had to be different from the one peculiar to the Romans, their conquerors of only a few decades before? Who will be able to doubt that the Hispanic temperamental tradition of the Cordovan Seneca, Martial of Bilbilis, Prudentius of Calagurris, Trajan of Italica, and Theodosius of Cuenca ceased to influence in the literary life of the ones and the political life of the others? How many similar cases could we quote in times closer to us! In Blanco White or in Santayana, two Spaniards expelled from the Spanish homeland in the 19th and in the 20th century, has not what is Hispanic left any trace? Inversely, can we radically fail to recognize the reality of the American homeland in Rubén Darío?

To say that the Spaniards have not always thought and written like Seneca, Lucan, Martial or Prudentius, nor acted like the emperors Trajan and Theodosius! What would have been strange, prodigious and incredible would be the opposite. Time goes by and everything changes.

What is of interest is to know if in the lives of the Hispano-Roman writers and politicians there was not something pointing to what later became what is Spanish. The examination of the temperamental Hispanism of Seneca, Lucan, Martial, Prudentius, Trajan or Theodosius requires a book. A difficult book because the grasping of those subtle projections of what is Hispanic in the thought, the sensibility and the vital impulses of some men so removed from us, cannot be done without examining with extreme caution, the intimate beat of their personality in a continuous and delicate parallel with the history of their time and the history of

their lineage. It will be necessary, for example, to examine with extreme care what differentiates Seneca from the other Stoics prior to him, Lucan from the Greek and Latin epic poets, Martial from the satirical poets of Rome, Prudentius from the Christian Lyricists of his days, in relation with the temperamental features which, later, in different times, have characterized those Spaniards who used the same literary genres as Seneca, Lucan, Martial or Prudentius. Only when such a book may be written-that difficult but not impossible book —will we have clear ideas about this very arduous question.

Meanwhile, in my book I have pointed out already and will continue to point out clear traits, undeniable traits, evident traits in the life and miracles of Martial and his epigrams, coinciding with traits in other Spaniards who lived, and wrote under very different cultural and vital domes from those that sheltered the life and the work of the son of Bilbilis

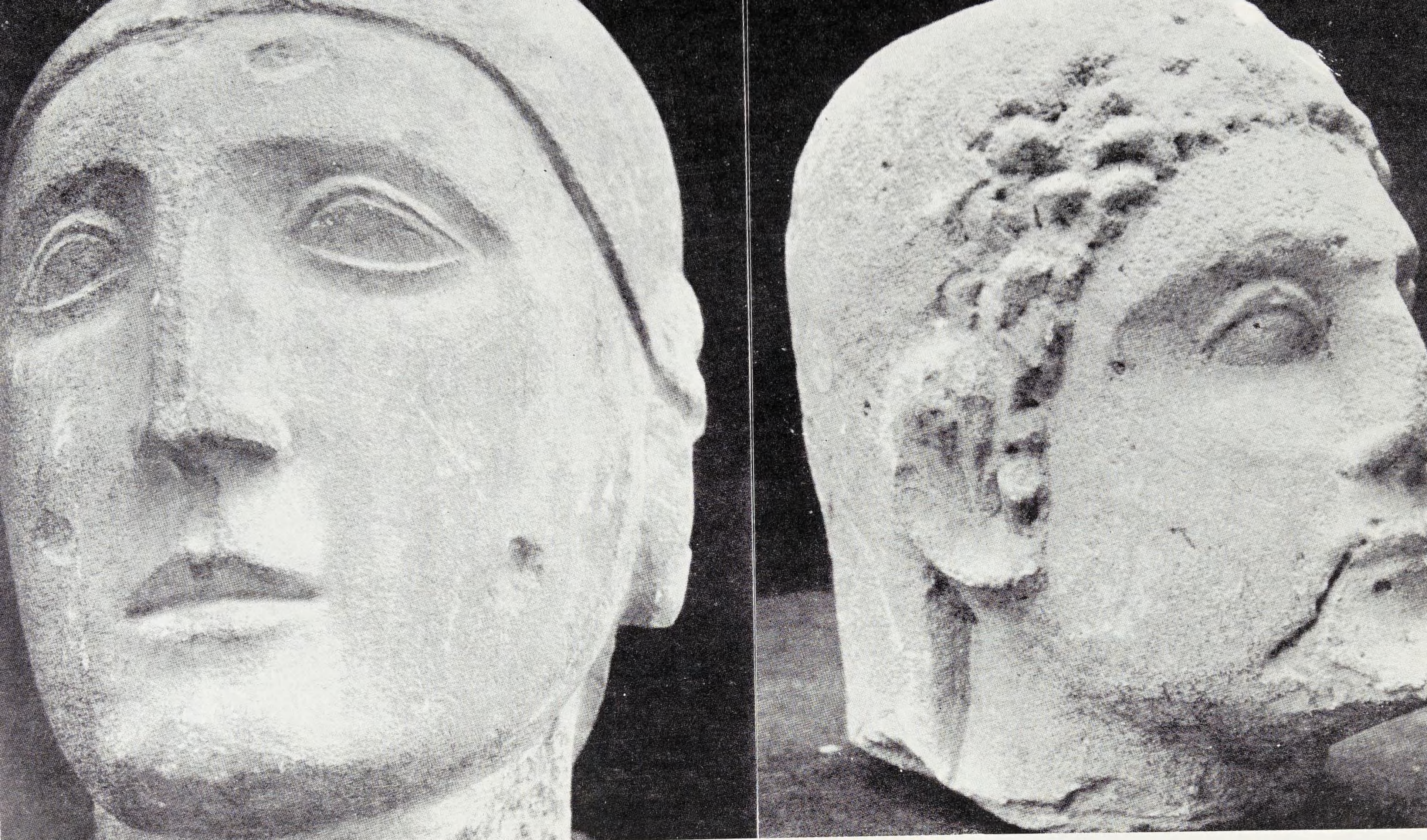
«If the Spaniards had been followers of Seneca —it has been said— everything in them would have been different from the way it has been and is.» Naturally between us and Seneca, whom Nero condemned to death, lies... the history of almost 2.000 years. Under absolutely no circumstances could the Spaniards through the centuries have been as Seneca was in the middle of the first century of the Christian Era. However, I insist that this is not the question. The question is based on whether Seneca, within the cultural Greco-Roman dome, showed Hispanic temperamental features and whether through that path of his vital Hispanism, Hispanic streams more or less lasting, entered his thought and his works.

The same writer mentioned before has strengthened the theories of Mommsen, Menéndez Pelayo, Gaston Boissier... on Seneca's Hispanism. He has pointed out, something not done before, that Seneca wrote in the first person, related obscenities and filth and spoke of himself. He tries to distinguish those habits of Seneca from the very same ones peculiar to the subsequent *homo hispanus.* Martial related filth and obscenities like his compatriot Seneca, and frequently, like him, he opened the valve of his autobiography. Later I will speak of the continuation of such tendencies in the medieval and modern Spaniards. Let it be said that Seneca used vile language with the same naturalness as the Spanish Ibn Hazm and the Spanish Cervantes used them later. One can catch in the latter a roguish wink at times, which cannot be found in Seneca. For example, the tone roguishly burlesque with which Ibn Hazn points out, in phrases which I do not dare reprint here, the preferences of a Cordovan homosexual who had prostituted his wives to enjoy some ephebes, is evident; it is difficult to deny the roguish joque of Cervantes in sketching, for example, the nocturnal dialogue of Sancho Panza and Tomé Cecial, his neighbor, while their lords, Don Quijote and the Bachelor Sansón Carrasco were talking.

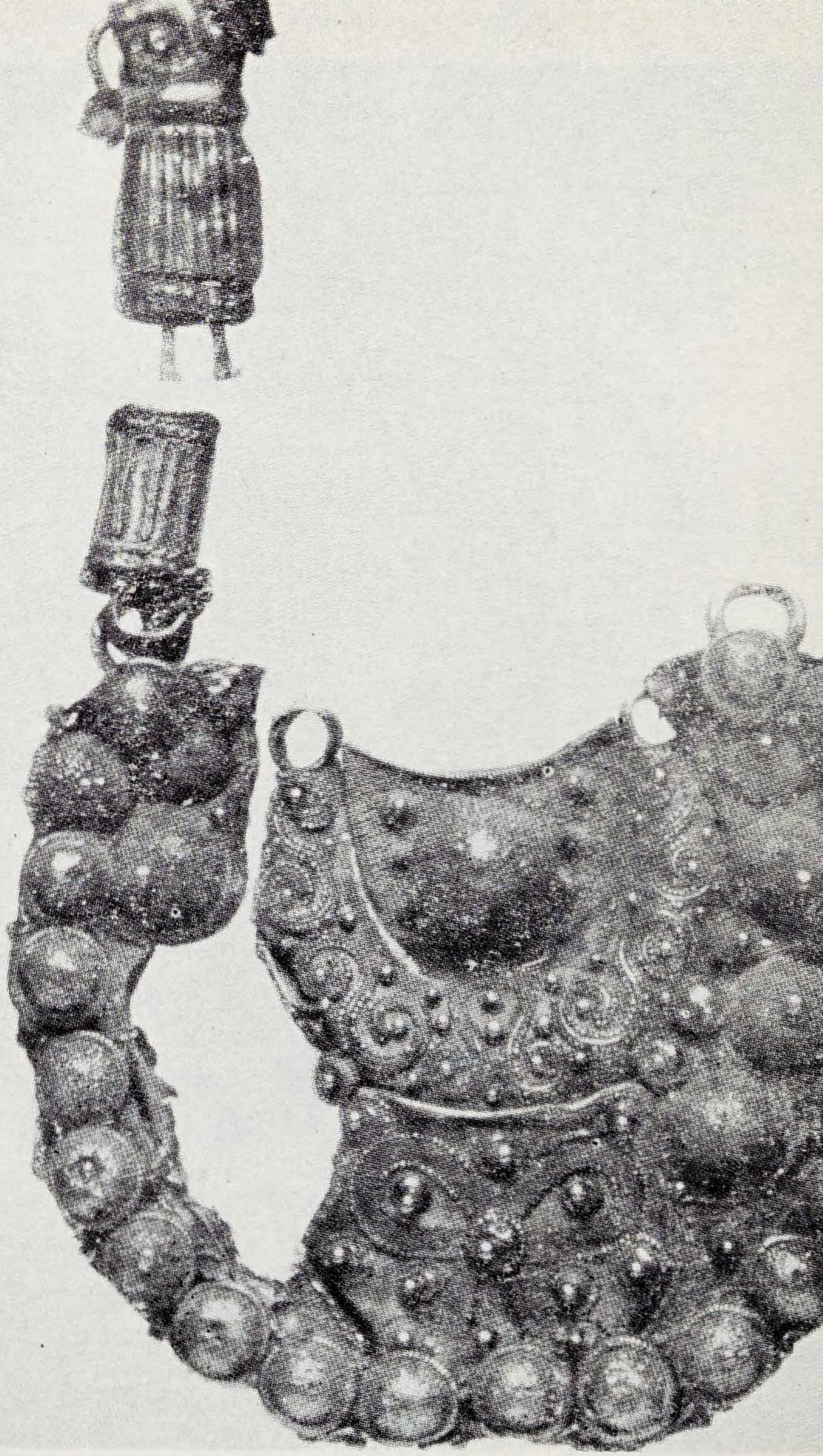
Although I might err in interpreting autobiographically the slips towards the vile of the Cordovan Seneca, the problem of his functional Hispanism will remain, because what is Centaur-like and the tendency to dirty and

obscene realism are only, in any case, projections without importance of one aspect —and not the most characteristic— of what is Hispanic. What is essentially Hispanic is much more. It would be necessary to investigate to what point the Hispanic temperamental heritage of Seneca influenced in his stoical theories and in his life, not always coinciding. Did not that Hispanism overflow, color, alter the strict mold of the stoical ideas, general in the world upon his arrival in Rome? Students of Seneca's philosophy situate him in the so-called new Stoicism, mainly of religious and moral character, stoicism whose greatest figures are after the Andalusian thinker and they also affirm that his doctrines did not develop within the strict framework of the stoical system.

I subscribe to the affirmation that: «To be sober, brave and patient, enduring any evil is independent from the stoical philosophy». But was it not Seneca who insisted especially on carrying out these precepts? Did not the Spanish Seneca consider the Stoic as a distant and unreachable archetype of life «whom chance neither excites nor crushes... and whose greatest enjoyment consists in disdaining them all»? He considered happy someone capable of nearing that stoical ideal, someone who overcame his human tendencies, but did he not consider man as a suffering being to whom we must try to bring remedy and consolation? Is not the meaning of Seneca's thought rooted in the fact that it is a teaching for life more than a metaphysical statement of the problems of man and of the world? Is not there in his stoicism an ethical current superior to the one before stoicism? Does he not give to his preaching a religious accent tending to theism, accent which was to triumph in stoical philosophy? Does not Seneca color the stoical ideas by presenting as the foundation of ethics, along virtuous life, the human dignity capable of resisting debasement and perversity? Is not there in the stoical thought of Seneca some current of chilvalrous courage peculiar to this stoicism? In his theories about man's prudence with fortune, the strengthening of virtue in danger and about the glory caused by the worthy confrontation of misfortune, in all this is not there a nuance of the stoical doctrine? Does not Seneca give his own tonality to stoical ideas by stressing the practical aspect of the moral concepts? Does not Seneca express his stoical concepts either in a gnomic or pithy method or in a singular literary ostentation with euphuisms? Does not Seneca, in all these pecularities of his thought and style, still show some trace of temperamental Hispanism? These are questions, not statements. A careful and diligent study will bring out what Seneca brought to stoicism and the differences which separated him from the Stoics preceding him. Martinazzoli and Husner have not done that study thinking about the temperamental Hispanism of Seneca. There were two themes open: What did Seneca take from the Hispanic essence —naturally of his time— to his doctrine? What is there of Seneca in what is Hispanic? García Borron has answered the first one of these questions demostrating the vital and doctrinal Hispanism of Seneca.



7.—*Busts of offerers of the Iberian temple that was raised on the «Hill of the Saints» (Alicante).* Under the shield of the cult to the invisible powers of the other world, the *homo hispanus* quickly grasped and reproduced the image of man and before the Romans brought to Spain the art of the portrait, he sculptured not the idealized prototypes of human beings, but realistic effigies of concrete individuals. *Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Madrid).*



8.—Bulls and Filigrees in primitive Spain, as in today's Spain. Also a perdurable Oriental heritage? From what country and on what date was it received? Can the names of Crete and Phoenicia be written? The legend of Hercules already situated, in the Peninsula, mythical struggles with bulls. *Heads of Costix (Mallorca). Museo Arqueológico de Madrid. Earrings with pendant of Saint James of the Sword (Jaén). Institute of Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid.*

9.—Gate of Spain; through Catalonia many winds from outside have entered. Here are *the Cyclopean walls of Tarraco,* of Aegean origin? In Ampurias the people from Phocis were established later on. The region later converted into central nodal of the Roman Conquest and Colonization of Hispania —Tarragona was the principal port of Rome in the Peninsula—, Catalonia became a valuable instrument of the unification of Hispanic people.

10.—«Barely a landmark remains.» But the history of the small Celtiberian city that resisted and outsmarted Rome during twenty years does remain. To subdue Numantia, Scipio needed 60,000 men; and only by encircling it with a belt of walls and condemning it to death by hunger he succeeded in taking possession of its smoking ruins, since the inhabitants of Numantia burned it and died. A few hundred Spaniards conquered America. *A partial view of Numantia (Soria).*

As for other Hispano-Roman men of letters or action, from what we know, it cannot be denied that their Hispanic temperamental heritage clearly influenced their thought, their works and their actions.

Art historians have pointed out some peculiar characteristics of what is Hispano-Roman. In architecture, the art least favorable to the impact of what is personal, Thouvenot has noted the almost exuberant thematic architectural ornamentation in the Southern part of the Peninsula and the modifications there introduced in the Vitruvian canon in order to give greater magnificence to the capitals with infinite variations and extraordinary plant foliage, ornamental wealth which recalls that of Asia Minor. Puig y Cadafalch also pointed out ornamental peculiarities in Tarraco. For Taracena in central Spain «the native tradition in labor is so frequent that it prevents the appreciation of general types». Differently from what happened in Gaul, where sculpture was more Gallic than Roman, in Spain, the latter was accepted without violence and imitated with the only exception of the Northwest where Celtic art lasted for centuries. In the areas of Mérida and Seville triumphed profoundly realistic popular portraying. Taracena does not believe that this triumph can be attributed to the early Romanization of the country because popular portraying is lacking in Levant, Romanized before. He attributed it to a propitious temperamental aptitude of the Spaniards of the region to grasp and imitate the realism of the Roman portrait and to apply it to the sculptural reproduction of popular types whose profiles and faces —at times fierce— can be recognized today in the streets of Spain. The little clay figures of Itálica and of Cerro Muriano (Cordova) confirm him in that opinion and also those which have been found in the necropolis of Palencia. He also points out how frequent scenes of daily life are reproduced in funeral steles, unpolished but realistic works and generally not following a pattern. These items barely need comments because they point to the magnificence in architectural decoration and to realism popular and individual in sculpture.

Let anyone believe if he wishes that the Hispanic temperament did not influence in the thought and action of the Hispano-Romans.

5. The Goths and the retrogression of the Hispanic vital contexture

In the year 409 the assasination of the Hispano-Roman magnates Didimo and Vereniano, relatives of Theodosius, who with their relatives and clients were defending the passages of the Pyrenees permitted the Swabians, the Vandals and the Alans to enter Spain. A few years later, the Goths, under the command of Ataulfo, entered Tarraco. A decisive stage was being initiated in Spanish history. The first to come had barely had any contact with Rome, the Goths had been living for a century within the boundaries of the Roman world. To the Spaniard Paul Orosius we owe the information

concerning Ataúlfo's idea of injecting youthful Gothic blood in the old arteries of the Empire, convinced that the Visigoths were too barbarian to found a new State. That political idea cost him his life and it was not followed by his successors. Although they had to make a pact with Rome, they never dreamed, as he did, of strengthening the caducous Roman state framework and really contributed to its total ruin.

The Germanic invasions broke the Roman organization in Spain. The Goths, established in the Gauls, crossed the Pyrenees more than once as helpers of the Empire. During some decades a faint shadow of the century old rule of Rome in the Peninsula still remained. From the days of Majoriano there were no more imperial troops nor public officials. Somewhat later, in 468, Eurico initiated the occupation of Spain. But only after the defeat of Vogladum (507) when the Franks pushed the Goths toward Spain did the Hispano-Gothic kingdom really organize itself. Two centuries later, in 711, that kingdom fell with a crash in Guadalete.

Those events are more than well known by every one. I have recalled them because they form the essential outlines of the brief historical Hispano-Visigoth symphony and because some have been induced in error by forgetting or distorting them. It has been argued that the Goths were not Spanish. I doubt that anyone would object to that affirmation summarized that way. However, a lot more is meant by these words, what is meant is that the stage of the Visigothic rule in Spain does not rhyme with what is authentically Hispanic.

Neither the Romans, nor the Goths, nor the Mussulmans were, obviously Spanish, but of all of them the Visigoths were the only ones who poured themselves integrally in the river of what is Hispanic. The Roman domination in the Peninsula signified the governing of Spain by one city: Rome —and by the first people conquered by it— and its lasting incorporation in a more or less unitarian cultural complex. The Islamite domination of Spain implied its administration by a mosaic of men of different racial and cultural lineage, with no other common bond than their common religious creed and, in the long run, their incorporation in a very unstandardized unit of culture. It is only with the Goths that an entire people, a total human community, with its old temperamental heritage, its organic contexture, its potential of life, entered Hispanic lands. They were not Spanish when they crossed the Pyrenees but, is it possible that they would not influence —their number is estimated to be 200.000 men— in the forming of what is Hispanic?

It is a fact that when the Arab invasion occurred, Spain was part of the Romano-Germanic Europe although already some nuances distinguished it from Europe. A quarter of a century ago in my essay *España y el Islam,* I summarized my investigations of then thus: «Iberia —today I avoid that word because it lacks peninsular historical value and I always say "Hispania"— more oriented than its Western sisters because of its tradition and of its land and, the Hispanic land being less Germanized,

because it did not suffer an intense barbarian colonization during the last centuries of the Empire, Spain, nevertheless, followed the same paths as the other people, heirs of Rome, at the dawn of the Middle Ages. Those two coinciding circumstances had determined a pace somewhat more slow in the course of Spain, but they had not sufficed in marking different routes. One does not need a very good ear to hear a hoarse Goth sound among a thousand Roman voices, nor too sharp a vision to observe the very boiling of the Germanic caldron in the Hispanic worship when it was caught by the swell of Islam.» I started from this variegated integration of Spain in the West when I studied the change of course that it suffered with the Moslem invasion. My words at the time implied my belief in the differentiation of the Gothic Spain from the Spain of the Reconquest. I continue to believe in such diversity and I do not think that anyone would cease to believe in it. No stage of the past of the people is identical to those which have preceded and followed it in history. It is a truism.

I have said elsewhere: there is no definite and definitive archetype of what is Hispanic. The different layers of what is Spanish have been changing a little every day. It would be amazing if the Hispano-Gothic were identical to what is Hispanic in the times of Alfonso or Philip. The dissimilarity of the functional structures of those vital moments of the Spanish past does not authorize to speak of the non-Hispanic nature of the Visigoths.

One has tried to prove that the Hispano-Gothic forms of life do not coincide with the vital style of the Spanish Christians of the thirteenth century. Who would dare deny that difference? But it would not have been more difficult to point out the distance which separates «the way of life» of Castile conquering Andalusia, from the vital structure of the Bourgeois Spain of the nineteenth century.

The eulogy by Saint Isidore of the military glory of the Gothic kings, «who did not fight for divine reasons», has been contrasted with the subsequent praise by the chroniclers of the Reconquest of the «divine» deeds of the Castilian kings, but such a contrast does not mean anything since the dithyramb of the princes is naturally based on the historical mechanism of each particular generation.

The differences which separate the praise of Spain, of Virgilian lineage, of the *Historia gothorum* of Isidore of Seville from the «praise of Spain» of the *Crónica General* of Alfonso the Learned who is wrongfully supposed to be submerged in the metaphysics of Islam —since Alfonso's words about God are absolutely Christian—, have been pointed out. It is forgotten that no lesser distances would have separated a eulogy of France written in the beginnings of the 7th century from one composed in the second half of the 13th century —600 years do not pass in vain in any country of the world. And the comparison between the two praises has made one affirm that Saint Isidore was very different from the Learned King. Obviously he was different just as Alfonso X was different from Philip II. The king of the Escurial would not have lived surrounded by Jews and

Moors, nor would he have dared to mistreat the archbishop of Santiago, for example. Well then, with the same logic with which one denies the condition of Spaniard to the holy archbishop of Seville, we could deny it to one or the other of the two mentioned sovereigns, since they did not coincide in their modules of life.

From the words with which Recaredo announced his conversion to Catholicism, has been deduced the analogy of the ideas which caused it with those that caused the conversion of Clodoveo and no comparison is found in them with those that the Spanish kings showed later. This negative approach is gratuitous because no medieval or modern Hispanic prince ever had to abjure any heresy and we do not know what he would have thought on such an occasion. The surprise before the similarity between the attitudes of the Frank king and the Visigothic king is symptomatic of the little attention paid to horizontal history. Necessarily Recaredo had to be closer to Clovis than to Philip II just as inevitably as Philip IV had to be closer to Louis XIV than to Wamba or to Peter the Cruel.

In support of the non Hispanic nature of the Visigoths one has referred to the will of knowing man and nature that the students of the time of Isidore show and the articulation in the Gothic society of the celestial «beyond» with the terrestrial «below», without belief absorbing the tension of the structure of its life, intellectual curiosity and vital style whose triumph is denied to what is called «authentic Spain».

This double affirmation is very questionable. I will confront it later in studying the celestial beyond and the terrestrial below. Here I want to point out that during the Hispano-Visigothic period the old acute religious sensibility of peninsular people, rooted in remote primitive Spain, was never interrupted. The will to know men and nature of a very reduced minority of students who investigate the Greco-Roman culture and tradition does not diminish the great importance that the belief continued to have in the Hispanic being. The miracle established as the normal and daily event of life; the historians considered it a historical event because the logic operative at the time was the logic of religion. Historiography accepted and developed the Augustinian doctrine on providential transcendentalism. In Saint Isidore there already exists the germ of what we might call the theocratization of the vital contexture: he advocates the submission of civil power to the religious one; in his days was performed in Toledo, for the first time in the West, the sacred anointing of kings and the following are his words: «what is the use of excelling in the mundane doctrines if one is ignorant in the divine ones?...» The antisemitism attests to the importance reached by religious preoccupations. They already considered God as the supreme judge who conceded victories and defeats in wars. The military chiefs complained to the princes that so many lay people entered the cloisters that recruits were lacking in the army.

The expressive integralism of the Spaniards already points to the intimate overflows which are found at times in Saint Isidore, Saint Al-

phonse, Saint Valery and Saint Eugene, great figures of the generation of the Hispano-Gothic scholars —I refer to the testimony Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel. The polemic between Beato of Liébana and Elipando of Toledo, barely after the fall of the Visigothic monarchy, discloses extreme passional violences and a tendency to use vile expressions, very general among the Spaniards —see Abadal's book.

Later I will explain the lack of attention towards medieval Christian Spain and I will show that when it succeeded in rescuing the long period in which it had to pour all its activity in demonic martial channels, modern Spain felt moved by a will to know no less than the Spanish Goths.

More than to point out the contrasts separating the Spain of the 6th and of the 7th centuries from the Spain of a millennium later —without the impact of Islam, the differences which separated the Ostrogothic Italy or the Merovingian Gaul from the Italy or France of the 16th or 17th century were no less important-- and more than thinking about the similarities between them, it is important to clarify what was the contribution of the Hispano-Gothic society in the forming of the Hispanic vital style.

The Gothic tradition was present in many aspects of Spanish life. The Asturian kings and their successors of León considered themselves the continuers of the Hispano-Gothic sovereigns. The medieval Hispanic nobility considered itself of Visigothic origin. The royalty aspired to the restauration of the Gothic kingdom fallen in Guadalete, and historians and political writers exalted the Gothic origin of the monarchy and of the Spanish society.

Menéndez Pidal has just written: «The Goths, whose literature we do not know at all, influenced in a persisting and profound way all of Spanish literature giving life to a poetic genre which is not like the others: the epic poem which overcomes death; a genre whose spirit at the end of the Middle Ages is transmitted to the *romancero* * and later reappears in the national theater...» Finally we must not forget the Visigothic juridical heritage, still in vigor in today's Spain after so much time, heritage which ruled during many centuries —until the adoption of the Roman law way back in the 12th century— the legal life of peninsular Christians and which still rules in some areas the personal intimacy of the Spaniards.

All these projections of Gothic into Spanish are, nevertheless, minimal in comparison with the most decisive contribution of what is Visigothic to the formation of what is Hispanic which can be possibly pointed out.

Ortega y Gasset made those he considered morbid singularities of the history of Spain derive from the Romanistic alcoholization of the Goths. On the other hand, all efficacy has been denied to the centuries of Visigothic rule in the forming of what is Hispanic. Both theses, coinciding and contradictory, are equally erroneous. Both proceed from an old and wrong

---

* *Romancero* = collection of *romances* or poems in eight-syllable verses.

concept of the Hispano-Gothic society and state as a pure decadent prolongation of the Roman Empire according to which the Gothic people would have lost their primary essences during their century long rambling from the Danube to the Tagus.

The survival of many forms of life of the primitive Germans in the Spain of the Reconquest —my master Hinojosa studied that survival— could have moved Ortega y Gasset to use more caution in his judgment. It is fair to recognize that when his theory appeared there existed on the Visigothic social and state organizations theses which could have induced him in error. Between the publication of *Invertebrate Spain* and of *Spain in its History* I have proved —and no one argues what is essential in my theory— that the Hispano-Gothic society and state were very different from what was believed and that both were so advanced in the 7th century, or perhaps still more advanced, than the Merovingian society and state, in the process of what we might call, to make it clear, integral feudalization.

Between *Invertebrate Spain* and *Spain in its History,* has been demonstrated the settlement of the Goths on the land of Castile in the Duero region, from Soria to the Gothic Fields, in relatively heavy concentration, and the proof of such a settlement is much more replete with fruitful historical consequences than the archeologists to whom we owe the idea, have suspected, so much so that that intensive colonization, combined with the history of the North of Spain during the 8th century, has enabled me to single out the great role played by the Germanic tradition and the ethnic factor in the birth of the Castilian people and of their forms of life.

More than once I have pointed out the historical hiatus which exists between the Visigothic kingdom and that of Asturias which initiated the Reconquest. I have also pointed out that between the Hispano-Gothic society and the one from Asturias-León there was no split. The ruin and the fall of the Hispano-Gothic state accentuated and revitalized more than it weakened and suppressed, the action of the Germanic element in the life of the people called to resist Mussulman assaults.

It is impossible, therefore, to consider the centuries of Gothic rule over the Peninsula as inoperative in the formation of what is Hispanic. To the great service that the Visigothic monarchy lended to what is Spanish by prolonging the stage of the fusion of the blood and of the cultural traditions of peninsular people, still not sufficiently unified at the fall of the Roman Empire, we will have to add others —not always positive— in order to mark the accurate balance sheet of the contribution of the Visigoths in the forging of the vital essences of Spain.

I have verified that in the Visigothic monarchy the peculiar Germanic concept which stressed the personal union of men among themselves, was no less vigorous than in the other barbarian kingdoms —a union freely agreed upon— as the essential basis for political and social relations. I have demonstrated that this concept triumphed particularly in the last century of Hispano-Gothic history. The Visigothic monarchy had two kinds of

clientele. The Germanic *comitatus* continued in the *gardingato* which surrounded the monarchs and the *bucellariato* of the late Roman Empire, in the personal protection which grew around powerful people. The Hispano-Gothic State abrogated the politics of the Caesars hostile to the relations of clientele and legalized them, regulating them. These relations increased day by day. The *gardingos regis* strengthened and intensified their position in the kingdom since the kings needed to defend themselves against the attacks of the aristocracy. The growing power of the latter intensified and strengthened the situation of their protégés who permitted him to assert his strength in the country and to settle on the land. This assertion and settlement, inversely, favored the growth of their clientele and the social rise of the same and attracted within the orbit of the lordly protection new masses of free workers who, thus became dependent.

The two clienteles took root in the country through the concession of the monarchs to their wardens, and of the powerful ones to their protégés, of territorial stipends, «iure precario», to replace the ancient lodging near the master and the cash salaries. This double articulation vassal-beneficial became integrated with increasing intensity in the state organization. The armed clientele of the king and of the grandees went to war at the command of their masters destroying the rigid framework of the army. They granted themselves military benefits in charge of serving in the cavalry. In their last historical stages, from the days of Ervigio especially, the Visigothic monarchy clearly glided into an authentic feudal structure. I have carefully studied these things in my works: *Fideles y Gardingos en la monarquía visigoda* and *El Stipendium hispano-godo.*

This development of the prefeudal Germanic group and of the clientele of Roman origin around the kings and the great laics and clergy, had enlivened the not too different tradition of peninsular people; a tradition in which the leadership, the Iberian *devotio,* whose historical importance is more and more manifest and the hospitality pacts about which new texts are discovered every day, had played a primordial role. The settling of the *fidelitas* as the essential cementing element of the Society and of the State, in the linking of the two traditions, cannot be underestimated as the generating force of forms of life.

It cannot be underestimated because it destroyed the bonds of a public disposition of Roman origin, which had been binding Spaniards until then, to leave them free for the ferocious struggles between State grown old and new Society, destruction and struggles which increased the dangers of the daily existence of the peninsular people, because they sharpened the acute angles of the *homo hispanus,* not affected by the rule of Rome, by surrendering him more and more to the free interplay of his own forces, as the state bonds were becoming inoperative and as the atmosphere of violence in which everyone had to live, was growing, and because they must have caused the integral exaltation of the person, of the individual self, as the active agent of life, by valuing the efficacy of courage, of

boldness and of impetuosity, and by the triumph of the relations of service as a factor of juridical order and as the picklock to open the doors of political progress and of social differentiation.

The «loss of Spain», that is to say the destruction of the Hispano-Gothic monarchy, which twisted the course of Spanish history, was the tragic consequence of those complex changes caused by the toxins or by the vitamins —as the case may be— provided by the Goths to the suffering body of Spain.

We must not underestimate either the efficacy of some juridical Germanic traditions which triumphed in their daily life, in the making of the vital style of the Northern peoples who made Spain: the blood revenge, the extrajudicial pledge and the home peace, for example. Nor can one forget the Germanic origin of the popular assemblies in which matters of justice, politics and economy were dealt with and resolved. The first ones along with the sliding towards the prefeudal way of life —at that time still not integrated in a strict juridical order— contributed to the strengthening of the integral personality of the peninsular people. This and the democratic practices of the reunions in which the people made decision about their destiny, stimulated the traditions of liberty of the Northern people and accentuated the free unfolding of the vital power of the individual and his clear consciousness of his essential value per se.

Not less fruitful in historical corollaries was the contribution of the Germanic element in the birth of Castile. Castile and the Castilians probably are the outcome of the racial and cultural symbiosis of what is Cantabrian, Basque and Gothic, obtained, not through a vertical or seigneurial projection during the Gothic domination of Spain, but horizontally, with the emigration to Cantabrian land of the Visigothic people established in the Castile of the Duero region. The early institutional, juridical, linguistic and literary history of the Castilian people attests it. I refer to my study *Alfonso III y el particularismo castellano* and to some pages of this work.

It is not necessary to use hyperboles to point out the consequences of the generation of Castile through the union of the Cantabrians, the Basques and the Goths after the fall of the Hispano-Gothic monarchy. It caused the union of three forces of nature, still not saturated by the essences of the Romano-Christian civilization, triumphant in the Peninsula. And since in the symbiosis of those three ethnic and spiritual factors were actively influencing Germanic forms of life, in which man decided his destiny by means of his freely chosen bond of service to another man and through his free intervention in popular assemblies, some substantial historical corollaries occurred. The traditional leadership of the Iberians which the *bagaudia* (a peasant revolt) had placed again on the first place of the national scene, became lasting. The old passion for freedom of the Cantabrians and of the Basques was reaffirmed. A vivid feeling of equality could flourish among those who had the roads open by the free relation of vassalage and by the free intervention in the political life of the com-

munity. More than in the birth difference the social organization was based on the diversification of the efficacy toward the master and toward the people, and therefore, in the degree of the impetus. Therefore, in the new historical unity there was an accentuation of the exaltation of the passional, emotional and instinctive drives of the person —by tradition always overflowing in Spaniards—, and the edges, always cutting, of the passions and impulses of the mountain people of the North of Spain, became even sharper.

No, it is not possible to make the Romanistic alcoholization of the Goths the original sin of Spanish history, nor it is possible to reduce the role of the Visigothic people in the maturing of the Hispanic forms of life to zero.

Rome, through its rigid juridical order and the spreading of the Greco-Roman culture in the Peninsula, more than being responsible for the idea of the historical community of Spain, had given birth to a minority of people intensely dedicated to the life of the spirit, with which it had contributed to alter the traditional proportion of the trilogy of forces-reason, feelings-desires and instincts —which were an integral part of the individual and collective egos of peninsular people. Its success in the way of their tendency towards serene reasoning from their natural emotive and passional desire, had been limited and without lasting consequences. The Spaniard whom the Germanic people had to face, although suppressed and devitalized by the centuries of Roman rule, had not buried the temperamental heritage of his ancestors prior to the Romanization of the Peninsula, too far down. The action of the Germanic rule on the vital essences of the Hispanic men was contrary to that exercised by Rome. It became an overflowing exaltation of the desires, feelings, impulses, emotions, passions and the instincts —defensive and offensive, of dominion and of revenge—; it meant the decrease of the enlightening processes of conscience and of the vigorous will in the light of mature reasoning. This retrocession to the ancestral styles of the primitive Spaniards was accentuated in the North, where the blood and spiritual Hispano-Roman symbiosis had been less effective and where human communities which had not adopted the mental habits and the volitional mechanisms of the dominators who had come from Latium, had survived.

During a long time —until Leovigildo, Cantabria; until far into the 7th century, Asturias, and until 711, the Basque Country— those people had lived freely as they willed. Their struggles with the Swabians and the Goths had accentuated their old vital modules. The fact that the Goths from the valley of the Duero, fugitives before the Arab invasion or transplanted to the North in the middle of the 8th century, had taken refuge on their lands, revived old qualities never forgotten in this very strange blood transfusion.

That strange process of returning to the vital style of the Spaniards before Christ, endured by the Northern people who were going to make

Spain, has no parallel in the neighboring Gauls nor in Italy. In Italy, naturally, because its saturation by Greco-Roman culture was fruitful and because the Germano-Roman cultural and ethnic mixing was light and was limited to Lombardy. In the Gauls, because the Franks colonized as far as the Loire in closed masses for which reason the pure vital Germanic contexture triumphed there. And because the rest of today's France was the most intensely Romanized part of the Gallic land, and there, the temperamental heritage of the people subjugated by Rome had been almost completely destroyed, the Franco-Roman symbiosis could not reopen the primitive channels of life there, except, of course, in Gascony, sister by race and history of the neighboring Spain. Only in England occured a return to primitive forms of life, similar to the one suffered in the North of Spain, with the arrival there of the Danes.

As a consequence of the presence of the Germanic peoples in the Peninsula, the Moslem invasion, therefore, clashed with peoples in whom ancestral forms of life survived, in the Northern mountains of Spain. Peoples in love with freedom used to abstinence and hardship, easy prey to bossism not at all given to calculating reasoning, proud, bold, impetuous, fierce, vehement, coarse, ready to defy death on the way of the satisfaction of their vital desires, realistic, because their involvement in action did not leave them time to dream, slow in objectivating their thought in techniques, ready to let their passions overflow into their concepts of the beyond and in whom the exalted integral devotion to the person as supreme historical force, was of primary importance.

6. Pre-Moslem traits in Mussulman Spain *

Any historian worthy of such a name knows that the number of Orientals who came to Spain was very mimimal. The Mussulman chroniclers and compilers from the distant Al-Waqidi on, unanimously declare that Tariq defeated the Gothic army and launched the conquest «with an army of Berbers and ex-slaves in which there were very few Arabs» (1). Although they do not specify the homeland of the 10,000 men —some raise such number to 18,000— with whom Muza landed in Algeciras (2),

---

* This entire section does not appear with notes in the second edition of the work published in 1962.

(1) So says Ahmad al-Rāzī following the Al-Wāqidī *(Al-Bayān al-Mugrib,* trans. Fagnan, II, p. 9); The *Ajbar Maŷmū'a* (trans. Lafuente Alcántara, p. 21); The *Fath al-Ándalus* (trans. González, p. 6); Ibn al-Atīr *(Annales,* trans. Fagnan, p. 42); Al-Nūwayrī (trans. Gaspar and Remiro, II, p. 28), and Al-Maqqarī (trans. Lafuente Alcántara, *Colección de Obras Arábigas de Historia y Geografía,* published by the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1867, I, p. 175).

(2) See Ahmad al-Rāzī following *Al-Bayān al Mugrib* (trans. Fagnan, II, p. 21); The *Ajbār Maŷmū'a* (trans. Lafuente, p. 28); Ibn Hayyān following *Al-Maqqarī* (trans. Lafuente Alcántara, p. 28); *Ibn Al-Atīr* (trans. Fagnan, p. 47); *Ibn 'Iḏārī*

naturally we should not suppose that most of them were Orientals, because the Moghrib had just been conquered after many failures and it would not have been prudent to deprive it of its strength.

We know that Al-Hurr landed in Spain with 400 Moorish chiefs of Ifriqiyya (3) and that Al-Samah arrived there with another contingent of troops whose number and race we do not know (4). Some writers not among the most accredited —the Seudo Ibn Qutayba and Ibn Al-Kardabus (5)— relate that after the conquest of Tariq and of Muza many Mussulmans avid for the spoils and enticed by the hope of obtaining them (6) came to the Peninsula; nothing is known about their origin (7) but it is doubtful that most of them came from the far East since the Caliphate extended then as far as India and went into the heart of Africa and it is not likely that hordes of Arabs, Syrians, Iraqi, Persians and Egyptians in search of riches which they could find in closer lands, would cross the whole Islamite world as far as the extreme West. Moreover, we have information about the difficulties which Al-Samah met in order to establish his people in Al-Ándalus (8) —because of those, the Caliph thought at one point about leaving Spain— and those difficulties make us suspect that they would paralyze the possible promissory hopes of the Orientals who felt tempted to emigrate to far away Spain, with disdain for the possibilities which they could find in many other regions of the immense Islamic empire.

Toward 740, Al-Ándalus received a considerable number of people from the Orient. I am referring to the 10,000 or 12,000 Syrians who had formed the tack force of Kultum's army, sent to conquer the Berbers who had once more risen up against their dominators. Surrounded in Ceuta by the

---

(trans. Fagnan, II, p. 21); *Al-Nūwayrī* (trans. Gaspar and Remiro, p. 30) and *Al-Maqqarī* (trans. Lafuente Alcántara, p. 187).

(3) So says: Ahmad al-Rāzī in the passage translated by Gil Pérez (Gayangos: *Crónica del moro Rasis,* p. 179) and reproduced by *Al-Maqqarī* (trans. Lafuente Alcántara, p. 196); the *Fath al-Ándalus* (trans. González, p. 26), and Ibn 'Iḏārī (trans. Fagnan, II, p. 34).

(4) Ibn Habib wrote: «When in the year 100... was named governor of Spain Assamah, son of Melic, the Jaulaní, the troops which accompanied him...» And Ibn Muzaīn, following the first of the Rassis: «This one (Al-Samah) went away to Spain with his troops» (Risāla of the Moroccan Ambassador, trans. Ribera, in *Col. Obr. Ar. Acad. Hist.,* II, pp. 174 and 175).

(5) About the Seudo Ibn Qutayba (11th century) and about Ibn Al-Kardabus (12th century), see my *Fuentes de la historia hispano-musulmana del siglo VIII,* in *En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo,* II, Mendoza, 1942, pp. 71-84 and 279-281.

(6) Seudo Ibn Qutayba, trans. Ribera, in *Col. Obr. Ar. Acad. Hist.,* II, pp. 108-109, and Ibn Al-Kardabus, trans. Gayangos, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain,* I, London, 1840, p. ??

(7) Neither the Seudo Ibn Qutayba nor Ibn Al-Kardabus say anything about it, nor the historian of the 17th century Al-Maqqarī who records also the information (trans. Gayangos: *Mohammedan Dynasties,* I, p. 275).

(8) I studied them in detail in my work: *En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo,* III. *La caballería musulmana y la caballería franca del siglo VIII,* pp. 190-196.

Africans they were called by the Wali of Spain, Ibn Qatan, in order to fight against the Berbers who, there, had made common cause with their African brothers (9). They remained in the Peninsula and had settled there, not without having had to earn their place in the sun in their new homeland at the point of a sword and without ever reaching a settlement similar to the one obtained by the conquerors and by Al-Samah's people (10). Ibn Al-Qutiya (11) says that from among the 10,000 Baly's warriors, 2,000 were ex-slaves, that is to say they were neither Arabs nor Syrians. Abu-l-Jattar who came to the country with 30 men, was the one who settled them in Al-Ándalus (12). The same chronicler says of this small group: «this was the second wave of Syrian troops (which entered Spain)» (13). I am reproducing this sentence so that we may see whit what caution we must consider the historians' testimony about the Orientals' arrival to the Peninsula.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's information (14) about the number of Ommiad things or clients established in Al-Ándalus during four decades requires the same prudence of us. Although they were of the ruling family in Damascus, they numbered between 400 and 500. After the victory of 'Abd Al-Rahman I in 757, some members of the Ommiad family who had escaped from the abassi Caliph's massacre took refuge in Al-Ándalus and with them, their faithful friends and clients (15), undoubtedly too few to be able to weigh in the blood and racial balance of the Mussulmans who

---

(9) About the rebellion of the Berbers in Al-Ándalus, the entrance into Spain by the Syrians and their victories of these and of the Arabs in rebellion, see: *La Continuatio Hispana* or *Crónica Mozárabe,* from 754, in M. G. H., *Auct. Antq.*, XI, p. 364; the *Ajbār Maŷmū'a,* trans. Lafuente Alcántara, pp. 47-50; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, trans. Lafuente Alcántara, in *Col. Obr. Ar. Acad. Hist.*, I, pp. 218-219; *Crónica del Moro Rasis,* ed. Gayangos, pp. 87-89; Ibn Al-Qūtīya, trans. Ribera, in *Col. Obr. Ar. Acad. Hist.*, II, pp. 12-13; Ibn Al-Faradī, ed. Codera. Biography of Ibn Qatān n. 612; Ibn Hayyān, cited by Al-Maqqarī, trans. Lafuente Alcántara, in *Col. Obr. Ar.*, pp. 202-203; the *Fath Al-Ándalus,* trans. González, pp. 34-36; Ibn al-Atīr, trans. Fagnan, *Annales,* pp. 69-71; Ximénez de Rada, ed. Schott, *Hispania Illustrata,* II, pp. 172-173; Ibn 'Idārī, trans. Fagnan, I, pp. 56-57 and II, pp. 43-44, and Al-Maqqarī, trans. Lafuente Alcántara, in *Col. Obr. Ar.*, I, pp. 202-203.

(10) I studied the theme in my work: *En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo,* pp. 196-205 and 254-256. I have insisted on it in *La saña celosa de un arabista,* in *Cuadernos de Historia de España,* XXVII, 1958, pp. 34-35.

(11) Trans. Ribera: *Col. Obr. Ar.*, II, p. 11.

(12) Trans. Ribera: *Col. Obr. Ar.*, II, p. 13.

(13) Ribera translates a portion but Mahmūd 'Alī Makki reads «the second wave of the Syrian Arabs»: *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España musulmana,* in *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos,* IX-X, Madrid, 1961-1962, p. 105.

(14) Records the information Al-Maqqarī. Mahmūd Makki takes it from him: *Aportaciones Orientales,* in *Rev. Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos,* IX-X, 1961-1962, p. 102.

(15) In the *Ajbār Muŷmū'a* it reads: In this year entered into Spain 'Abdo-l-Mélic ben Ômar ben Meruan called al-Meruaní and Chozay ben 'Abd-l-'Aziz ben Meruan, with their sons and daughters and these were followed by other Ommiads

had come to Spain. After this aristocratic and limited immigration, only some artists and writers and very few political exiles emigrated to Al-Ándalus from the Islamic Orient.

The genealogical record of the races of Oriental origin settled in Spain outlined by the great polygraph —and great genealogist— Ibn Hazm proves the reduced number of such lineages —no more than 73 had settled in the Peninsula— and how limited and scattered were their members who still lived in Al-Ándalus during the 11th century (16). Apart from the Ommiads and the Alis only the Fihris, Kinanis, Tamims, Qahtanites, Muàfiris, Lakhmids and Tujibids had any importance. And they were so scattered in small family groups (17), through so many diverse villages in different zones, that they must have been hopelessly engulled by the other residents of Islamic Spain.

Even by generously adding up all the Oriental masses which had come to Spain use will never be able to reach 40,000 men and I am certain that in fact the number did not exceed 30,000, a minimal and insignificant quantity to be more than an oligarchy among the millions of Spaniards who had lived then in the Peninsula. The great Arabist, Ribera (18), after studying the race of the Islamites of Spain, says —and Asín has accepted his judgment— that Orientalism is evidenced only in those, who among them have proofs certifying such an origin since there were even many Spaniards who boasted of being Oriental and had made up a genealogy. M. Pérès has written not long ago: «L'élément arabe n'entre qu'en dose infinitésimale dans la chimie sociale des Musulmans d'Espagne» (19).

Because of having ignored or consciously discarted that historical event, some pseudo historian has ventured some phantasmagoric theories about the Arabization or Orientalization of Spain by magic in the twinkling of

---

with their followers who had become very numerous. Trans. Lafuente Alcántara, p. 90.

(16) I refer to the study of the very erudite arabist Elías Terés: *Linajes árabes en Al-Ándalus según la «Yamhara» de Ibn Hazm,* in *Al-Ádalus,* XXII, 1957, pp. 55-111 and 337-376. Terés raises the number of such lineages to 86 completing the data of Ibn Hazm with others from Ibn Sa'id and from Al-Maqqarī, from the 13th and 17th centuries.

(17) In order to give an accurate idea of the above affirmed it will suffice to refer to what Ibn Hazm says about one of the Oriental lineages with greater ramifications in their days: the Qahtanites. A group that lived in Cordova and they were in charge of the granaries of the State; one family lived in Beja; a descendent of the family in Calatrava; a clan of the same in a farmhouse of Šūs al-Ansār; a group, in Cártama (Rayyo); the Banū Hayūn in Cordova; two families in the farmhouse Ijtiyana of Cabra; a nucleus of an other qahtaní line of ancestors in Šūs al-Ansār of Seville, some in the farmhouse of Corbalán in Saragossa and others in Sidonia (Terés: *Linajes, Al-Ándalus,* XXII, 1957, pp. 337-339).

(18) The *Cancionero de Abencuzmán,* in *Disertaciones y Opúsculos,* I, 1928, p. 26, note 4.

(19) *Les éléments ethniques de l'Espagne musulmane et la langue arabe au Ve-XIe siècle.* In *Études d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal,* II, 1958, p. 718.

an eye and has imagined those Spaniards who lived under the rule of Islam, Arabizing, also in an instant, their brothers, the Christians of the North (20).

And because they did not stop to do the figuring that I have just outlined, some authentic historians did not stop to consider the transcendence of the racial, temperamental, and cultural legacy of the pre-Islamic Spain in Mussulman Spain.

The number of Berbers who crossed the Strait from the days of the conquest was undoubtedly greater. Because of the economic and cultural difference which has always separated Africa from Spain, because of the continuous contacts between them through the millenniums and because of their geographic proximity, it is natural that many more Berbers would come to my homeland than Arabs, Syrians, Egyptians and Iraqis. It seems to me that the number of some hundreds of thousands of African emigrants estimated by Terrasse (21) is over exaggerated. In fact we have no data to establish it, however, we possess indications to reduce it considerably. We know that the Orientals established in Spain before 740 —the chronicles called them Baladís: the old ones— and the 10,000 Syrians of Baly who had taken refuge in Ceuta, who landed in Andalusia succeeded in defeating the Berbers living in the Peninsula who had risen up in arms and had concentrated against the Orientals (22). We know that the Syrians later conquered the Baladís and the Berbers together in Aqua Portora (23). In the middle of the 8th century, the number of Berber emigrants to Al-Ándalus could have scarcely doubled or tripled the number of their Syrian and Baladí victors. Their double defeat and the years of hunger which drove the peninsular people to emigrate to the Moghrib (24), could not favor the crossing of the Strait by new Berber hordes.

---

(20) I am referring to Américo Castro who continues to publish editions of his work *España en su historia* without realizing that reality, that is to say, hiding it according to his usual lack of scientific seriousness.

(21) *L'Espagne musulmane et l'héritage wisigothique.* In *Études d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal,* II, 1958, p. 758.

(22) See the texts cited in footnote 9.

(23) See: The Continuatio Hispana of 754, in M. G. H., *Auct. Antq.,* XII, pp. 364-365; the *Ajbār Maŷmū'a,* trans. Lafuente Alcántara, pp. 50-54; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, trans. Lafuente Alcántara, in *Col. Obr. Ar.,* I, pp. 218-219; the *Crónica del Moro Rasis,* ed. Gayangos, pp. 89-90; Ibn Al-Qūtīya, trans. Ribera, pp. 12-15; Ibn Hayyān in passages from Al-Maqqarī, trans. Lafuente Alcántara, in *Col. Obr. Ar.,* I, pp. 203-204 and from Al-Jatīb, trans. Dozy: *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature d'Espagne pendant le Moyen Age,* I, pp. 78-91; the *Fath al-Ándalus,* trans. González, pp. 36-42; Adabī: Biographies, n. 606 (Taalaba), n. 586 (Abū al-Jattār) from the *Bib. Ar. Hisp.,* III, ed. Codera; Ibn al-Atīr, *Annales,* trans. Fagnan, pp. 71-73 and 94-95; Ximénez de Rada: *Hispania Illustrata,* ed. Schott, II, p. 172; Ibn 'Idārī, trans. Fagnan, II, pp. 48-49; Ibn al-Jatīb, trans. Dozy: *Recherches,* 1^3, pp. 79-81 and Al-Maqqarī, trans. Gayangos: *Mohammedan Dynasties,* II, pp. 42 and following.

(24) About those years of hunger see: the *Ajbār Maŷmū'a,* trans. Lafuente Alcántara, pp. 66-87; the *Fath al-Ándalus,* trans. González, p. 49; the *Kāmil fī al-Tarīj,* trans. Fagnan, p. 96; the *Bayān al-Mugrib,* trans. Fagnan, II, pp. 56-57. In the text of the first, from the fragment of a chronicle written in the 8th century,

The Ommiads, from the days of 'Abd Al-Rahman I, recruited mercenaries in Africa (25) and those recruits naturally increased the number of Berbers in Spain. We know that the Andalusians called them the silent ones or the mute ones because they neither spoke Arabic nor the Hispanic tongue (26). That adjective proves that the quantity of the people settled North of the Strait could not be very large at that time. Had it been otherwise, their tongue would not have surprised the residents in Al-Ándalus. Whatever the number of the Berbers who had come to the Peninsula may be they could not be active agents of Orientalization: because they were not Orientals, because of their recent subjection to the Caliphate, only a few years prior to that of Spain (27), and because they had just converted to Islamism.

The cultural and vital Arabic contribution must, therefore, have been insignificant during decades and decades in a Spain of the Western race, life and culture. We know well the slowness and the limitations of the process of Islamization of the Peninsula, ruled by a small minority of Orientals, proceeding in their turn from many different countries: Arabia, Syria, Iraq, Persia and Egypt, and by some thousands of Berbers who were biting the bridle under the rule of the groups which had come from the Orient (28).

In Elvira, the mosque whose construction was begun by a companion of

---

and in the second, a reproduction of some contemporary annals from the events which refer to the going to Africa by the peoples of Al-Ándalus, in search of food.

(25) The anonymous author of the *Fath al-Ándalus,* following Al-Rāzī, affirms that 'Abd Al-Rahmān I included in his dewan, as many as 40,000 men between Berbers and slaves (trans. González, p. 74). The information escaped Lévi-Provençal, who only knew the passage from Ibn Sa'id reproduced by Al-Maqqarī *(Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane,* I², p. 130).

(26) Following Lévi-Provençal *(Hist. Esp. Mus.,* I², p. 189) they were called al-jurs, which translates as the silent ones. Dozy had translated the mute ones, because they did not know how to speak Arabic. But the nickname was undoubtedly attributed to them by the people, not by the chroniclers and the people either spoke only the Romance language or were bilingual and therefore, if they called them al-jurs it was because they could not make themselves understood in any of the two languages of Al-Ándalus.

(27) Lévi-Provençal recognizes that «l'apport du Maghrib central à l'émigration berbéro-andalouse dut être à peu près nul au VIIIe et au IXe siècles, et que ce furent presque exclusivement des montagnards du Maroc qui, une fois passés de l'autre côté de l'eau, continuèrent à practiquer... les travaux agricoles» (*Hist. Esp. Mus.,* p. 170). And Morocco was conquered by the very Muza, conqueror of Spain.

(28) They rose repeatedly in arms against 'Abd al-Rahmān I. Those of the West united with Yūsuf al-Fihrī when they rose against him in 758; those from the Orient marched against Cordova with the son of the Fihrī; they formed the principal part of the army of 'Abd al-Yāfir, rebelled in Seville in 762; they rebelled in Sontebria (Santaver of the Tagus) in 767; the emir managed to divide them by enticing one of their chiefs in 772; in 785 they took refuge together with the Berbers of Coria Abū al-Aswad the Blind, son of Yūsul al-Fihrī; 'Abd al-Rahmān had to punish those cruely and also had to punish the Nafzas in 786; and still they rose against Hišam I in 794 (Ibn 'Iḏārī: *Al-Bayān al-Mugrib,* trans. Fagnan, II, pp. 76, 78, 80, 85, 87, 88, 91 and 102).

Muza took a century and a half in being finished because of the shortage of Mussulmans in the city, while in Granada four churches were being built (29). With Hisam I (788-796) still ruling the Islamites must have only been a minority in Cordova, the cadi was still the judge of the military settlement —Ibn al-Qutiya (30) says so— and the emir was giving silver purses so that the people would go to pray in the mosque on dark nights —it is declared in the *Ajbar Maymu'a* (31).

We are well acquainted with the revolutionary resistance —I am referring to the «day of the suburb» of the days of Al-Hakam I— and tormenting resistance —during the reigns of 'Abd Al-Rahman II and of Muhammad— which opposed Cordova to its dominators and the endemic uprising of the Spaniards against them outside the capital of the emirate. The uprising initiated in Toledo against the first Ommiad, 'Abd Al-Raham I (757-788), with geographic discontinuity and with alternating victories and defeats, continued indefinitely, culminated, becoming generalized in the second half of the 9th century and was only dominated by Abd Al-Raham III (912-961) (32). Hard and difficult times for the Spain incorporated in the Islamic world in a time of civil discord, to become Arabized. and for a rapid change of its vital structure!

During centuries, the peninsular people lived strongly rooted in their pre-Moslem past. The heritage received by Al-Andalus of Hispano-Gothic Christian Spain was very varied and had many forms. It extended to the language, the literature, the arts, the culture, the daily life, the customs, the institutions, the economy, the disposition, the religiosity... and even to the inner most being of the great thinkers, writers, poets, men of action.

Against the opinion professed by the Spanish scholars Mariana, Burriel and Martínez Marina and even the great Arabist Dozy (33) about the triumph of Arabic as the general language in Islamic Spain and about the disappearance of the language spoken by the Christians, Simonet (34) already in 1898 defended the continuity of the use of the Romance language by the Mozarabs until fairly late into the Middle Ages. Baist (35)

---

(29) Simonet: *Historia de los mozárabes de España,* in *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia,* XIII, 1903, p. 540.

(30) It is said of Ibn 'Imrān (trans. Ribera, pp. 35-36) about whom we know by Al-Jušanī who was named judge of Cordova by Hišam I (trans. Ribera, pp. 55 and following).

(31) Trans. Lafuente Alcántara, p. 110.

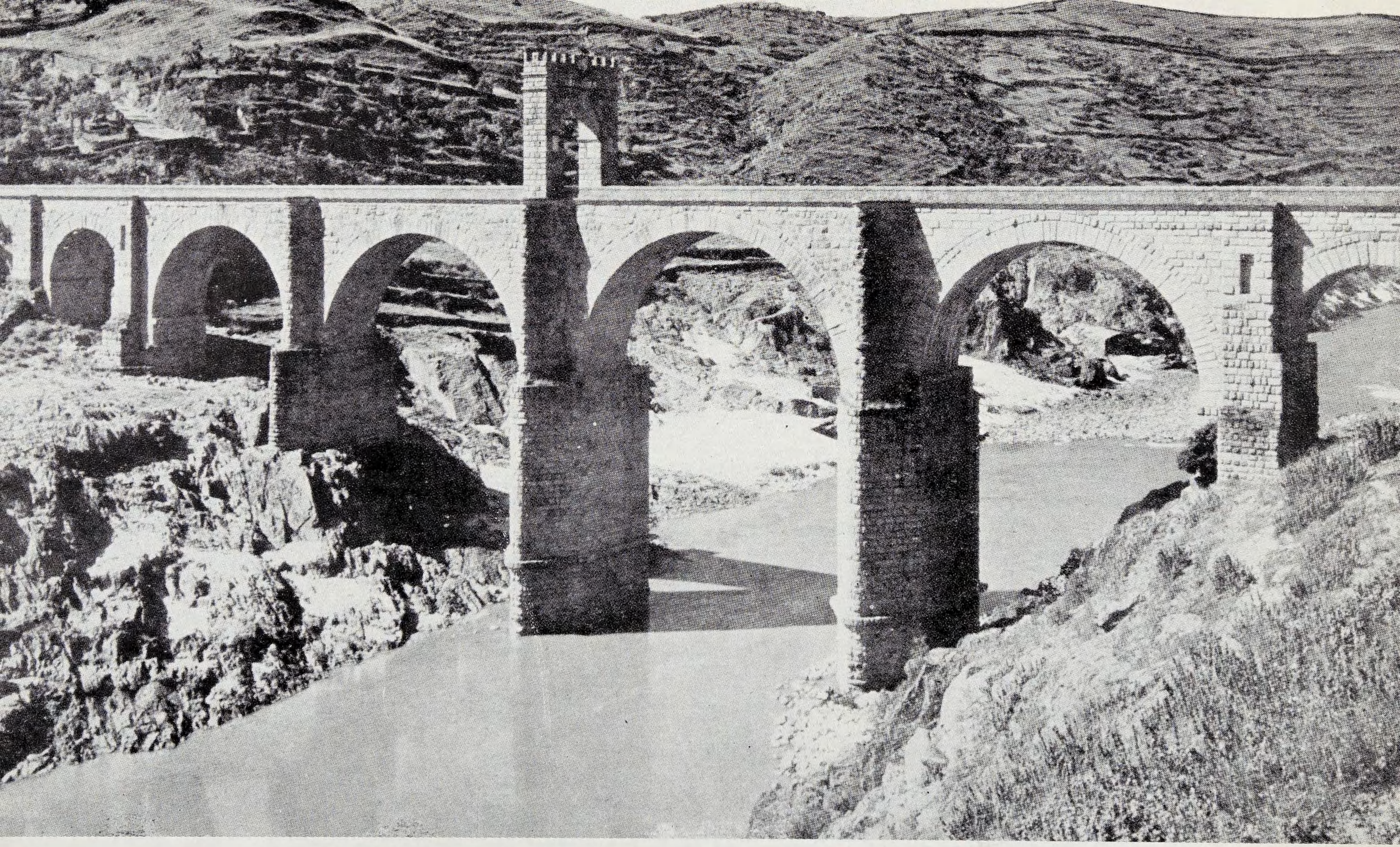
(32) See Dozy: *Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne,* ed. Lévi-Provençal, I, pp. 285, and II, pp. 3 and following. And Lévi-Provençal: *Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane,* I, pp. 193 and following, 279 and following, 397 and following, and II, 1 and following.

(33) I take the information from Menéndez Pidal: *Orígenes del español,* 1926, p. 432, and from Griffin: *Los mozarabismos del «Vocabulista» atribuido a Ramón Martí,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XXIII, 1958, pp. 264 and following.

(34) *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes,* Madrid, 1885.

(35) *Die Spanische Sprache. Philologische und volkskundliche Arbeiten K. Vollmöller dargeboten,* 1908, p. 256. I take the data from Menéndez Pidal. The study of Baist was inaccessible to me.

11.—Saturation of the Roman style of life in Spain Aqueduct already constructed in the first century, B C. by a small Hispanic city, Segovia. They had estimated the pleasure and the need of the use of water and conducted it to the hill on which it was raised, through an architectural method in which are joined the grandeur of the construction and the beauty of its proportions. It is one of the most beautiful monuments of the Roman world.
Roman aqueduct of Segovia.



12.—*Roman bridge of Alcántara (Cáceres),* constructed in 105 B. C., over the deep Tagus, by the free association of some small municipalities of the region. «It will last as long as the world does», wrote its Hispanic constructor. Its dimensions give an idea of its magnificence: its longitude is 194 meters and its central arches measure 48 in height and 27 in width. The harmony which hides such measures exalts its beauty. Few match it in the Roman world.

13.—Mérida, founded to be the headquarters of the veterans who fought with the heroic Cantabrians and Asturians, became a great city, adorned with splendid buildings and with beautiful art works. The most important of those was the theater, finished in 18 B. C. and reconstructed by Trajan and Hadrian. While the people continued to fill its gradins, in a house discovered in the suburbs the first Christians of Mérida began to assemble. *Roman Theatre of Mérida (Badajoz).*

14.—The realistic art of the Roman portrait that gave plasticity to the image of the concrete man and individualized him by grasping his disposition, rapidly and profoundly took root among Spaniards, by its temperamental heritage more propitious to such captations of diversity than to the creations of idealistic human archetypes. That bust of an Estremenian woman of the Mérida Museum serves as an example. *Hispano-Roman bust of woman. Mérida Museum.*

contradicted him some years later, but in 1912, Ribera (36) demonstrated that everybody used it in Mussulman Spain: The Christians, the Maladis or Neo-Mussulmans and the very Islamites of Oriental origin through their mothers of Spanish descent; he demonstrated that it was even used by the judge of Cordova in court and before the vizierial council. During the 10th century, it was still known in the court of the caliph and there were still some Spaniards who did not know Arabic. It is a fact that during the reing of Al-Hakam II (961-976); it was very difficult for many peninsular people to express themselves in the tongue of their conquerors. The Oriental geographer, Al-Muqaddasi, of the last decades of the 10th century says that the Spaniards used two languages (37). Much after the year 1000 the Romance language continued to be used in most of the regions of Al-Andalus, Ibn Gabirol, attests its usage in the valley of the Ebro (38) and there exists another series of proofs of such an usage (39). Still at the end of the 11th century or begining of the 12th, the Hispanic Islamites continued to be bilingual. A book on Botany probalby written in Seville around that time acknowledges that fact. Along the Arabic name of each plant he mentions the Romance name used in Moslem Spain, he records at times Romance names of plants without an Arabic equivalent and states the Hispanic names of the months and other various terms of the same category (40). Only if the people equally spoke both languages can we explain that zeal to mention the Romance forms. Asín has collected more than 700 in the glossary which accompanies his edition. The sensational discovery of the Romance *jarcha*

---

(36) *El cancionero de Abencuzmán,* in *Disertaciones y opúsculos,* I, pp. 26 and following. He insisted in the demonstration in two studies: in the preface of his translation of *La Crónica de Aljoxaní,* Madrid, 1914 *(Disertaciones,* I, pp. 396 and following) and in *Épica andaluza romanceada,* Madrid, 1915 *(Disertaciones,* I, pp. 108 and following). His demonstration was conclusive. It has been confirmed by Menéndez Pidal: *Orígenes del español,* Madrid, 1926, pp. 437 and following and since then accepted by all. See Griffin: *Los mozarabismos del «Vocabulista»...,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XXIII, 1958, pp. 263 and following.

With the title «El romance y las latinados en la arabizada Andalucía» I have reproduced the most prominent passages from Al-Jušanī which accredit the use of the Hispanic language in Cordova from the 9th and 10th centuries, in my work *La España musulmana según los autores islamitas y cristianos,* 2nd ed., I, pp. 273 and following.

(37) Ribera: *El cancionero de Abencuzmán,* in *Disertaciones y opúsculos,* I, p. 31.

(38) Millás Vallicrosa: *Desinencias adjetivales en la onomástica de nuestros judíos,* in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal,* I, 1950, p. 127, footnote 2.

(39) Ribera demonstrates: *Épica andaluza romanceada,* in *Disertaciones y opúsculos,* I, p. 110. Menéndez Pidal confirms: *Orígenes del español,* pp. 443 and fol. And affirms: the *Glosarium latino-arabicum,* ed. by Seybold, Berlin, 1900, which its editor believes from the 11th century and García Villada from the 10th and that Menéndez Pidal supposes from Eastern Spain *(Orígenes,* pp. 406 and fol.).

(40) Asín: *Glosario de voces romances registradas por un botánico anónimo hispano-musulmán* (11th and 12th centuries), Madrid-Granada, 1943 (LIV+1 sheet+ +420 pages).

(refrain)* has proved the multisecular survival of the tongue of the Mozarabs and the renegade Christians with literary values (41).

The action of the pre-Moslem on the language of the Hispano-Mussulmans has left very clear traces on the most intimate part of the Arabic spoken by them. It was distorted on the lips of the peninsular people, as Ibn-Hazm (42) records, and was flooded with Romance forms, disclosed in: the poems of Ibn-Quzman (43), the Latin-Arabic lexicons or Arabo-Castilian composed in Spain during the Middle Ages (44), the survival of terms of old Romance origin in the great Moroccan (45) cities —here I am only referring to the preservation of Castilian by the Jews of Morocco—, and the appearance, even in Oriental Arabic, of terms of clear Hispano-Gothic origin has the very erudite Corominas (46) has demonstrated.

---

* *Jarcha* also jarya and jarchia. Refer to the author's explanation of the *jarcha, muwaxxaha,* etc., beginning with section 4 of chapter VII (volume one).

(41) See footnote 56.

(42) Asín: *El origen del lenguaje y problemas conexos, en Algazel, Ibn Sida and Ibn Hazm,* in *Al-Ándalus,* IV, 1939, pp. 236 and 277.

(43) Ribera has already pointed out: *El cancionero de Abencuzmán,* in *Disertaciones y opúsculos,* I, pp. 35 and fol. It can be verified by reading the edition of «Cancionero», by Nykl dated in 1933. Many students have mentioned it in considering the problem of the zéjel: Stern: *Studies on Ibn Quzmān,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XVI, 1951, pp. 380 and fol., and García Gómez: *La lírica hispano-árabe y la aparición de la lírica románica,* in *Al-Ándalus,* 1956, pp. 318 and fol., and *La jarŷa en Ibn Quzmān,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XXVIII, 1960, pages 1 and fol.

(44) Of special interest: the *Glosarium latino-arabicum ex unico qui extat codice Leidensi undecimo saeculo in Hispania conscripto,* ed. Seybold, Berlin, 1900, to which I have previously referred in footnote 39 and the *Vocabulista in arabico,* ed. Schiaparelli, Florence, 1871, studied exhaustively by David A. Griffin: *Los mozarabismos del «Vocabulista» atribuido a Ramón Martí,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XXIII, 1958, pp. 251-338. Griffin doubts its being attributed to Fray Raimundo Martín which Simonet maintained, but supposes him to be also of Levantine origin and of the thirteenth century. The influence of the Mozarabic speech in Spanish Arabic is carefully brought out by Griffin. He points out cases of Romanic substantives which became Arabic verbs and records some of those, derived from Romanic verbs, through the adaptation of the infinitive or of the past participle, only a long intense co-existence of the two tongues can explain such processes.

See, moreover, the lexicons on medical or pharmaceutical matters by some Spanish authors mentioned by Simonet in his *Glosario,* pp. LXXXVI, CXLII, CXLV...

The great Arabist, Lévi-Provençal, has written about: «l'influence qu'exerça la langue romane sur la formation des dialectes parlés par les Musulmans de la Péninsule: cette langue leur imposa non seulement de nombreux vocables qui supplantèrent leurs équivalents classiques mais même les particularités d'ordre morphologique, qui affectèrent des termes arabes purs ou depuis longtemps adoptés: entre autres, des désinences de noms d'agents et diminutifs correspondant aux désinences romanes *ero* et *ella;* c'est ainsi qu'on disait en hispano-arabe *unda qair* (de kundaki, fondouc, caravansérail), pour, désigner un «tenancier d'hôtellerie», *hārella* (de hāra: quartier) pour désigner une paroisse»; *La civilisation arabe en Espagne,* Cairo, 1938, p. 121.

(45) Thus affirms Lévi-Provençal, great expert of Morocco: *La civilisation arabe en Espagne,* p. 120.

(46) *Del Pidal de don Ramón,* in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal,* I, Madrid, 1950, pp. 19 and fol.

At the end of the 11th century, the Arabic spoken by the Hispano-Mussulmans was hardly understandable in the Orient according to the geographer Al-Muqaddasi (47), words which should not surprise us. Besides the flooding of romance terms suffered by Andalusí, it was not exempt of particularisms of a morphological order, as the desinences of names of agents and diminutives gathered by Millás prove; an Alfaqui hypocondriac killed a Jew because he had dared to call a friend Mahomiya (48). It suffered significant changes of mental processes of old Hispanic roots, changes which led to the transformation of substantives into verbal forms of a personalizing type. For example, from the Arabic term, seesaw, they made the form to swing; from mask, to make fun of; from foolishness, to become stunned; from sodomite, to be impudent (49).

Today the survival of the pre-Moslem in music and poetry is proven. A passage of Al-Tifasi, recently translated by García Gómez (50), has disclosed the coexistence, without contamination, for a long period of time in Mussulman Spain, of the Christians' songs, of the primitive ones of the Bedouin camel drivers, later transformed in the courts of Al-Andalus by the impact produced there by Ziryab, «The black bird». The testimony is decisive. The Christians' music must have been the continuation of the one prior to the Islamic invasion for which we had a lot of information about the Roman period, and now also for the Hispano-Gothic period. The texts of Pliny, Juvenal and Martial (51) about the music which accompanied the dances of Cadix are well known, and so are the texts of Justin, Tacitus and Strabo about the songs of the Northern peoples (52). Menéndez Pidal (53) has underlined the passage of Gregory of Tours about the Swabian kings' love for the popular Hispanic melodies, and von Grunebaum (54) has underlined one from the autobiography of Saint Valery (630-695), of the Visigothic nobility of Astorga, about the songs of an *iaculator* called Justus, songs which led him to be ordained presbyter to serve in the very church of a noble Goth who liked them very much, while they

---

(47) Ribera: *El cancionero de Abencuzmán,* in *Disertaciones y opúsculos,* I, p. 31.

(48) Millás Vallicrosa: *Desinencias adjetivales romances en la onomástica de nuestros judíos,* in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal,* I, 1950, pp. 126 and fol. The referred to event took place in the year 1087 (pp. 130-131).

(49) Asín: *Los caracteres y la conducta,* in *Tratado de moral práctica por Abenhazam of Cordova,* Madrid, 1916, p. 128, footnote 1.

(50) An extraordinary page of Tīfasī and a hypothesis on the inventor of the zéjel, in *Études d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal,* II, 1962, pp. 517-523. See the text in the footnote 46 of the III part of this study.

(51) Plinio: *Ep.* 1. 15. 13; Juvenal: *Sat.* XI. 162-166; Martial: *Epigr.,* I, 41. 12; III, 61. 7-9; B. 78. 26-28 and XIV, 203.

(52) Justin: XLIV. 2. 3; Tácitus: *Anales,* IV, 45, and Estrabón, 165.

(53) *Poesía juglaresca y juglares,* 6th ed., 1957, p. 101. Corominas makes use of the information in his demonstration of the Germanic origin of the word gaita. *Del Pidal de don Ramón,* in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal,* I, 1950, pp. 20 and fol.

(54) *Lirica romanica before the arab conquest,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XXI, 1956, pp. 403-405.

scandalized the saint. Undoubtedly the musical tradition of Andalusia was to continue too.

The Christians' music of which Al-Tifaci speaks, was still alive at the beginning of the 12th century when Ibn-Bayya (1090-1129), philosopher from Saragossa, after several years of confinement with some learned slaves, succeeded in blending it with Oriental music (55). The Hispano-pre-Islamic melodies had not only survived for four centuries, but they had even enriched the particular musical wealth of the Mussulmans in Spain.

The discovery of the Romance *jarchas* and their being the starting key of the Arab and Hebrew *muwassaha* has confirmed Ibn Bassam's information, already known by Ribera in 1912. I am referring to the invention of such a poetic genre by Muqqadam the Blind, of Cabra, in metric forms, for the purists, careless, «using the way of speaking of the ignorant common people and the Romance language» in phrases in form of refrains. This sensational discovery has proven, moreover, the existence of a popular Hispano-Latin lyric poetry and its continuation in the *Andalusi* lyric poetry, along with the Muladi and Mozarabic lyric poetry, that is to say, of the Spaniards who remained faithful in the faith in Christ, and of those who embraced Islamism (56).

---

(55) Here are the words of Al-Tīfāsī: «Later came Ibn Bāŷŷa, the greatest imām who after confining himself to work for several years with skilful slaves, separated the «istihlāl» and the «âmal», combining the canto of the Christians with the canto of the Orient», trans. García Gómez, in *Études d'orientalisme... Lévi-Provençal,* II, 1962, p. 519.

(56) Menéndez Pelayo had already found a *jarcha.* Ribera had predicted them. Millás Vallicrosa had attempted to decipher some of them: *Sobre los más antiguos versos en lengua española,* in *Sefarad,* VI, 1946. But erudition really confronted the topic beginning with Stern's study: *Les vers finaux en espagnol dans les muwaššahs hispano-hebraïques. Une contribution à l'histoire du muwaššah et à l'étude du vieux dialecte espagnol «mozarabe»,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XIII, 1948, pp. 239-346. Later many monographs and even books have been published. I cannot, nor do I want to outline them all. I am mentioning here the most important and the most erudite which have generally been accessible. Cantera: *Versos españoles en las muwaššhas hispano-hebreas,* in *Sefarad,* IX, 1949, pp. 192-234; Stern: *Une muwaššahs arabe avec terminaison espagnole,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XIV, 1949, pp. 214-217; García Gómez: *Más sobre las jarŷas romances en muwaššahas hebreas,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XIV, 1949, pp. 409-417; Dámaso Alonso: *Cancioncillas de amigo mozárabes (Primavera temprana de la lírica europea),* in *Revista de Filología Española,* 1949, pp. 297-349; García Gómez: *Nuevas observaciones sobre las jarŷas romances en muwaššahas hebreas,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XV, 1950, pp. 157-177; Alarcos: *Sobre las jarŷas mozárabes,* in *Revista Letras,* University of Oviedo, IX, 1950, pp. 297-299; Stern: *Muhammad ibn 'Ubāda al-Qazzāz,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XVI, 1950, pp. 79-149; Hoenerbach: *La teoría del «zejel» según Safi al-din Hillī,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XV, 1950, pp. 297-334; Gracía Gómez: *Sobre un posible tercer tipo de poesía arábigo-andaluza,* in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal,* II, 1951, pp. 397-408; Menéndez Pidal: *Los orígenes de las literaturas románicas a la luz de un descubrimiento reciente,* Santander, 1951; Menéndez Pidal: *Cantos románicos andalusíes continuadores de una lírica latina vulgar,* in *Boletín de la Academia de la Lengua,* XXXI, 1951, pp. 187-270; Stern: *Studien on Ibn Quzmān,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XVI, 1951, pp. 375-425; Roncaglia: *Una tradizione lirica pretrovadoresca in lingua volgare,* in *Cultura Neolatina,* XI, 1951, pp. 213-249; García Gómez: *Veinticuatro jarŷas romances en*

muwaššahas árabes, in *Al-Ándalus,* XVII, 1952, pp. 57-152; Menéndez Pidal: *La canción andaluza entre los mozárabes hace un milenio,* in *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid,* 1952; Spitzer: *The Mozarabic Lyric and Theodor Frings Theories,* in *Comparative Literature,* IV, 19-52, p. 122; Frenk Alatorre: *Jarŷas mozárabes y estribillos franceses,* in *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica,* VI, 1952, pp. 281-284; Stern: *Les chansons mozarabes. Les vers finaux (Kharjas) en espagnol dans les muwaššahas arabes et hébreux. Università di Palermo. Instituto di Filologia Romanza,* 1953; Stern: *Miscelánea internacional sobre las jarŷas mozárabes. Some textual notes on the romance jarŷas Al-Ándalus,* XVIII, 1953, pp. 132-140; Corominas: *Miscelánea internacional sobre las jarŷas mozárabes. Para la interpretación de las jarŷas recién halladas,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XVIII, 1953, pp. 140-148; Li Gotti: *I canti romanico-andalusi e la questione dello strambotto,* in *Idea,* 1953, notes 12, 13 and 14; García Gómez: *La muwaššaha de Ibn Bagī de Córdoba: «Mā laday sabrun mu 'Inu» con jarŷa romance,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XIX, 1954, pp. 43-52; García Gómez: *Dos nuevos jarŷas romances* (XXV and XXVI) *en muwaššahas árabes* (Ms. G. S. Colin) *y adición al estudio de otra jarŷa romance,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XIX, 1954, pp. 369-391; García Gómez: *La lírica hispano-árabe y la aparición de la lírica romance,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XXI, 1956, pp. 303-338; Von Grunebaum: *«Lírica románica» before the Arab Conquest,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XXI, 1956, pp. 403-406; Schirmann: *Un nouveau poème hébreu avec vers finaux en espagnol et en arabe,* in *Homenaje a Millás Vallicrosa,* II, 1956, pp. 347-353; García Gómez: *Una «pre-muwaššaha» atribuida a Abū Nuwās,* in *Al-Ándalus, XXI,* 1956; Roncaglia: *La lirica arabo-ispanica e il sorgere della lirica romanza fuori della Penisola Iberica. Convegno Volta XII, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei,* 1956; Cantera: *La canción mozárabe,* 1957, 77 pp.; García Gómez: *Las jarŷas mozárabes y los judíos de Al-Ándalus,* in *Boletín de la Academia Española,* XXXVIII, Cd. CLII, 1957, 60 pp.; Stern: *Four Famous Muwaššahas from Ibn Bušar's anthology,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XXIII, 1957, pp. 239-369; Millás Vallicrosa: *Al margen de un artículo,* in *Sefarad,* XVIII, 19-58, pp. 114-121; García Gómez: *Tres interesantes poemas andaluces conservados por Hillī,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XXV, 1960, pp. 287-311; Heger: *Die bisher veröffentlichen Harǧas und ihre Deutungen,* Tübingen, 1960, 101 pp.; García Gómez: *Los textos y los problemas de la lírica zejelesca,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XXVI, 1961, pp. 253-321; Menéndez Pidal: *La primitiva lírica europea. Estado actual del problema,* in *Revista de Filología Española,* 1960; García Gómez: *A propósito del libro de K. Heger sobre las jarŷas. Descifre de la jarŷa de Schirmann,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XXVI, 1961, pp. 453-455; García Gómez: *Una extraordinaria página de Tīfāsī y una y una hipótesis sobre el inventor del zéjel, Études d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal,* II, 1962, pp. 517-523; García Gómez: *La «ley de Mussafia» se aplica a la poesía estrófica arábigo-andaluza,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XXVII, 1962, pp. 1-20; García Gómez: *Estudio del «Dār At-Tiraz». Preceptiva egipcia de la muwaššaha,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XXVII, 1962, pp. 21-104; García Gómez: *La jarŷa en Ibn Quzmān (Ibn Quzmān nos descubre secretos de la jarŷa),* in *Al-Ándalus,* XXVIII, 1963; Stern: *'Asiqyn l. Tahaqā. An Arabic muwaššah and its hebrew imitations,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XXVIII, 1963.

To these erudite studies, I could add the informative notes on the discovery of the *jarchas* appeared in newspapers and magazines for the public at large, the lectures upon the finding and their scientific consequences delivered by many different experts, the anthology in which various *jarchas* have been reproduced, the brief descriptions on the monographs devoted to the *jarchas* and to the literary problems which they have posed and some book like the excellent one by Borello: *Jaryas andalusies,* in *Cuadernos del Sur,* Bahía Blanca, 1959, written to inform the Spanish-American scholary public, but filled with valuable suggestions and in which are found the essays, dissertations, anthologies and descriptions that I have not brought into this chapter. García Gómez has published a magnificent book: *Las Jarchas romances de la serie árabe en su marco.* Ed. in Latin characters. Spanish version with rhythmic tracing and study of 43 Andalusian «monxajas», Madrid, 1965.

The great Romanists Menéndez Pidal and Dámaso Alonso (57) gleefully publicized the appearance of an early peninsular Romance lyric poetry. The Hispanic Arabists exulted before the proof that the theory of the old master, about the influence of a Hispano-Christian lyric poetry on the Hispano-Arabic poetry, was receiving. Both turmoils were justified. They had to bend before the turmoil which was caused by the logical projection of this double reality upon the origins of medieval lyric poetry. The coincidence, without any contact, of that Andalusí poetry with the Galician-Portuguese friends' songs, as the outcome of their common derivation from a unique trunk —I refer to my justification of such a coincidence, and no one who knows the early history of medieval Galicia will be able to explain how the Andalusí *jarchas* could reach it— has confirmed the existence of the popular Hispano-Latin lyric poetry in which both had their roots. Today, no one can doubt (58) the fact that an element so deeply united to the life of a national community, the popular song, along with the language and the music, lasted for centuries as far as Islamic Spain as the inheritance from pre-Moslem Spain. I have written, for centuries, because Romance *jarchas* continued to be published and used in the 11th and 12th centuries.

The study of the Hispano-Arabic lyric poetry caused by the discovery of the *jarchas* has, moreover, enabled us to prove that. Just as the language and the music of the pre-Islamic Spaniards had influenced the language and the music dominators, so, too, the lyric poetry of the former influenced the lyric poetry of the Oriental conquerors. If at the beginning of the 10th century it had contributed to the birth of the *muwassaha,* the pressure on this of the classical Arabic lyric poetry determined its assimilation of the old stanza and the triumph of the Arabic *jarchas.* The pressure of what is popular was the origin of the simplication of the *muwassaha* in the zéjel, stanza in the vernacular which was to reach great vogue in Al-ándalus (59), also in the Orient and even in Christian Spain and Western Europe.

Some years ago, Ribera (60) pointed out the fact that Persia and Spain were the only two countries of the Islamic world which had known epic

---

(57) I have mentioned the study of the two masters in the previous note.

(58) The only one who doubts, naturally, is Américo Castro: *La realidad histórica de España,* pp. 309-312, and *Mozarabic poetry and Castilla: a Rejoinder to Mr. Leo Spitzer,* in *Comparative Literature,* IV, 1952, pp. 188-189. He would have a hard time to explain why the Moors and the Jews ended their *muwaššahas* with *jarchas* in the Romanic tongue of the Mozarabs, prescinding from the existence of that Spanish pre-Moslems lyric poetry. However, he did not worry too much about it. The finding of the Romance *jarchas* strongly stands against his fundamental theory qualified by Spitzer of «grandiose phantasmagory» and with his usual lack of scientific seriousness, he sets it aside without justifying his decision.

(59) This double influence has been exposed with clarity and in a convincing manner by García Gómez: *La lírica hispano-árabe y la aparición de la lírica romance,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XXI, 1956, pp. 310 and fol.

(60) *Épica andaluza romanceada. Discurso de ingreso en la Real Academia de*

poetry, a literary genre unknown to the Arabs. According to him, two, like the gestes, were the first Hispano-Arabic poetic works: the two aryuzas of Al-Gazal (772-864) and of Tamman ibn 'Alqama (804-896), which dealt with the conquest of Spain by the Arabs. The same master found in the chronicle of Ibn Al-Qutiya (—976) some accounts in which a historical event is idealized with the hyperboles and improbabilities characteristic of the poetry. In one of them in which is related the death of a great renegade chief before Guadalajara, Ribera discovers the general tone of the epic poems and of the Castilian romances and he finds speeches and dialogues as are found in both forms. The historical background, the political ideals, the chivalrous features, the martial action, the ingenuity and the ruggedness, the local flavor, the direct style and the historical realism of such accounts of Ibn Al-Qutiya and their comparison with similar Gestes, led Ribera to see in them, wrongly so, embryos of European medieval epic poetry —later I will deal with his erroneous conjecture—. The closeness of such poetic legends to the latter, the double condition of grandsons of the Goths of the subjects to whom they refer and of the chronicler who brought them into his work, and the existence of epic songs among the Visigoths, does not at all entitle us to think that those pre-Moslem gestes survived in the muladís of Germanic origin existing in Saracen Spain? Let us remember that Ibn Al-Qutiya descended from Sara, granddaughter of the penultimate Gothic king (61); that Artobás, referred to in one of the accounts, was the son of the mentioned sovereign (62) and that the renegade Muza, whose tragic end is narrated in another, descended from a Visigothic count, collaborationist, of the days of the Islamic invasion (63).

Let us not forget Saint Isidore's text about the war epic songs of the young Gothic noblemen (64). As the popular Hispano-Latin lyric poetry survived in the *jaryas,* the embryonic Hispano-Gothic epic poem could have survived in the *aryuzas* and in the epic legends commented by Ribera, with which we should add a new legacy to the pre-Moslem heritage received by Mussulman Spain.

---

la Historia, Madrid, 1915. Reproduced in *Disertaciones y opúsculos,* I, Madrid, 1928, pp. 93-150.

(61) About Ibn Al-Qūtīya see my: *Fuentes de la historia hispano-musulmana del siglo VIII,* Mendoza, 1942, pp. 216-223.

(62) About Artobás or Ardobasto see my work: *En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo,* III, pp. 198, 203, 204, 208, 209, 212, 259; Lévi-Provençal: *Hist. Esp. Mus.,* I, pp. 7, 48, 358.

(63) About Mūsā ibn Qasī, see my studies: *La auténtica batalla de Clavijo,* in *Cuadernos de Historia de España,* IX, 1948, pp. 96-116, and *Problemas de la Historia navarra del siglo IX,* in *Cuadernos de Historia de España,* XXXVI-XXVI, 1957, pp. 11 and fol.

(64) I take the information from Menéndez Pidal: *Los godos y el origen de la epopeya española, I Goti in Occidente. III Settimana di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo,* 1956, pp. 296-297.

The same projection of the pre-Moslem can be verified in architecture. Gómez-Moreno (65), Lambert (66), Terrasse (67) and Torres Balbás (68) have demostrated the certain linking of Hispano-Mussulman art with Hispano-Roman art and Hispano-Gothic art. From them they took a long series of constructive and ornamental elements of the Cordova's mosque: the basilical disposition of the same with the naves perpendicular to the wall —in those of Syria, they are parallel to it— and which, according to Gómez-Moreno «are different from all their Oriental contemporaries and in particular from the great mosque of Damascus»; the horseshoe arch, which appears as a decorative element in the Roman styles and as an architectural element in the Visigothic churches; the bond of stretcher and header, used in Hispanic pre-Moslem constructions: door of Carmona, walls of Coria and Caparra, ambulatory of the amphitheater of Itálica, cities of Ilipa and Termancia, a series of bridges among which the primitive one of Cordova, and also in some sepulchers. The arches to which the mosque owes its singular beauty, inspired by others created by Roman engineering in Spain of which the arches of the Mérida aqueduct, the Miracles, is a typical example. The buttresses which reinforme the walls of the Cordovan synagogue without offsetting the thrusts of the arches or vaults, which fulfill the same functions as in various Hispano-Roman buildings of *Munigua* (Mulva), Ilurco (Cerro de los Infantes)... and also in the dikes of the Guadiana, next to Mérida. The alternating of stone voussoirs with brick in the bevels of the arches— an alternance which produces a pleasant polychromatic effect, derived from Hispano-Roman systems of construction —appears in the aqueduct of Mérida and has been found to be used in a subterranean gallery discovered in the very same Cordova. The modillions of lobules of the pillars of the naves and of the exterior gables, coming from the degeneration of those which adorn the Roman cornices— one has been found in the subsoil of Cordova. The vertical tripartite disposition of the portals in which open and blind hollows flank the entrance —of typical Roman origin. The conversion in the Portal of St. Stephen, from the

---

(65) *El arte árabe español hasta los almohades. Arte mozárabe,* in *Ars Hispaniae. Historia universal del arte hispánico,* III, Madrid, 1951, pp. 19-44.

(66) *La tradition visigothe en Occident et dans l'art omeyade d'Espagne. Hommage à la mémoire de Joseph Calmete,* in *Annales du Midi,* Toulouse, 1953, pp. 295-299; *De quelques incertitudes dans l'histoire de la constrution de la Grande Mosquée de Cordoue,* in *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger,* I, Algiers, 1935, pp. 176-188; *Histoire de la Grande Mosquée de Cordoue aux VIIIe et IXe siècles d'après des textes inédits,* in *Annales de l'Inst. d'Ét. Or. d'Alger,* II, Algiers, 1936, pp. 165-179; *Les mosquées type andalou en Espagne et en Afrique de Nord,* in *Al-Andalus,* XIV, 1949, pp. 273-289. Reproduced in *Études Médiévales,* III, Paris, 1956, pp. 21 and fol., 53 and fol., 62 and fol., and 87 and fol.

(67) *L'Art hispano-moresque des origines au XIIIe siècle,* Paris, 1932; *Islam l'Espagne,* Paris, 1958; *Les traditions romaines dans l'art musulman d'Espagne,* in *Bulletin Hispanique,* LXV, 1963, pp. 199 and fol.

(68) *Arte hispano-musulmán hasta la caída del califato,* in *Historia de España dirigida por Menéndez Pidal,* V, Madrid, 1957, pp. 359-369.

constructive form of the extrados of the voussoirs of an arch in one with lintels and covered with decoration— Terrasse has not found anything similar in Syria. Not to be forgotten are the walls of good ashlar masonry, Hispano-Roman or Hispano-Gothic columns or capitals used in the mosque or imitated of other old constructions; the cymae over the columns, some obviously Gothic, and others of derived Gothic cymae; two marble lattices of the windows flanking the Occidental portal and perhaps some primitive merlons with rosettes as adornment «usual theme in what is Gothic-Andalusian».

Many of these architectural and decorative elements of the Cordovan oratory seem to indicate, Torres Balbás says, the survival of a strong Roman engineering in Islamic Spain when the mosque was built by 'Abd Al-Rahman I. That would explain the construction of the crossed twin arches in the Cordova mosque in what was the Portal of Seville. The double walldoors of the city, with independent entrance and exit, are of Roman origin; there is an example in Mérida, very similar to the Mussulman one in Cordova. In the latter, there appear constructive details which according to Gómez-Moreno (69) are found in Gothic buildings in the North: Saint Julian de Baños (Palencia) and Saint Eulaly de Bóveda (Lugo), in New Carteia, in the South and even in remnants of a building found in Cordova.

In sculptural elements, pre-Moslem heritage is also evident. García Romo (70) pointed out that the capitals of the old mosque and some of their extensions, by the roundness of the pattern, have an undeniable classical flavor, to the point that they have usually been considered Roman and that only with difficulty have the differences which separate them from the Roman, been outlined.

The reality of that Hispanic pre-Islamic filiation of that large series of constructive and decorative elements of Cordovan art is confirmed by the evident contrasts separating it from Oriental Arabic art. Terrasse (71), Marçais (72) and with them Camón (73) and García Romo (74) separate

---

(69) *El arte árabe...*, in *Ars Hispaniae*, III, pp. 21-24.

(70) In *Lo pre-musulmán (visigodo), lo hispano-musulmán y lo mozárabe en arte*, in *Príncipe de Viana*, notes 86-87, Pamplona, 1962, pp. 115 and fol., summarizes what had been presented in *Arte Español. Revista de la Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte*, 1953.

(71) Work cited in note 67.

(72) *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris, 1954.

(73) *El tiempo en el arte musulmán*, in *Revistas de Ideas Estéticas*, 1958.

(74) *Lo pre-musulmán...*, in *Príncipe de Viana*, notes 86-87, 1962, pp. 217 and fol. *Origen, ser y existir de los españoles*, p. 27, stands against Américo Castro's opinion. The curious reader can see in this essay another case of the lack of scientific earnestness of the criticized author. He has before him the cited pages of Gómez-Moreno in note 65 and he prescinds from all that the great master says about the Hispano pre-Moslem origin of the structure and of the decoration of the mosque of Cordova. Naturally, he does not refer to the sharp and detailed study devoted to the same theme by Torres Balbás in the work quoted in note 68. Both

without hesitation Mussulman art from the East from Mussulman art of the West and point out the differences which oppose them: in the materials —in Al-Ándalus marble and stone were used frequently in royal constructions, in sculptural creations— in Cordova they have a tectonic value and in Medina al-Zahra' they are distributed in panels and in other multiple facets in part already examined in pointing out the filiation of the Cordovan buildings.

A difference, which if it cannot clearly be linked with the Hispano pre-Moslem artistic legacy, also separates them and is probably rooted in the temperamental heritage of the pre-Islamic peninsular people. I am referring to the disparity, noted by various scholars (75), between the usual anonimity of Oriental Mussulman art and the frequency with which in the mosque, in Medina al-Zahra', in caliphal capitals in little ivory chests and in other Hispano-Arabic industrial pieces appears the names of the emir or of the caliph who ordered the construction, that of the official or builder who directed the work and often that of the artist who carved the capital, worked the ivory, cast and enamelled the washstand, sculpted the inscription or minted the coin. How to explain this contrast between the general anonymity of non Spanish Arabic art —García Romo (76) writes that outside of Al-Ándalus «there are no capitals with epigraphs»— and the liking of the Hispano-Mussulmans to sign their names, if not as the outcome of a temperamental projection of their pre-Moslem ancestors?

Some years ago many remnants of walls of gypsum kiln were found in Villajoyosa (Alicante) and in La Cocosa (Cáceres), in Hispano-Roman buildings of the 3rd and 4th centuries of our era. In those of Villajoyosa, discovered and studied by Belda, geometric decoration predominates. There are tangent or intersected circumferences, the fillets drawing them connected; there are squared, lozenges, octagons; there are combinations of octagons, squares and triangles and of the three with hexagons; there are interconnected swastikas. «In the inside of the poligons and the circumferences and between the swastikas there are roses and fleurons. There are also scalloped, winding, zigzagging and spiraling carvings... The carving

---

studies disturbed him in his phantasmagoria and he mutilates one and ignores the other. At Princeton, Julio González' work on the *Repartimiento de Sevilla* was annotated in his own handwriting, but as it contradicted his elucubrations, he totally ignored it. Those who still ignore what is hidden in his method must known these realities.

(75) García Romo has pointed out the fact: *Lo pre-musulmán...*, in *Príncipe de Viana,* notes 86-87, pp. 220 and 232. See also: Ocaña Jiménez: *Capiteles epigrafiados del Alcázar de Córdoba,* in *Al-Ándalus,* III, 1935, pp. 155-167, and *Capiteles epigrafiados de Madinat al-Zahra',* in *Al-Ándalus,* IV, 1936, pp. 158-166; Gómez-Moreno: *Capiteles árabes documentados,* in *Al-Ándalus,* VI, 1941, pp. 422-427; Torres Balbás: *Arte hispano-musulmán,* in *Historia de España... Menéndez Pidal,* V, pp. 457, 534, 670,...; Ferrandis: *Marfiles árabes de Occidente,* I, pp. 43, 78-79,...; Gómez-Moreno: *El arte árabe español,* in *Ars Hispaniae,* III, pp. 298 and fol.

(76) *Lo pre-musulmán...*, in *Príncipe de Viana,* notes 86-87, p. 220.

is awkward but with a wealth of planes and patterns». In those of La Cocosa, described by Serra Rafols, the geometric decorations are also predominant. They were painted in both cases. Torres Balbás has given information of these findings in his work entitled: *Precedentes de la decoración mural hispano-musulmana* (77).

Those kilns from Alicante and Extremadura must not have been the only ones adorning the walls of the Hispano-Roman buildings. Saint Isidore, in a passage forgotten (78) until recently, refers to the technique of which they were a product. We find ourselves in the presence of late Roman decorative art, possibly received from the Orient —kilns have been found in Persia and Syria— but very spread out in Spain centuries before the Islamic invasion. The Mussulmans probably found them used in Al-Ándalus, they must have received them from the Spaniards —no kilns appear in the first Ommiad palaces prior to 723— and they probably were one more part of the complex and multiform pre-Moslem heritage.

The latter encompassed other manifestations of the life of the spirit. There circulated in the spirit of the Spanish Mussulmans —Asín writes— «below the artificial surface of the new religion, the instincts, the tendencies, the ethnic aptitutes of a people who, before submitting to Islam, had thought and felt other dogmas similar in essence but of a richer emotional content and of a fuller philosophical development. The intense neo-Platonic impression of Christian theology, the Pythagorean and Gnostic traditions of Priscillianism had left deep roots in the souls. This ethnic psychology kept in the recesses of the conscience, is what survives and renews the Spanish life of thought with the tendencies to mysticism and auterity in what is emotional and of naturalistic pantheism, in what is speculative» (79).

As in the field of philosophical creations the pre-Moslem Hispanic tradition also influenced in the field of historiographic production through different paths, through the domination of the Oriental fantasy triumphant in the historians of the first times and bequeathing to the chroniclers the example of the great Latin compilations.

The Arabic and Egyptian historians and the Andalusian ones of non-Hispanic origin to whom we owe the first accounts of the conquest of the Peninsula by the Mohammedans-Al-Waqidi (80), the Seudo Ibn Qutayba (81),

---

(77) *Al-Ándalus,* XX, pp. 407-435.

(78) Book XIX, cap. XV. «*Plastice* consists in representing images of figures on the walls with plaster and painting them in colors», trans. Cortés y Góngora, Madrid, 1951, p. 472.

(79) Asín: *Ibn Masarra y su escuela. Orígenes de la Filosofía hispano-musulmana,* in *Obras Escogidas,* I, Madrid, 1946, p. 38.

(80) About Al-Waquīdī and his Futūh Ifrīgiya, see my *Fuentes de la historia hispano-musulmana del siglo VIII,* Mendoza, 1942, pp. 65-71. His account of the conquest of Spain is reproduced in *Al-Bayān al-Mugrib de Ibn 'Idārī,* trans. Fagnan, II, pp. 9, 11, 20 and 21 and in the other compilations which Ī record in my *Fuentes...,* pp. 68 and fol.

(81) About the Seudo Ibn Qutayba see my *Fuentes de la historia hispano-musulmana del siglo VIII,* pp. 71-84. His account of the conquest of Spain, in

Ibn 'Abd Al-Hakam (82), Ibn Habib (83), Ibn Abi Riqa (84)... —filled their pages with a great number of fables, prodigies, fairy tales, and legends in which the marvelous overflowed without curb, nor limit. On the other hand, Ibn Al-Qutiya (85), descendent of Sara, granddaughter of the penultimate Gothic king, Witiza, the compiler of *Ajbar Maymu'a* (86), witness of the Cordovan revolutions of the beginning of the 11th century, of Oriental origin, but grandson of immigrants who had come to Spain in the 8th century and undoubtedly already hispanicized and the great Ibn Ḥayyān (87), contemporary of the Taifas, but of pure Spanish race, showed such an abundance of Hispanic realism that they pruned their accounts of the conquest from all the legends which strongly smelled of marvel. The last one attempted to explain by means of pure Western reason such fairy tales —the one relative to Solomon's table, for example (88)— outcome of the extreme fantasy of the Chroniclers saturated with Orientalism. All three of them had before their eyes the fantastic accounts of the historians of he 9th century, either non-Spanish or still not Hispanicized, and the Hispanic realism predominant in them, because of their Hispanic blood or because they were saturated with Hispanicism, led them to remove from their works the fables and the marvels which their mind refused to admit.

---

the thanslation by Ribera: *Colección de obras arábigas de historia y geografía que publica la Real Academia de la Historia,* II, Madrid, 1926, pp. 105 and fol.

(82) About Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam see my *Fuentes hist. hisp. mus.*, pp. 91-99, and Gateau: *Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam et les sources arabes relatives à la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne,* in *Revue Tunisienne. Nouvelle série,* numbers 25, 1936; 29, 1937; 33-34, 1938. His account of the conquest of Spain can be seen in the translation by Lafuente Alcántara, *Col. Obr. Ar. Hist. Geog.*, I, 1867, pp. 208 and fol., and in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne. Futūh Ifriqiya wa'l-Andalus,* trans. Bateau, Argel, 1942.

(83) About Ibn Habīb see my *Fuentes hist. hisp. mus.*, pp. 108-126. His work has been lost but from it were taken various passages about the conquest of Spain: Ibn Abī al-Fayyad, trans. M. Antuña (in my *Fuentes...*, approx. pp. 353 and fol.) and the anonymous author of the *Fath al-Ándalus,* trans. González, pp. 12 and fol.

(84) About Ibn Abī Riqz' see my *Fuentes hist. hisp. mus.*, pp. 111 and fol.; the accounts of the conquest of Spain, in the translation by M. Antuña, *Cuadernos de historia de España,* I-II, Buenos Aires, 1944, pp. 253 and fol.

(85) About Ibn Al-Qūtīya see my *Fuentes hist. hisp. mus.*, pp. 216-223; the account of the conquest of Spain in the trans. Ribera, *Col. Obr. Ar. Hist. Geog.*, II, pp. 1 and fol. Vernet communicated to me that a manuscript from the first volume of the *Muqtabis* is conserved in the Royal Library of Rabat. Its urgent publication and study would be useful.

(86) See my work: *El Ajbār Maŷmū'a. Problemas historiográficos que suscita,* Buenos Aires, 1944, 406 pp.; the account of the conquest of Spain in the trans. Lafuente Alcántara: *Col. Obr. Ar. Hist. Geog.*, I, pp. 15 and fol.

(87) About Ibn Hayyān see my *Fuentes hist. hisp. mus.*, pp. 257-268; M. Antuña: *Ibn Hayyān de Córdoba y su historia de la España musulmana,* in *Cuadernos Hist. España,* IV, 1946, pp. 5-71, and García Gómez: *A propósito de Ibn Hayyān. Resumen del estado actual de los estudios hayyāníes con motivo de una publicación reciente,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XI, 1946, pp. 395-423. Al-Maqqarī reproduced passages of the history of the conquest of Spain, trans. Lafuente Alcántara, *Col. Obr. Ar. Hist. Geog.*, I, pp. 184 and fol.

(88) Al-Maqqarī reproduces his information, trans. Lafuente Alcántara, p. 190.

That note of verism, henceforth, characterized the Hispano-Mussulman historiography.

We must say that the pre-Moslem offered the example of great Latin compilations to the historians and chroniclers of Al-Ándalus. We have data on the transmission of three of them. Many years ago, in studying the sources of the great Cordovan historian of the first part of the 10th century, Aḥmad al-Razi, I verified that the pages of his *Ta'rij Muluq Al-Ándalus* on the history of Spain prior to the Islamic conquest, came directly or indirectly from a series of Latin chronicles: from the *Chronicon Omnimodae Historiae* of Saint Jerome, from the *Breviarium ab urbe condita* of Eutropius, from the *Historia Gothorum* of Saint Isidore, from a *Continuatio Hispana* dated in 754, and from others which it is difficult to specify (89). It is incredible that Al-Rāzī —Rasis as medieval Christian historiography called him—, however great his erudition may have been, could know and read all these Latin texts, and I tend to think that he had had access to them through some compilation which reproduced them more or less faithfully. That compilation, including the Mozarabic Chronicle of 754, was probably written after the Islamic invasion of Spain. We know that the Mozarabs had a great wealth of old works, the author of *Liber Glossarum* (90) used them. A Spanish erudite Christian from the 8th to the 9th century could, therefore, have written the historical compilation used by Rasis.

It would not have been the only historical work which the Mozarabs gave to Hispano-Islamic erudition. We have known for a long time —by Ibn Jaldun's admission— that Qasim ibn Asbag (862-951), and the cadi of the Christians of Cordova had translated the *Historiarium adversum paganos libri VII* of Orosius (91). The great Arabist Levi Della Vida found some years ago a manuscript of the Arab version of Orosius mixed with passages appearing in the Pseudo Isidoriana (92) in the Columbia University library (New York). In addition to the erudite Mozarabic compilation source of Ahmad Al-Rāzī, Hispanic Christianity would have, therefore, given the Hispano-Mussulman scholars, nothing less than a touch-

---

(89) See my monographs: *Fuentes latinas de la historia romana de Rasis,* Buenos Aires, 1942; *San Isidoro, Rasis y la Pseudo Isidoriana,* in *Cuadernos de Historia de España,* IV, 1946, pp. 73-113, and *La Crónica del Moro Rasis y la Continuatio Hispana,* in *Anales de la Universidad de Madrid, Letras,* III, 3, 1934, pp. 229-265, and also my *Fuentes hist. hisp. mus.,* pp. 166-168 and 186 and fol.

(90) Goetz: *Der Liber Glossarum: Abhandlungen der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Königlichen Sächsischen Geselleschaft der Wissenschaften,* XIII, n. II, Leipzig, 1891, and XXX, 1893. The chapters which are particularly interesting: III, «*Die Quellen des Liber Glossarum*» (pp. 256-282), and IV, «*Der Ursprung der Liber Glossarum*» (pp. 283-288).

(91) See my *San Isidoro, Rasis y la Pseudo Isidoriana,* in *Cuadernos de Historia de España,* IV, 1946, p. 76, note 10.

(92) *The «Bronze era» in Moslem Spain,* in *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* 63, note 3, 1943, pp. 183 and 191, and *La traduzione araba delle Storie di Orosio,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XIX, 1954, pp. 257-293.

ed up translation of the great work of the great Hispano-Roman historian of the 5th century.

In the field of historical knowledge Hispanic Mohammedanism probably received a third legacy, another text of universal history. Very different from the compilation, probable source of Rasis, and of the Orosius' version it was likewise the work of a Mozarab. It has also been studied by the great master Della Vida (93). The manuscript which contains it, from the mosque of 'Ubqa de Qayrawān is written in Andalusian letter and the text presents errors peculiar to an Andalusian Christian translator.

As in the language, lyric poetry, epic poetry, in music, in architecture, in philosophy and in the history the projection of the pre-Moslem extended also to the political and social institutions and to the economic life. The administrative division of the Visigothic Spain was not altered; this has been demonstrated by Hussain Mones (94) for whom the provincial system of Al-Ándalus was different from the Oriental system. They kept the institution of the personal Hispano-Gothic protection which in the Christian North gave origin to the *benefactoria* or *behetría;* Lévi Provençal (95) has mentioned the coexistence in Al-Ándalus, along with the system of Islamic clientelé, another one called in Arabic *istina'*, which signifies literally *bene-facere.* Renting systems foreign to the juridical Moslem tradition were still in vigor; Brunschwig (96) found traces of them. Although no Arabist has mentioned the survival in Mussulman Spain of the agrarian contract *ad partionem,* of Roman tradition, the former is, nevertheless, certain. Artobás, son of Witiza, in a moment of generosity, gave the pious Maimun the farm of Guadajoz, as it did not seem sufficient to him to give half way; so Ibn Al-Qutiya (97) relates.

The survival of the system of lordly explotation of the great Hispano-Roman and Hispano-Gothic domains is no less certain, although it has not been mentioned by any Arabist. Ibn Al-Qūtīya, Al-Jusanī and Ibn 'Idārī have kept record of it. The first one relates that Artobás, in order to express his generous gesture in Maimun's favor, called his administrator —a *villicus* or a *maiordomus,* undoubtedly— and ordered him to deliver the mentioned farm with all the cows, horses and slaves that were in it and a castle situated in the Kūra of Jaén (98). The same chronicler, also descendent of Witiza, relates that 'Abd Al-Rahmān I (757-782) confiscated Artobás' property because he had pried in to his tent on a day when they were both on a war expedition and he had seen in it all the many gifts

(93) *Un texte mozarabe d'histoire universelle,* in *Études d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal,* I, 1962, pp. 175-183.

(94) *La división política administrativa de la España musulmana,* in *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid,* V, 1952, pp. 105 and fol.

(95) *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane,* III, pp. 212-213.

(96) He personally communicated the information to me in Bordeaux in February, 1953.

(97) Trans. Ribera: *Col. Obr. Ar. Hist. Geog.,* II, p. 30.

(98) Trans. Ribera: *Col. Obr. Ar. Hist. Geog.,* II, p. 30.

offered by his tenants —Ribera translates feudatories (99)— in all the stops he made within his domain. Al-Jusanī (100) refers to the great Latin-speaking lords who surrendered in agreement at the orders of the hayib of 'Abd Al-Rahmān III (912-961) to respect one of them who only spoke the Romance language and was not even a Mussulman (101). And according to Ibn 'Idārī (102), to get rid of the eunuch Durrī, Almanzor, before 977, had someone secretly say to the people of Baeza who lived on the land of the *fata* that if there were any complaints against him and against his administrators —once again we can suppose that they are the historical prolongation of the Visigothic *villicos*— they would be sentenced and that from then on, no one would have to endure their violence.

It is certain that a similar connection between the pre-Moslem and the Hispano-Mussulman could be established in the economic life if the Arabist had considered the connection of the industries and of the commerce of Al-Ándalus. We know at least that the work in leather in Cordova, of great standing throughout the Islamic history of Spain, is anterior to the Sarracen conquest. In 716, Chilperico II confirmed the exemptions granted to the monastery of Corbie by Clotario II (657-673) and by Childerico II (673-675) to acquire in Marseilles, without paying duties, oil and leather (103). The Islamic invasion did not put an end to the foreign trade of Gothic Spain; Theodulfus de Orleans saw in Arles in 812, precious stones, Cordovan leather and silks imported by the Mussulmans (104) and mentions white and red leather among the gifts presented to Charlemagne (105). Since we know that the exportation of Cordovan leather was prior to the Mussulman conquest of the Peninsula, it is normal to assume that it was true also of the trade of gems and of silks.

Naturally, the stamp of the pre-Moslem in the daily life of the Hispano-Mussulmans was even clearer. The vestiges of Roman Spain and Visigothic Spain were so many and such that for centuries life was lived within a framework saturated with memories of the past. Al-Ándalus was crossed by the old network of ways built in the Peninsula by the *cupiditas aedificandi* of Rome and its torrential or gentle rivers were spanned by the distant

---

(99) *Col. Obr. Ar. Hist. Geog.*, II, pp. 28-29.

(100) Trans. Ribera, p. 237.

(101) Ibn Huwqul relates that when he visited Al-Ándalus under the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III, there were numerous *latifundia* cultivated by slaves, most of them Christians; those great properties could only be a historical prolongation of the vast domains of the Hispano-Romans and Hispano-Goths. Lévi-Provençal mentions this fact in his *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane,* III, p. 208, note 1.

(102) Trans. Fagnan, II, p. 437.

(103) Pirenne: *Histoire économique de l'Occident médiéval,* Bruges, 1951, pp. 94-95 and 106.

(104) Doehaerd: *Méditerranée et Economie Occidentale pendant le Haut Moyen Age,* in *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale,* I, p. 583.

(105) *Carmina.* Ed. Migne. *Patrología* CV. 268. Ferrandis reproduces the quote: *Guadamecíes,* in *Discurso de recepción en la Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando,* Madrid, 1945.

bridges, restored when necessity required. The Mussulman conquest (106) has been carried out by following the latter and crossing the former. The historical references to the ancient paved highways are numerous. In the 10th century, Ahmad al-Rāzī (107) specifically referred to the one which formed the axle of the Roman road network in Spain, the so-called *Via Augusta* which went from the Pyrenees, by the Mediterranean coast to Andalusia to end in Cádiz (108). In the 11th century Ibn Baskuwal, in a passage mentioned by Al-Maqqari, refers to the roads that went from Cádiz to Carmona (Seville), Cordova, Saragossa and Tarragona-Narbonne. All of them were naturally Roman (109). The general outline of the old roads appears in the road records of Al-Idrisī (1100-1162) (110) as well as in the palimpsests, the previous writings. The Arabic texts usually call the old Roman ways, stone-paved roads because they were stoned. The reference to them and to the bridges they used reached the geographer of the 14th century, Al-Himyarī (111).

---

(106) See my *Itinerario de la conquista de España por los musulmanes,* in *Cuad. Hist. Esp.,* X, 1948.

(107) See: the Portuguese version included in the *Cronica Geral de Espanha de 1344,* ed. Lindley Cintra, Lisbon, 1951, p. 71; the Castilian version, ed. Gayangos: *Memoria sobre la autenticidad de la Crónica denominada del Moro Rasis,* in *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia,* VII, Madrid, 1852, p. 57; and the French version, a work by Lévi-Provençal: *La description de l'Espagne l'Ahmad al-Rāzī,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XVIII, 1953, p. 95.

Here is my version: «Carmona is located on the road which goes from the gate (of Cádiz) and goes to the gate of Narbonne. From Carmona to Narbonne there are a thousand miles. He who goes from Carmona to Narbonne will always be able to follow the stone-paved road if he wishes. This road is a wide road, all made of mortar so that it could be used during the Winter when the earth was muddy. The road was ordered by Hercules.»

(108) The Spanish Mussulmans called the Roman roads arrecifes because they were paved with stones. Lévi-Provençal believes (p. 95, note 4) that the term rasif is a deformation of the Romance word *laxamax,* ancient form of *argamasa* which had come to Hispanic Arabic and he uses the known dictionaries of Dozy and of Simonet. On the other hand he is wrong in mentioning the number of miles separating Carmona from Narbonne: «Il s'agit là d'une confusion avec Ecija, au sujet de laquelle le renseignement donné ici est fourni par R[awd] M[ítar] 15-22 (note 12).» Nevertheless, Al-Himyarī writes: «Il y a entre Ecija et Marchena une distance de vingt milles; la même entre Ecija et Carmona.» But why always write in a hurry?

(109) I take the information from the study by Torres Balbás: *La Vía Augusta y el arrecife musulmán,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XXIV, 1959, pp. 441-448.

(110) Compare the *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne,* ed. and trans. Dozy and Goeje, Leyden, 1866, pp. 206-266, with the study about the Roman roads of Spain outlined by Saavedra, second ed., 1914, which although rectifiable and naturally rectified offers an excellent general picture.

(111) Thus he writes, for example, about Bayara: «Ville d'Al-Ándalus proche de Porcuna (Bulkuna) dont elle est séparée par une distance de dix milles. Son port sur le Guadalquivir *(an-Nahr al-aʿ zam),* était pourvu d'un quai (rasif) en maçonnerie. La grande rute (al-mahağğa al-'uzmā) qui partait de la porte de Narbonne pour aboutir à celle de Cordoue, passait par la porte de cette ville. L'arc de cette porte existe encore, sans la moindre fissure, et sa hauteur au-dessus du sol

15.—A Hispano-Roman artist realistically grasped the energetic and rough face of a son of Hispanic Lusitania, called later Estremadura, where more than a thousand years later were to be born the rough and heroic captains and soldiers who achieved the prodigy of the conquest of America. *Hispano-Roman bust of man. Museum of Badajoz.*

16.—The adoption by peninsular people of the Roman style of life implanted hot springs in Hispania, from Asturias to Andalusia and from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean, hot springs which continued to be used even by the Hispano-Mussulmans. To supply them, a multitude of acqueducts were raised. Here is the one called «Los milagros» of Mérida whose system of construction is related to that of the mosque of Cordova. *Roman aqueduct of «Los Milagros» in Mérida (Badajoz).*

In most of the old cities the traces of the pre-Moslem past were manifest. Above the Portal of the Bridge of Cordova, the image of the Virgin was still standing in the 9th century; we owe that information to *Ajbar Maymu'a* (112). It continued there in the year 397 of the Hegira (1006-1007 after Christ) according to Ibn 'Idari (113), and in the days of Al-Bakri (114) (-1004). The very old Phoenician monument to Hercules was preserved in Cádiz for many centuries and was stupidly destroyed in the 12th century (115). The marbles of Emerita Augusta remained until Hāsim ibn 'Abd al-Azīz uprooted them to adorn Cordova, in the second half of the 9th century (116); those of Itálica remained there until they were taken to Seville (117) and those of Tarragona stayed intact until the 15th century (118). There must have been many ancient Roman buildings, theaters, amphitheaters, springs, temples, arches, ramparts left... Some have stayed until today and in the 11th century Al-Bakrī and in the 12th Al-Idrisī mentioned a few of those still visible in Spain in their times; from their pages they passed on to those of Al-Himyarī (119). We have information of the conservation of aqueducts in Mérida, Ronda and Huelva (120); of porticos in Seville, Tarragona and Tarazona (121); of triumphal arches in Mérida and Montoro (122); of bridges in Alcántara, Cordova and Mérida (123); of graves in Carteya and Loja (124); of ramparts in many villages; of the theater of Murviedro (125) and of springs in Alhama,

---

est telle qu'un cavalier n'en peut atteindre le sommet du bout de sa lance», trans. Lévi-Provençal, p. 71.

(112) In one of the attacks of Úmar ibn Hafsūns' horse a brave rider from the horde passed the Cordova's bridge and threw his sword against the statue which presided the gate of the threatened city: *Ajbār Maŷmū'a,* trans. Lafuente Alcántara, pp. 131-132.

(113) *Al-Bayān Al-Mugrib,* t. III. Ed. Lévi-Provençal, Paris, 1930, p. 14.

(114) In referring to the construction of the walls of Pechina Al-Himyarī, following the cited Andalusian geographer, he writes: «They placed over one of the gates of the new city a statue similar to the one found in Cordova over the gate of the Bridge.» *Kitāb Ar-Rawd al-Mi'tar fī Habar al-Aktār,* trans. Lévi-Provençal, p. 48. I owe the fact that the passage of Al-Himyarī comes from Al-Bakrī to the eminent arabist.

(115) *Al-Himyarī* (trans. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 173-178) deals with that monument and its destruction at length.

(116) *Al-Himyarī,* trans. Lévi-Provençal, p. 212.

(117) *Al-Himyarī,* trans. Lévi-Provençal, p. 149.

(118) *Al-Himyarī,* trans. Lévi-Provençal, p. 153.

(119) About the loans taken from Bakrī and Idrīsī by Al-Himyarī, see the introduction of Lévi-Provençal to his version of the work of the latter, p. XXIII.

(120) Al-Idrīsī informs about the one from Mérida, trans. Dozy and Goeje, p. 220, and about the others Al-Himyarī, trans. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 78 and 98.

(121) *Al-Himyarī,* trans. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 78, 146, 153.

(122) Al-Idrīsī informs about the one from Mérida, trans. Dozy and Goeje, p. 221, and about the one from Bayāra-Montoro, *Al-Himyarī,* trans. Lévi-Provençal, p. 71.

(123) *Al-Himyarī,* trans. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 72 and 127; 187 and 189; and 211-213.

(124) *Al-Himyarī,* trans. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 98 and 180.

(125) *Al-Himyarī,* trans. Lévi-Provençal, p. 217.

Jaén, Cordova (126). From a passage of *The Dove's Ring* of Ibn Hazm it turns out that the latter in his days (994-1083) were adorned with statues (127). Al-Ándalus must have been filled with sculptural figures. Besides the image of the Virgin of the Portal of the Bridge of Cordova and the figures of the Cordovan Roman baths, there were some in Itálica, Lamaya (Málaga), Elvira... (128); they supported a frontispiece in Niebla (129); adorned the doors of Écija (130); one of a bull adorned the springs of Jaén (131), and we can presume they were still in Mérida and Tarragona (132). Naturally, if such records filtered to the Andalusian geographers of the 11th and 12th centuries, we can be certain that in reality the architectural and sculptural vestiges of the pre-Moslem past in Mussulman Spain, must have been much more abundant.

Many ancient Christian churches remained opened in all the cities of Al-Ándalus. Simonet (133) mentioned all the ones of which he knew. Based on the writings of Álvaro and Eulogio, of the 9th century and on the Calendar of Bishop Recemundo of the 10th century, he mentions the following ones in Cordova and surroundings: the *Basilica Sanctorum Trium,* in the center of the city or *in vico Turris;* the one of Saint Cyprian and of Saint Mary within the city limits; the *Basilica Sancti Assiscli,* outside the walls, going out through the Gate of Seville; the *Monasterium Sancti Christophoris,* in the South of the city across the Guadalquivir; the *Basilica of Saint Ginés,* also South in the place called Tercios; those of Saint Martin and Saint Eulaly, also in the Cordovan area; the *Basilica Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani,* in the hole called *Colubris:* that of Saint Zoilo, in the embroiderers' district that of Saint Servando and Saint Germán, in the district called *Quartos:* the monastery of Saint Mary in the village *Cuteclara,* to the West of Cordova; the *Basilica Sanctae Eulaliae,* next to the district of Fragellas; the monastery of Saint Martin of Tours in the district of Tersail of Cordova; Saint Felix in the Sierra 12 miles from the city; the *Coenobium Sanctorum Justi et Pastoris,* in the village Lejulense, 25 miles from Cordova; Saint Salvador Pinnamellariense, in the Sierra to the North, 4 miles from the city; the *Coenobium Sancti Loisi,* in Armilla, within 30 miles; the famous monastery of Tábanos, also in the Sierra; and he enumerates others impossible to locate.

With great zeal and erudition, the same author refers to many other monasteries and churches of various cities and places of Mussulman Spain.

---

(126) *Al-Himyarī,* trans. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 49 and 88, and Ibn Hazm: *The Dove's Ring,* trans. García Gómez, p. 96.
(127) I refer to the quote of the previous note.
(128) *Al-Himyarī,* trans. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 37, 149, 204.
(129) *Al-Himyarī,* trans. Lévi-Provençal, p. 203.
(130) *Al-Himyarī,* trans. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 20-21.
(131) *Al-Himyarī,* trans. Lévi-Provençal, p. 88.
(132) About Tarragona see *Al-Himyarī,* trans. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 153-154 and Al-Idrīsī about Mérida, trans. Dozy and Goeje, pp. 220-222.
(133) *Historia de los mozárabes,* pp. 326-336.

Al-Himyarī, probably taking his inspiration from Al-Bakrī and Al-Idrīsī, as has been said, mentions churches in Écija and Huelva, next to Daroca and in other places difficult to locate, and he mentions convents in Cordova and Carthagena (134).

In Toledo, when it was conquered by Alfonso VI in 1085, there were still four Mozarabic parrochial churches, as mentioned in the *Documentos* published by González Palencia.

We cannot doubt that they could not have forgotten the old plans of the Roman Patrician houses to judge by their continuation until today in the Andalusian and colonial houses (135). Numerous historical traditions about the foundation and the remote past of many ancient Hispanic metropolises came to the attention of the geographer Al-Bakrī. Taking his inspiration from him from what seems sure, Al-Himyarī presents Beja founded by Julius Caesar, records his intervention in the history of Seville affirming that from his name proceeds that of Saragossa, states that Lakka was founded by Octavius, city next to which was flowing the river on whose shores the Goths were defeated; knows that Hadrian was from Itálica, neighbour of Seville; makes Leovigildo the founder of Reccopolis; attributes to Recaredo the building of Bayara, next to the Guadalquivir and states other series of items on a similar theme (136). We could not wish for a better proof that the memory of the distant pre-Moslem past had not been destroyed in the Moorish Spain of the 11th century.

Far from having been destroyed, it was still alive. The survival of many practices and customs of pre-Islamic Spain attests it. Through the detailed and picturesque *Historia de los jueces de Córdoba* by Al-Jusanī we know that the Hispano-Mussulman people had fought the Oriental fashions for a long time and that they had made fun of those who adopted them (137).

---

(134) Trans. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 21 and 44, 96, 161 and 232, 44 and 182.

(135) My old and dear friend, the always remembered Torres Balbás, great architect who, in Al-Ándalus, from its foundation until his unexpected death, has been studying monographically the integral past of Hispano-Arabic art, year by year with great artistic knowledge and enormous erudition, has given information about many Moorish houses found in various cities of Spain. I refer to his studies: *Plantas de casas árabes en la Alhambra; El barrio de casas árabes de la Alcazaba malagueña; Las casas del Portal en la Alhambra de Granada; Algunos aspectos de la casa hispano-musulmana; almacercas, aljorfas y saledizos (Al-Ándalus,* II, 1934; X, 1945; XIV, 1949, and XV, 1950). He has studied the structures and the outlines of the Moorish cities of Spain *(Al-Ándalus,* XV, 1950, and XVIII, 1953). The Moorish houses studied by him do not always respond to the classical Greco-Roman scheme. It is evident that there were always many types in the houses of Mediterranean tradition. I am referring to the Patrician houses which survive in the present Andalusian and colonial houses, through the Spanish Mussulman palaces.

(136) Trans. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 24, 26, 45, 71, 118, 161, 204,...

(137) Al-Jušanī relates the surprise that the judge Huhammad ibn Bašir caused in Cordova because of his attire, and says that at his death they asked the famous theologian Yahyā ibn Yahyā, one of the most important personalities then (Lévi-Provençal: *Hist. Esp. Mus.,* I, pp. 146, 153, 165, 189,... III, pp. 171, 474,...), about the custom of wearing turbans, Yahyā answered: «In the Orient they use

The new ideas introduced in the dress by Ziryāb (13') probably only found an echo in the courtly milieux, as for the musical novelties (139).

«The Andalusians kept for a long time the ancient fashion of the locks of hair falling on the temples above the ears», Lévi-Provençal writes (140). Thus appear some Hispano-Roman feminine busts, he could have added (141).

In Al-Ándalus, the wine prohibited by Mohammed to his faithful, equally pleased the people and the magnates, was enjoyed by the caliphs and the princes; the poets sang it without mystery, it intoxicated in the very caliphal palace and even moved to benevolence the cadis in charge of condemming the drunkards...

The grapevine was freely cultivated; only Al-Hakam II (961-976) in the last stage of his life thought about ordering that the vineyards of his kingdom be uprooted (142). Until the days of 'Abd Al-Rahmān II (822-852) there had been a wine market in Secunda, at the doors of Cordova, property of the State (143). But even later it was sold freely throughout Mussulman Spain (144) and the internal treasury obtained clear income from such trade. Arīb ibn Sa'd (145) narrates that a grandee became

---

turbans. If you were to use them —they said to him— the people would probably imitate you and would use them. I do not believe so —Yahyā answered—, Ibn Bašir used to wear silk clothes and the people have not imitated him, and Ibn Bašir was an eminent man, who could have imposed that fashion. If I were to use a turban, the people would abandon me.» (Trans. Ribera, pp. 71 and 79-80.)

Al-Tīfāši, in reporting the action of Ziryāb, the Black Bird, in the musical life of Andalusia, points out that his new ideas triumphed in official circles, which leads to suppose that the people did not accept them, even though the author did not declare that the two musics —Oriental and Christian— continued separated until the days of Ibn Bāŷŷa (trans. García Gómez, *Etudes... Lévi-Provençal,* III, pp. 519-520). And other similar testimonies can be added.

(138) Ibn Hayyān informed about those new ideas. Lévi-Provençal has translated the corresponding page of the Muqtabis: *Hist. Esp. Mus.,* III, pp. 425-426.

(139) I refer to the passage of Al-Tīfāši reproduced in note 46 of the second part.

(140) *Hist. Esp. Mus.,* III, p. 433. The *guedejuelas* alluded to in *jarcha* N. XIV of those published by García Gómez would be pre-Moslem; that is to say, the ŷumma studied by Oliver Asín: *Fortuna de la ŷumma en la lengua española,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XXVIII, 1963, pp. 95 and following.

(141) As an example I refer to the woman bust of the museum of Mérida which I reproduce in the present work.

(142) Lévi-Provençal: *Hist. Esp. Mus.,* III, pp. 277-278.

(143) Lévi-Provençal affirms that «fut démolie de fond en comble» in his *Hist. Esp. Mus.,* I, p. 196, and that it was «bientôt reouverte après une fermeture temporaire et d'un bon rapport pour le Trésor public», in the same *Hist. Esp. Mus.,* III, p. 447. One more of his contradictions.

(144) Lévi-Provençal writes: «La facilité avec laquelle on pouvait dans les villes andalouses trouver et boire du vin jusqu'à l'ivresse s'ajoutait encore à la licence des moeurs», *Hist. Esp. Mus.,* III, p. 446.

(145) Ibn 'Iḏārī relates the event in his *Bayān al-Mugrib,* trans. Fagnan, II, pp. 374-375. But it is known that the quoted compiler plagiarized 'Arib ibn Sa'd, historian of the 10th century. See my *Fuentes de la historia hispano-musulmana,* pp. 223-230.

intoxicated in the presence of 'Abd Al-Rahmān III; his remark about the speed with which the court servants rushed with washbasins and towels proves that such scenes were not extraordinary. Through Ibn Al-Qūtīya (146) we know that Muhammad I was able to reach the castle at the death of his father passing in front of the palace of his brother 'Abd Allāh, because the latter was drinking with his friends at that time and the guards who where in charge of the residence were also drinking. The poets describe nocturnal Bacchic scenes of the young noblemen in orchards and gardens (147) and imagine brilliant metaphors about the delicious nectar which intoxicated them and seduced them in the reality of life as well as in the world of their dreams (148). Al-Jusani (149) in his *Historia de los cadíes cordobeses* offers rejoicing testimonies of cases of lenity of the cadis in applying the legal penalty to the drunkards.

People drank in prostitution houses *(dar al-jaray)* in the urban taverns and in the roadside inns of the suburbs (150). Until the days of Ibn Quzman came the many varieties of wines made and enjoyed in Al-Ándalus (151). Yes, in Moslem Spain people drank everywhere and drank imprudently in

---

(146) Trans. Ribera, *Col. Obr. Ar. Hist. Geog.*, II, pp. 62-67.

(147) Casidas (poem) in memory of Bacchic scenes of magnates and poets of Al-Ándalus were not lacking in the garden of the Hispano-Arabic lyric poetry. They serve as an example between the early ones, of Ibn Hāni' of Elvira (-973), of Marwān ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, called the amnestied prince (963-1009); of Ibn Šuhayd of Cordova (992-1034); of the king of Seville Al-Mu'tamid (1068-1091); of Ibn Muqānā of Lisboa (11th cent.); of Ibn Sirāŷ of Cordova (-114); of Ibn Al-Zaqqāq of Alcira (-ca 1114); of Ibn Jafāŷa of Alcira (1058-1138); of Ibn Al-Qabturnuh (11th and 12th centuries); of Ibn Zuhr of Cordova (1113-1199); of Ibn Gālīb al-Rusāfī of Valencia (died 1171); of Ibn al-Saqqat of Málaga (12th century). García Gómez: *Poemas arábigo-andaluces,* notes 7, 12, 16, 18, 38, 41, 47, 58, 62, 90, 99, 103.

(148) There are many poetic metaphors to praise wine. García Gómez has translated in his *Poemas arábigo-andaluces* those of 'Ubāda Ibn Mā'al-Samā (died toward 1030), note 52; of Ibn Hisn, secretary of Al-Mu'tadid (11th century), note 2; of Idris ibn Al-Yamah, of Ibiza (11th century), note 78; of Al-Zaqqāq of Alcira (died toward 1135), note 90; of Ibn Jafāŷa of Alcira (1058-1138), note 99; of Al-Rusāfī of Valencia (died 1177), note 1.004. We even know some to Ibn Hazm. He included it in *The Dove's Ring,* trans. García Gómez, p. 90.

I stayed alone with her, the only third party being wine
while the wing of the obscure darkness was softly opening.
She was a girl without whose proximity I would lose life
Is it really a sin to feel this great longing for life?
I, she, the glass, white wine and the obscurity
we seemed like the earth, rain pearl, gold in jet colors.

(149) Trans. Ribera, pp. 125, 126, 208, 243 and 244. I have gathered such passages in: *La España musulmana,* I, pp. 269-271.

(150) Lévi-Provençal: *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, III, pp. 446-447.

(151) García Gómez declares that in *zéjel* XXIX, Ibn Quzmān uses some terms equivalent to our types that he has been forced to translate so: *aged, manzanilla, white wine Montilla style, red, fragrant, white, Greek, claret,* in *Cinco poetas musulmanes,* 1945, p. 124.

spite of the religious prohibitions of Islam. The foreign Mussulmans were amazed by the proportions that the use of wine reached in Hispanic lands by the fact it was talked about in the open and by the fact that the drunkards were excused (152).

As before the Moslem invasion, the Spaniards continued to use the Roman calendar; so says Ibn Hayyān (153) through him we know that they continued to light up the classical bonfires to celebrate the Summer solstice (154) and by a *jarcha,* that on that day they changed into new clothes (155). They were sinning in brothels or houses of prostitution of Hispano-Roman tradition (156) with women who received the ancient Latin name «erae» (157). They were cured by means of the old empirical formulas of the pre-Islamic physicians; Sa'id, from Toledo, has kept the names of the apothecary's files (157). Mozarabs and Jews served as doctors until the 12th century (159). They granted women great a freedom in the streets, difficult to reconcile with the Islamic customs; some items of *The Dove's Ring* by Ibn Hazm and various well known historical anecdotes (160) proved this. They also granted them a consideration and a respect of pure Hispanic heritage. Pérès (161) has pointed out the unequal situation of

---

(152) Trans. Ribera, p. 126.
(153) Lévi-Provençal: *Hist. Esp. Mus.,* III, p. 424.
(154) Lévi-Provençal: *Hist. Esp. Mus.,* III, p. 438.
(155) García Gómez has published and commented it: *Dos nuevas jarŷas romances,* in *Al-Ándalus,* XIX, 1954, p. 377. According to his version it went so:

«White day (is) this day
the day of Saint John
I will put on my new (jacket)
and we will go break lances.»

To the great scandal of the fakirs, the Christian feasts continued to be celebrated. De la Granja has gathered numerous testimonies about these celebrations and the scandals which they caused. He told me his intention to publish a study on the theme in the magazine *Al-Ándalus.*

(156) They received the name of «*dar al-jaraŷ*», «*houses of the jaraŷ*» because they were subject to the tax of the same name. They were also called *dar al-banat,* or «*houses of the girls*». Lévi-Provençal: *Hist. Esp. Mus.,* III, p. 446.
(157) Lévi-Provençal: *Hist. Esp. Mus.,* p. 446, note 1.
(158) Asín: *Ibn Masarra y su escuela,* in *Obras escogidas,* I, 1946, pp. 32-33.
(159) See: *El tratado de Ibn Abdūn,* trans. Lévi-Provençal and García Gómez: *Sevilla a comienzos del siglo XII,* no. 206, Madrid, 1948, p. 172.
(160) Ibn Hazm's and Al-Dabbī's texts in which is related the falling in love of Al-Ramādī with a girl whom he met next to the gate of the perfumers in Cordova, can serve as examples; also related is the meeting which led Al-Mu'tamid to fall in love with Rumaiqiya in the course of a walk with Ibn 'Ammār along the banks of the Guadalquivir in Seville. See *The Dove's Ring,* trans. García Gómez, pp. 100-101, and IV, A, pp. 313-315, and my *España musulmana,* II, p. 108. In commenting the street encounter of the poet Al-Ramādī, Ibn Hazm's translator writes: «The anecdote is extremely valuable as a picture of the customs, and the freedom of women, for example.»
(161) *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XIe siècle,* Paris, 1953, pp. 198 and following.

the Hispanic women in comparison with the Oriental ones. Lévi-Provençal (162) has declared that in his days the Islamic homes of Spanish origin were recognizable in the Moghrib because of the co-authority of the women. The peculiarity could not have been a heritage received by the Spanish Mussulmans from their Islamic conquerors, because of their condition as Orientals and Mohammedans burdened by a double tradition adverse to such co-authority. If it had proceeded from them, it would have reached the African Moslems just at it reached the peninsular Moslems. On the other hand, it blends perfectly well with what we know of the rôle of women in primitive Spain (163).

Is it surprising that as to the language, the poetry, the music, the architecture, the culture, the institutions, the economy, the daily life and the customs, the pre-Moslem Hispanic tradition would also extend to many psychic and temperamental vibrations of the Hispanic Mussulmans? I believe that no one will dare to answer this question negatively because the peoples have always more easily changed language, art, institutions, customs and life styles than psyche and disposition. Moreover, we have proofs that it really happened so in Mussulman Spain.

What has been said before about the consideration granted to women makes us suspect that perhaps the notes of amorous romanticism which appear in *The Dove's Ring* and even in some Andalusian poems go back to pre-Islamic Hispanic tradition. If we re-read Ibn Hazm's accounts about his youthful devotion to women (164), some of the other anecdotes mentioned by him (165) and the poetic notes of the obedient and resigned love of the same Ibn Hazm, of Ibn Zaydūn, of Ibn al-Labbana (166)... we will note that three is nothing in the former nor in the latter which can be connected with the chaste *udrí* love —of Oriental origin and rooted in

---

(162) *La civilisation arabe en Espagne,* Cairo, 1918, p. 36.

(163) The vases of Liria, the figures of the priestesses of the hill of the Saints (Albacete), the votive offerings of the sanctuaries of Collado de los Jardines (Despeñaperros, Santa Elena, Jaén) and of the Castle of Saint Sebastian (Sierra Morena) offer specific testimonies about women's rôle in the life of the East and South of Spain, one millennium before the Islamic invasion. The classical texts about the Roman conquest of these regions and even of the rest of Spain, what we know of the matriarchal right of the Northern people, the known passages of Strabo about Cantabrian people, those of Pliny on Celtiberian morality, the items —which have come to us— about feminine interventions in the Priscillian movement of the end of the 4th century —and the enumeration is not an exhaustive one—, would allow me and will allow any scholar to outline a bright picture of the social function of women in the Spain prior to the one conquered by the Islamites in a moment of civil discord.

(164) *El Collar de la Paloma,* trans. García Gómez, pp. 204-206; 232-236; 257-258.

(165) *El Collar de la Paloma,* trans. García Gómez, pp. 100-101. After referring to the anecdote of the poet Al-Ramādī's falling in love, Ibn Hazm writes: «As in this episode there are many.»

(166) See the passages of the three in this study.

Christian asceticism (167)— which is reflected in some Hispano-Arabic poems (168). There was a great distance between the tortured feeling of renunciation to desire of the Sufis initiated to the love of Bagdad and that of the great Cordovan thinker and the other mentioned Andalusian poets (169). Ibn Hazm was not Sufi —he hated Sufism as Asín more than once has pointed out (170)— and neither were Ibn Zaydūn nor Ibn al-Labbana. None of them appears as renouncing sensual love in those accounts and *casidas.* When Ibn Hazm, upon his return from Cordova, finds the girl who had awakened his love before his forced immigration; transformed, he declares that, even grown old as she was, she would have made him happy (171). As Asín has pointed out, Ibn Hazm considered virginity and celibacy as imperfections. «Continence has its limits —he wrote— in that you keep your eyes and all your members from any forbidden body... But to deprive oneself from what God has permitted is weakness and impotence» (172). In *The Dove's Ring* he declares: «In the possession of the loved person I have reached the ultimate limits after which it is impossible for a man to obtain more and it has always seemed very little to me» (173). He discoursed against the sin but his sensuality must have been proverbial; Ibn Quzmān wrote: «If Ibn Hazm were to hear this poem, he would marvel and would live desiring sexual union at every moment» (174). In a normal man, romantic and carnal loves can occur

---

(167) About Bagdad love or *udrí* love I refer to the passages which Asín consecrated: *Abenházam de Córdoba,* I, Madrid, 1927, pp. 55-63 and to the «Introduction» of García Gómez' version of *El Collar de la Paloma,* pp. 40-45.

(168) For example, in poems of Ibn Faraŷ (-976) «Chastity»; of Safwan ibn Idrīs of Murcia (1165-1202) «Love Scene» and of Ibn Mutariff of Granada (13th century). «Profession of Udri love» (García Gómez: *Poemas arábigo-andaluces,* nos. 39, 74 and 108) and in some of Ibn Zamrak, the poet of the Alhambra (14th century). García Gómez: *Cinco poetas musulmanes,* p. 191.

(169) The chaste erudite priest, Miguel Asín, because he lived far from «the noise of mundane world» —could not even see it in the confessional which he avoided—, he did not understand anything about love problems. In another case he would not have thought, for example, that Ibn Hazm, could have loved romantically only once. Let us recall the well known verses: «One loves once without measure and one loves again immoderately more than twice.»

(170) Asín had already mentioned Ibn Hazm's enmity for sufism in his commentary to his version of *Los caracteres y la conducta,* pp. 23 and 42, note 1. About Ibn Hazm, Asín also writes: «Sufism, whose source was undoubtedly Oriental-Christian, especially produces in him the same repugnance as the dogma of divine charity of the Gospel.» *Abenházam de Córdoba,* I, p. 64, note.

(171) «Even so —Ibn Hazm writes— if I had obtained the slightest condescendence from her and if she had been a bit kind to me, I would have raved with joy and died of happiness.» (Trans. García Gómez, p. 236.) What does this have to do with *Udri* love?

(172) *Los caracteres y la conducta,* note 91, trans. Asín, p. 42. He comments on the passage in note 1: «This doctrine is a consequence of his adverse attitude towards the ascetic-mystical ideas of the Sufis.»

(173) Trans. García Gómez, p. 163.

(174) Asín knew this *zéjel* —no. 53— making fun of Ibn Hazm. I do not understand how he alleged it to prove that «the spirituality of his eroticism was

successively, and in a believer the ambivalence between carnal desire and the fear of God was possible without his being and adept to the love of Bagdad, about which, on the other hand Ibn Hazm (175) never speaks. He disclosed his thinking in writing: «It is very difficult to have guaranteed immunity from sin unless one deals with a man sexually impotent who does need a woman» (176). «There is no man —he says a little bit later— who needs to love a beautiful woman and insists on it without impediment, who does not fall in Satan's web, and is not attracted by sin, stirred by lust and aroused by desire» (177). In praising those who resist sin he writes: «If those individuals exposed to the temptation continue to face the same, it is certain that their nature would manifest iself and that they would succumb to the whisper of temptation» (178).

No, we cannot connect the amorous feelings of Ibn Hazm with the euphuistic and abnormal theorizing of Bagdad love. And if they cannot be connected with *udrí* love, from what sources other than the pre-Moslem Christian heritage could come the notes of romantic love which appear in Al-Ramadi, in Ibn Hazm, in Ibn Zaydūn and in Ibn Al-Labbāna? Let us forget, moreover, that the two Cordovans, whose romantic love making is mentioned in *The Dove's Ring,* were of pure Hispanic origin; we know that Ibn Hazm (179) descended from a renegade Christian and Al-Ramādī was an Arabization of the Romance name Abū Ceniza (180). Can the double coincidence be casual? (182).

---

so great that a century after his death, the Bacchic poet Abenguzmán still remembered him as a singer of orgies». *(Abenházam,* I, p. 51, note 54). It seems to me that the tradition of the sensuality that the fear of God did not succeed in quieting in Ibn Hazm and which he did not manage to dissimulate, reached the impudent *zéjel* writer of Seville.

(175) García Gómez affirms it in his «Introduction» in the version of *El Collar de la Paloma,* p. 44.

(176) Trans. García Gómez, pp. 252-253.

(177) Trans. García Gómez, p. 253.

(178) Trans. García Gómez, p. 283.

(179) Ibn Hayyān, contemporary of Ibn Hazm, supposes him to be the grandson of a *muladí* or renegade and Ibn Sa'id confirms the declaration of the great Cordovan historian. I do not understand in the light of these testimonies which Asín knew *(Abenházam,* I, pp. 18, 19) the hesitation of the great master about the possible conversion of the grandfather from Christianity, from Judaism or from any other religion. Jews did not convert to Islamism. Ibn Hazm was a Spaniard as Dozy and Simonet recognize and as García Gómez accepts.

(180) So says García Gómez in his trans. of *El Collar de la Paloma,* p. 101, note 2.

(181) Dozy's thesis which connected with Hispanic tradition the amorous romanticism of Ibn Hazm was accepted by Simonet: *Ha. de los mozárabes de España,* p. 642; Valera: *Poesía y arte de los árabes,* pp. 132-135, and Menéndez Pelayo: *Orígenes de la novela,* I, p. XLVI. In speaking about the gracious love of the same author and of Ibn Zaydūn and Ibn al-Labbana, Menéndez Pidal has not thought either about relating them to *udrí* love.

(182) Any average specialist of primitive Spanish history, of Hispano-Roman history and of Hispano-Gothic history can annotate these pages with the numerous testimonies which I give in them without indicating their bibliographical origin.

Somewhere else I have gathered a lot of data to prove how singular were the connections of the celestial beyond and the terrestrial below between the primitive Spaniards, the Hispano-Romans and the Hispano-Goths (182). This peculiar concept of the connection of the pre-Moslem *homo hispanus* with the divinity survived in Al-Ándalus, in those who persevered in the faith of Christ as well as in those who accepted the faith of their dominators.

The religious passion of the neo-Mussulmans contributed to the outburst of the Revolution of Arrabal of 818 (183). The Cordovans recently converted to Islam considered the emir Al-Hakam I to be godless and sinful and more than once they shouted at him in the streets: «drunkard, come to pray to the mosque» (184).

In all the countries conquered by the Mussulmans there were dogmatic struggles between the Islamic Ulemas and the Christian priests; the tremendous religious exaltation and the sharp personality of the Spaniards led to the martyr of the Cordovan Mozarabs (185). Only that double temper-

---

Everybody knows that whatever I affirm in the two volumes of this work is backed by texts which I did not reproduce to avoid the disproportionate hypertrophy of my work. I believe the unique religious sensibility of the peninsular people before the Islamic invasion, sufficiently proven in the quoted pages. It is guaranteed heavily by classical texts, imperial Constitutions, by chronicles, and Visigothic hagiographers, institutional processes, thoughts and events of the millenium preceding the Moslem invasion.

(183) About that revolution see: Dozy, *Hist. des Mus. d'Espagne,* ed. Lévi-Provençal, I, pp. 295-307; Lévi-Provençal: *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, I, pp. 161-173. I want to call attention to the sentence which I write here. Let no one present me as attributing the uprising to the religious passion of the masses. I have written that it contributed to the uprising. The latter was the result of a complex and slow process. Lévi-Provençal examines it with care in the light of the detailed information of Ibn Hayyān which he did not publish. I believe that he has not given sufficient value to the religious factor of the riot.

(184) Ibn Al-Aṯīr writes about the uprising of the suburb of Cordova: «Le prince régnant en cette ville, El-H'akam ben Hischâm, l'Omeyyade, ne s'occupait guère qu'à jouer, à chasser, à boire et à d'autres plaisirs de ce genre; et d'autre part la mise à mort de plusieurs des principaux habitants l'avait fait détester de la population, qui maltraitait et injuriait les hommes *djond.* Les choses en vinrent à ce point de désordre que, quand on faissait l'appel à la prière, la populace criait: "Viens prier, ivrogne, viens donc prier" et pendant que quelques-uns criaient cette injure, les autres applaudissaient.» Trans. Fagnan: *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne,* Algiers, 1898, p. 177.

It seems certain to me that Ibn Al-Aṯīr was directly or indirectly inspired in the Ta'rij Muluq Al-Ándalus by Ahmad al-Rāzī. See my study *Rasis fuente de Aben Al-Aṯīr,* in *Bulletin Hispanique,* XLI, 1939, pp. 5-59, and my *Ajbār Maŷmū'a,* ch. XII, pp. 303-357. Therefore, we find ourselves in the presence of an item proceeding from the great Cordovan historian of the 10th century.

As usual Al-Nūwayrī follows Ibn Al-Aṯīr: trans. Gaspar and Remiro, Granada, 1917, pp. 32-33.

(185) Many pages are devoted to it: Dozy, *Hist. des Mus. d'Esp.*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, I, pp. 317 and following, and Simonet, *Hist. mozárabes de Esp.*, pp. 357-487, and Edward P. Colbert has insisted upon the theme very recently, *The*

amental heritage can explain that 50 Andalusians would defy the koranic law and seek a martyr's death. I have written, that double heritage, because if the uniqueness of the religious sensibility of the pre-Moslem Spaniards is certain, Pompey's words about another aspect of their disposition, cannot be forgotten: «Their bodies are prepared for abstinence and hardship and their souls for death» (186).

There are many proofs of the survival of the passionate religious fervor in the neo-Mussulman peoples of Al-Ándalus. They were ready to follow those who preached doctrines satisfying their ingenuous emotive religiosity —'Abd Al-Rahman II in 851 crucified a *batini* master who had obtained the crowd's enthusiasm— (187). They were capable of denouncing phrases and conversations of an irreverent nature, fulfilling the koranic precept which forced them to accuse the public sinner. As the outcome of such denunciations, the death sentence was requested against a brother of the jurist and historian Ibn Habīb (188), and a nephew of the mentioned emir's favorite was sentenced to death (189). The crowds were easily impressionable and easily influenced by the preaching of the Alfaquis against the thinkers and scientists suspected of heresy; mathematicians, philosophers,

---

Martyrs of Córdoba (850-859). As study of the sources, *The Catholic University of America,* in *Studies in Medieval History, New Series,* volume XVII, Washington, 1962. Thanks to these works —Lévi-Provençal has not devoted the same attention to the topic— any scholar can know about this unique case in the life of peoples conquered by Mussulmans.

(186) «*Corpora hominum ad inediam laboremque, animi ad mortem parati.*» Justin: *Historium Philippicarum ex Trogo Pompeio,* XLIV, II.

(187) Ibn 'Idārī reports such an execution in his *Bayān al-Mugrib.* Trans. Fagnan, II, p. 146. See the commentaries of Asín about the even in *Ibn Masarra y su escuela,* in *Obras escogidas,* I, p. 29.

(188) Harūn ibn Habīb grieved by a serious ailment in a moment of irritability caused by pain, had said: «What I suffer in this illness is so great that... even if I killed Abū Baki and a 'Umar, I would not be satisfied.» Someone denounced this sentence to the authorities because in it there was a blasphemy against the first two caliphs. A Mufti thought that he ought to be condemned to death because of the blasphemy. A brother of the accused, 'Abd al-Malik, who acted as adviser in the court, assisted by another Mufti, contradicted the petition and the Cadí rejected it, but condemned the unfortunate one to jail. Asín: *Ibn Masarra y su escuela,* in *Obras escogidas,* I, p. 25, note 4.

(189) On a rainy day, a nephew of one of the wives of 'Abd al-Rahmān II took the liberty tell a joke in which God was irreverently referred to as a shoemaker. The happening having been denounced, the emir summoned the great assembly. Three Alfaquis declared that he was not guilty of death because the phrases had not been said with the intention to blaspheme. But the jurist 'Abd al-Malik ibn Habīb exclaimed: «Let his blood fall upon my head! The Lord whom we serve has been offended, and we will not defend him?», and he began to weep. 'Asbag Ibn Jalīl joined him. The magistrate gave the reports to the emir who sent a page, deposing the judge; he had harsh words for those who had voted against the death penalty and he ordered that the magistrate go with 40 executioners and with Ibn Habīb and Ibn Jalīl to go execute the impious man. I complete the report of the judicial case presented by Asín in *Ibn Masarra y su escuela,* in *Obras escogidas,* I, p. 25, note 5, with the report of Al-Jušani in his *Kitāb Qudat Qurtuba,* trans. Ribera, pp. 127-129.

poets... had to guard themselves against their suspicious zeal (190). In order to obtain popular approbation, Almanzor had the great library collected by Al-Hakm I expurgated (191). The accusation against those that today we would call men of letters were carried out en masse. The great Cordovan scholar, Ibn al-Iflilī, a very erudite writer, theologian and philosopher, was denounced as the leader of a group of literary men and thinkers accused of atheism, a group to which Sa'id al-Himar of Saragossa —author of a book on music and of *Arbol de la Ciencia*—, member of the Ommiad family and various poets (192) belonged.

The passionate intransigence of the authorities of Islamic Spain is proven. Al-Hakam I put to the sword most of the inhabitants of Al-Geciras (193) for heresy; various condemnations, some to death, ordered by truly inquisitorial tribunals in punishment for merely irreverent words, the results of suffering or of harmless jokes (194), are recorded. The intellectuals denounced in Almatnzor's days suffered severe punishments. And it is a fact that even in the century of the Taifas, whoever dared to deviate one iota from the official creed or the dominating religious doctrines was excommunicated and persecuted (195) with the same intransigence.

The closed traditionalism of the Hispano-Mussulman Alfaquis had to be the outcome of the ancestral singular religiosity of Hispanic origin. Locked in the malequí theologico-juridical school, they were vegetating in their verbalistic faith, refractory to any new theory which attempted to reason, explain or complete the dogma, as Asín has demonstrated (196). «Any reasoning of the dogma —he writes— even to confirm its veracity, was considered as heresy. The reading of the orthodox collections of sayings and of the most harmless books of Islamic history were forbidden. The

---

(190) Asín: *Ibn Masarra...*, in *Obras escogidas*, I, pp. 31 and fol. Among other cases he points out that of the father of the thinker whose study occupies him and that of the thinker himself. His son escaped in his time to the Orient. Later, popular judgment pointed to Ibn Masarra as a heretic and he had to leave Al-Ándalus under the pretense of realizing a canonical pilgrimage *(cited works*, p. 44) upon his return to Spain he concealed his doctrines under the veil of asceticism and devotion (p. 48).

(191) Giving notice of this cultural crime are Sa'id of Toledo in his *Tabaqāt al-umam;* Ibn 'Idārī in his *Bayān al-Mugrib* and Al-Maqqarī. See Dozy: *Hist. Mus. Esp.*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, II, pp. 225-226; Ribera: *Bibliófilos y bibliotecas en la España musulmana*, in *Disertaciones y opúsculos*, I, pp. 221-222; Asín: *Ibn Masarra...*, in *Obras escogidas*, I, p. 120, and Lévi-Provençal: *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, II, p. 218.

(192) Asín: *Ibn Masarra...*, in *Obras escogidas*, II, pp. 120-121.

(193) Ibn Al-Qūtīya refers the themendous punishment. Trans. Ribera: *Col. Obr. Ar. Hist. Geog.*, II, p. 39.

(194) See the passage of Al-Jušanī cited in the note 186.

(195) Such was the case, for example, of Ibn Hazm whose works were publicaly burned in Seville. Asín: *Abenházam*, I, pp. 139-139, 209 and 234 and fol., and García Gómez: *El Collar de la Paloma*, «Introduction», pp. 16, 21-23.

(196) *Abenházam de Córdoba*, I, p. 148.

Faquis advised their faithful to avoid the masters suspected of being innovators even though their teachings were harmless» (197). For Asín, while in the Orient theories like that of Al-Gazzali triumphed, with he called *Vivificación de las ciencias religiosas,* they remained faithful to what Ibn Hazm called «religion of the old women» and to what Asín himself called «brutal exclusivism» (198). Asín (199) also wrote that «Mussulman Spain was, during its long history, the most orthodox of all the Islamic lands... the numerous heresies of the East found no more than an imperceptible echo here». García Gómez (200) speaks of the «Andalusian religious paralysis».

How can we explain, without connecting them with the pre-Islamic Hispanic roots, the passionate fervor of the Spanish neo-Mussulmans projected through the many mentioned paths, the official intransigence before impiety or the religious dissidence and the closed traditionalism of the Andalusian Alfaquís? How not to see these three realities, reflections of a peninsular historical tradition going back to the great momentum already reached by belief in the Roman and Visigoths Spain of which I have mentioned apodictic proofs? In the same tradition from which originated the unique religious sensibility of the Spanish Christians which I have studied.

The pre-Islamic heritage also extends to other aspects of the like structure or the disposition of the Hispano-Mussulmans. The vehemence which Pliny (201) attributed to the peninsular people is frequently found in Spanish Moslems.

Its impact on their religious life has been stated before, and it is possible to verify it in the thought and the work of the great Hispano-Mussulman peoples, in the discourse and the action of Ibn Hazm, for example. García Gómez (202), excellent expert of the great polygraph and his precious *Risāla, The Dove's Ring,* has written about the latter: «What very subtle prose and foreign verses said in Bagdad, in Játiva, the author, warmly and humanly, says it of himself and of his Cordovan friends. The Spanish passion and impatience have broken the conventional stonewell of the source, they have drunk, face downward, in it and have mixed those waters with their blood.»

They felt tortured by a pride similar to the traditional pride that Strabo (203) attributed to the Spaniards of his time, as in the case of the latter, it was manifested in their devotion for manliness and for freedom: «I am free, I am not anybody's slave» answered to Ibn Hazm, the people

---

(197) Asín: *Ibn Masarra...,* in *Obras escogidas,* I, pp. 24-25.
(198) *Abenházam de Córdoba,* I, p. 149.
(199) *Ibn Masarra...,* in *Obras escogidas,* I, p. 24.
(200) *El Collar de la Paloma,* «Introduction», p. 18.
(201) «*Vincit Hispania (Galliae)... corporum humanorum duritia, vehementia cordis*», in *Naturalis Historia,* XXXVI, 77. 2.
(202) *El Collar de la Paloma,* «Introduction», pp. 43-44.
(203) *Geografía,* III, 4.5.

whom he interrogated concerning the motive of their arrogance (204), and he himself suffered of the same, as have shrewdly pointed out Asín and García Gómez (205). They inherited that arrogance from their pre-Moslem ancestors as the Northern Christians who also suffered from it as I have demonstrated somewhere else (206).

The gloomy personal emulations which divided them and the dissociative projection of pride in political life were the adulterated fruits of that arrogance.

Ibn Hazm recorded with bitterness the consequence that the arrogance of his fellow Mussulmans produced in the literary life of Al-Ándalus by hypertrophying the blindness of his compatriots (207). If, as Strabo pointed out (208), the Spaniards faced Rome, divided and de-articulated as a consequence of that ancestral primitive temperamental weakness, many times it produced the fragmentation of Mussulman Spain. During the revolutions of the Spanish renegade Christians of the 9th century, the many chiefs they were following never managed an alliance against the emir. In the 11th century, at the fall of the caliphate, Al-Ándalus became divided into a dozen little independent enemy kingdoms. In the 12th and 13th centuries, the same thing happened (209) on the occasion of the Almoravid and Almohad crises.

They always felt attracted by the superior man who incarnated their desires, dreams, greatness, and measures. Bossism proliferated in Mussulman Spain still not orientalized in the 9th century and on many other occasions (210). The Hispano-Mussulman chiefs were the faithful reflection of the primitive Hispanic chiefs. Diodoro Sículo and Ibn 'Idarī describe with almost the same words two of those magnificent kinds of Spaniards: the Portuguese Viriato and 'Umar ibn Hafsūn (211). Such a parallel between them can take us far in comparing the accounts of Appian and Diodoro about the first one and those of Ibn Hayyan and Ibn 'Idārī about the second one (212).

---

(204) *Los caracteres y la conducta,* trans. Asín, p. 131.

(205) Asín: *Abenházam de Córdoba,* I, pp. 219, 237-240, and García Gómez: *El Collar de la Paloma,* «Introduction», p. 24.

(206) *España, un enigma histórico* (Spanish edition).

(207) *El Collar de la Paloma,* «Introduction», pp. 16-17.

(208) ΣΤΡΑΒΩΝΟΣ ΓΣΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΑ III, 4.5.

(209) I do not need to make any comments about these affirmations; no average connaisseur of Hispano-Islamic history will be able to discuss them.

(210) All the history of Mussulman Spain is deafened by the echoes of such leaders: let us recall Banū Muza, Ibn Marwān, 'Umar ibn Hafsūn, Ibn Mastana in the second half of the 9th century, all of Spanish origin.

(211) Compare the passages from Diodoro, XXXIII. 1.-3; XXXIII. 7.1; XXXIII. 7.5; XXXIII. 21. (Ed. and trans. Schulten, *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae,* IV, pp. 121, 123, 124, 127, 131 and 322-329) with the Ibn 'Iḏārī of the *Al-Bayān al-Mugrib* (trans. Fagnan, II, pp. 187-189).

(212) Compare the passages from the *Ibéricas* by Appian 61-72 and those by Diodoro: XXXIII. 1.-3; XXXIII. 1; XXXIII. 7.5; XXXIII. 21. (Ed. and trans. Schulten, *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae,* IV, pp. 96, 99, 100, 107, 110, 113, 115,

They had a strong sense of honor and dignity identical to the one which predominated in the pre-Roman Spaniards and which the great Scipion had the ability to use to attract the Iberians to him... (213). That feeling vividly appears in the two works of Ibn Hazm: in *Los caracteres y la conducta* and in *The Dove's Ring.* In the first one, he affirms that nothing was «like treason for the man with a free soul who knows how to preserve his honor» (214) and in the second one he mentions what, to understand each other, we shall call Calderonian honor. Its author reviled accomodating husbands, stigmatizing of «a vile and abject nature he who consents to share with someone else the love of the loved person» (215). He covered with insults a pederast who prostituted his wives in order to achieve his lewd desires and apostrophized him thus: «Oh you who converts the honor of your legitimate wives into a net with which to chase young lads» (216). In noting the different postures of Spanish and Oriental women before divulging their amorous secrets —the first ones were afraid of them and the second ones desired them— Ibn Hazm does not understand the attitude of the latter (217). That sense of honor had some clear Hispano-Gothic antecedents (218), and as I have demonstrated in detail, also triumphed among the Northern Christians (219), beneficiaries as the Islamized Spaniards, of the same psychic and temperamental pre-Moslem heritage.

The tide of what is popular rose so much that it reached the point of inundating the sharpest spirits and the most distinguished individualities. From the same great Arabist and penetrating critic García Gómez (220) are these words about the temperamental ambivalence of the most sublime personality of Hispanic Spain: «Precisely that continuous ambivalence, this unblended diphthong between exquisiteness and harshness, between gentle and ferocious feelings, between nobility and plebeianism, is what makes Ibn Hazm most dear to us because it relates him with other great types of our Golden Age in whom the same Iberian constant is achieved...» I have said somewhere else that we can not verify the existence of historical

---

117, 122, 126, and 121, 123, 124, 127, 130, 131 and 308 to 329), with those from *Muqtabis* by Ibn Hayyān (trans. Guraieb, *Cuadernos de Historia de España,* XIII, p. 165; XVII, pp. 155-160; XXI-XXII, pp. 338-344; XXIII-XXIV, pp. 334-339; XXV-XXVI, pp. 334-337; XXVII, pp. 170-172, and XXIX-XXX, pp. 338-340) and from *Al-Bayān al-Mugrid* by Ibn 'Iḏārī (trans. Fagnan, II, pp. 170-175, 187-189, 191-196, 200-203, 207, 208, 214, 216-222, 224, 228-232, 234, 237-241, etc.).

(213) I refer to the accounts of Polybius 10.18.13; 10.19.3; 10.34.35; 10.27-38; Livy 26, 50; Dión Casio, Fr. 57, 42; Frontino 2.11.5... (Ed. and trans. Schulten, *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae,* III, pp. 112-117 and 291 and fol.

(214) Trans. Asín, p. 138.

(215) Trans. García Gómez, p. 221.

(216) Trans. García Gómez, pp. 263-264.

(217) Trans. García Gómez, p. 130.

(218) *España, un enigma histórico* (Spanish edition).

(219) *España, un enigma histórico* (Spanish edition).

(220) *El Collar de la Paloma,* «Introduction», pp. 25-28.

constants in the life of any people. But except for the questionability of the qualification, the acute observation of García Gómez attests the reality of the survival of another facet of the pre-Moslem heritage in Al-Ándalus, also projected on Spanish Christianity by causes which I have studied at length (221).

Another judgment of the same García Gómez enables us to extend the survival of what is pre-Islamic to another very unique aspect of what is Andalusian. After speaking about mannerism in classical Arabic lyric poetry, referring to Ibn Quzman he writes: «At last, in the white streets of Cordova, sings a happy and bold voice, warm and ironical which can be understood by Western people» (222). «Aben Guzman —he adds— before the immense majority of the Arabic poets, represents the exaltation of a quality which, for us, in its most extensive sense is consubstantial with poetry, but is not so for the Arabs; the grace, the unexpected psychological vibration, spontaneity» (223). From where, if not from the pre-Islamic temperamental heritage, could come that grace, that unexpected psychological vibration, that spontaneity of Ibn Quzman whose name —Gutmann— and whose physique —he was blond and had blue eyes— clearly prove his Hispano-Gothic origin? Can anyone explain in any other way his poetic style which García Gómez considered a voice singing in the streets of Cordova? Ibn Quzman was not an exceptional flower budding forth from the snow. His grace, his ironic tenderness, his jokes, his caricatures, his cleverness recalls two centuries before, the pictures of the Cordovan life of the 9th century sketched by Al-Jusanī in his biographies of the judges of the capital of Al-Ándalus. The same ironical note, the same scenes sparkling with grace, the same jokes, the same hyperboles, the same freshness and spontaneity, the same warm psychological vibration that we find in the *zéjeles* of Ibn Quzmān in the not yet orientalized Cordova which appears reflected in the *Kitab Qudat Qurtuba* (224).

No one will be able to reject the strange idea that the disposition of the dwellers of the umbilical city of Moorish Spain in the 9th century could have come from a handful of Oriental men who some decades before had come to Al-Ándalus. Then, the latter would have received from pre-Islamic Andalusia the series of temperamental virtues and faults which

---

(221) *España, un enigma histórico* (Spanish edition). About the Spanish vileness. Rudeness against lyricism. From what is vitally popular to what is literarily popular, and many other pages from other different chapters.

(222) *Cinco poetas musulmanes,* p. 120.

(223) *Cinco poetas musulmanes,* p. 122.

(224) At random I refer to the jokes of which judges Yujamir ibn Utmān al Šabanī (p. 116), Sa'id ibn Sulayman (p. 133) and 'Amir ibn 'Abd Allah (p. 147) were the object.

To the very entertaining joke which judge Sulayman ibn Aswad wasted on a candidate for the court of justice (p. 186), to the Andalusian hyperboles which at times reached the judge's chamber (p. 219) and to the grace which some candidates to the cadi office showed —Muhammad ibn Aswad among others (p. 171).

17.—The great philosopher Seneca and the great emperor Trajan (Museums of Naples and Vatican). Although inscribed in the cultural model of Rome, being sons of Baetica they participated in the temperamental heritage of the Hispanic people and constitute specimens of the action of Spain in the life of the spirit and in the public life of the Roman Empire during the first century of the Christian era. *Busts of Seneca and Trajan. Vatican and Naples Museums.*

18.—Circensian mosaic of Tarragona, one among thousands and thousands which the Romanized Spaniards constructed. When they abandoned the geometric drawings with such frequency as mythological scenes, the Hispanic mosaic makers liked to represent scenes of daily life. They fled from lubricous matters and went toward the portrait (Archeological Museum of Barcelona). *Roman mosaic of Museum of Barcelona.*

Al-Jusanī mentions and which made of Ibn Quzmān an Andalusian ballad seller. Some of his verses surpass any Sevillian hyperbole of today:

If I were to put my hand in the river
by God, that year, it would crest.

After all that has been said, no one will be surprised that I consider certain the impact of the pre-Moslem in the depth of the two great literary personalities mentioned and that I should see Seneca behind Ibn Hazm and Martial behind Ibn Quzmān.

No one knew the thought of Ibn Hazm better than Asín, translator and commentator of his *Al-Fisal* «Critical history of the religious ideas» and of his *Kalimat fi-l-Ajlak* «Disposition and Conduct». «Without great effort —he writes— could be found thoughts of Abenhazam similar, even in the expression of opinions of his compatriot Seneca» (225). I do not believe that such an analogy was owed to a real bond... between the Mussulman thinker and the Spanish tradition of Seneca. I subscribe to his affirmation, but Asín has not grasped the temperamental Hispanic nature of the great Cordovan. He was of Hispanic race, according to his contemporary, the great and conscientious historian, also of Cordova, Ibn Hayyān, and according to another historian, also Spanish, Ibn Sa'id (226). In the psychological features that his biographers attribute to him and in his many autobiographical pages the depth of his Hispanic nature stands out. I have defined it twice this way: «Pride, passion, vehemence, verbalism, sharpness of words, loyalty, flight of the soul towards God, hypercriticism against his own country, love for truth, ethical rigor, exaltation to the point of sacrificing his life in defense of his ideas or of his honor, quixotism against every injustice even at the risk of confronting the whole world, contempt for riches in opposition to the punctilious veneration of honor, hatred of hipocrisy, scorn for adulation, fortitude in misfortune, respect for friendship, prodigality to the point of waste, easy anger, eloquence...» (227). I have stated sayings and actions of Ibn Hazm to prove this characterization. The pages with which Asín and García Gómez have prefaced the versions of the great thinker's works have given me abundant proofs for it (228).

He incarnated, therefore, one of the archetypes of the *homo hispanus*. It seems permissible to me to consider him as a Moorish link in the chain which goes from Seneca to Unamuno. The connections of many of his temperamental traits with those that characterize the primitive Spaniards

---

(225) *Los caracteres y la conducta,* «Introduction», p. XXV, note.
(226) See previous note 87.
(227) *La España musulmana,* II², pp. 23-24, and *España, un enigma histórico.*
(228) *Un eslabón moro en la cadena que va de Séneca a Unamuno,* in *Españoles ante la historia,* pp. 47-56. I have collected many thoughts from Ibn Hazm in my *España musulmana,* II, pp. 26-32.

have been mentioned. Other manifestations of his disposition are closer to those shown by quite a few modern Spaniards; he discloses his intimacy with an evident sketch of his individual self, involved in living and in the intense struggle of his strong personality with the world about; involvement and struggle which make him stand out by virtue of the integral vitalization of his solitary existence. Such an outline of his person in the battle of life is a trait foreign to the Islamic traditions and which many Spaniards of the past have shown. The figures brought out in his *Risāla* remain at times outlined in their essential features and he himself describes his state of mind with superficial strokes in which dialogues of a novelistic type appear. The Islamic psychic mechanism was not inclined to drama nor to the novel, while the two literary genres have reached great heights among the Spaniards.

After the detailed examination of the survival of the pre-Moslem in Mussulman Spain, who will be surprised by the impression left in Ibn Hazm by Hispanic temperamental heritage? The great Arabist, García Gómez (229), who knew well the *Tawq al-Hamana,* has accepted it without hesitation. In commenting his version of the latter he has written that «the undeniable merit of the great thinker precisely consists in having Hispanicized or Westernized materials of Oriental origin, which he transformed and to which he gave a new spirit and a different form».

Perhaps unconsciously, Ibn Hazm felt within him the ancestral disposition of his Spanish forefathers. Although Arabophile in literature, his Hispanic nationalism sometimes moved his pen. Upon concluding the preface of his *Risāla* —it is known that *The Dove's Ring* was writen in an epistolary form— he writes to the friend to whom he addresses it: «Forgive me for not bringing up stories of Bedouins or of the Ancients, but their ways are very different from ours.» His cry of Spanish pride always moves me: «Away from me oh pearl of China! The ruby of Spain suffices for me.»

Slippery style, varied rhythm and metrics, flagrant, playful; caricuristic deformation or renovation with ironical tenderness of the classic Arabic themes; making fun of sentimental religion and *udrí* love; impudence, graceful way, cynicism, liveliness in examining the echoes from the street; grace and color in reproducing the most varied scenes of the daily life of the Andalusian cities; adulating and shameful mendicity; confessions of bitter and happy poverty; final renunciation of the shameful and obscene life», so it has seemed a just characterization of Ibn Quzman, gathering ideas from Ribera, Nykl and García Gómez. How to doubt that Ibn Kuzman incarnated another of the archetypes of the *homo hispanus*, precisely the one which offers greater contrasts with the one refined in Ibn Hazm? I have quoted before the words of the great expert of the

---

(229) *El Collar de la Paloma,* «Introduction», pp. 16-25.

Arabo-Andalusian lyric poetry, García Gómez, about the closeness of his work to what is Western and its distance from what is Arabic.

Behind his literary and human figure appears that of the Celtiberian Martial. Centuries, cultures, languages, religion separate them... Everything that goes from the Rome of Domitian to the Cordova of 'Ali ibn Yusuf and from the Roman Tiber to the Moorish Guadalquivir separates them. Christ and Mohamed and the Germanic invasion are interposed between them. Notwithstanding, how could Ibn Quzmān have said, anticipating a well known Andalusian couplet: «there is a little hidden thread which ties them both». The little thread of his integral Hispanicism which Martial reveals in his sarcastic and cutting epigrams, impudent and lewd at the same time and which Ibn Quzmān places in his ironical caricaturistic *zéjeles*, at times cynical and immodest. He is even moved by the same old Spanish pride which Estrabón noted and criticized at the beginning of our era. «Here is this Martial known in the entire world for his spicy epigrams» (230), declares the Romanized Celtiberian period «My excellent *zéjel* is heard in Iraq, how brilliant this is! Other verses are worth nothing next to this gracefulness» (231), writes the Arabized Hispano-goth.

Will it be too bold to dare —I wrote before— to listen to the echo of Hispanic voices in the ascetic poems of Abu Ishān de Elvira and to discover traces of temperamental Hispanicism in the Sustari poet? I noted the same accent of *españolía* in the mystic from Murcia Ibn al-'Arabī. I tried to justify such conjectures. I could insist on the theme and even present another gallery of Hispano-Mussulmans in whom the pre-Moslem Spanish heritage seems to me now certain, now probable, but let this suffice. It is sufficient and superfluous, according to me, to evidence the enormous wealth of Hispanicism which filtered through Islamic Spain during four long centuries, perhaps until it was burned by the clouds of African locust which the Almoravides and the Almohads spread over it.

No, we cannot deny the hybrid nature of the forms of life and thought of the Hispano-Mussulmans. They had to be the outcome of a symbiosis between pre-Islamic Spanish and Oriental post-Islamic. The Hispanic vital essences could not evaporate by the arts of enchantment. Whatever may have been the power of absorption and penetration of what is Mussulman —and for decades and decades it could not have been very great because it was the result of a complex conjunction of different elements, still not definitively blended in the 8th century—, it could not have supressed the national Hispano-Gothic tradition, nor could it have changed the vital reactions nor the spiritual and psychic tendencies of eight million peninsular men in the twinkle of an eye.

The Spanish and non Spanish Arabists have recognized that reality. Lévi-Provençal writes about Mussulman Spain: « Attachée très fermement

---

(230) *Epigramas*, lib. I. 2.
(231) *Zéjel*, n. CXV.

à l'Islam, à ses règles et à son idéal religieux, elle ne tarda pas toutefois à se singulariser dans les principales manifestations de sa vie... pour qu'elle apparaît bientôt au regard du reste du monde musulman, sinon comme une étrangère, du moins comme une parente éloignée» (232). These words are also his: «Il n'en reste pas moins qu'une longue fréquentation de la littérature hispanique... finit par préciser la notion d'une sorte de particularisme intellectuel que ne fut peut être pas un phénomène spontané. Certaines pages de prosateurs, certaines strophes de poètes témoignent à l'occasion d'un accent spécial, auquel on n'est pas accoutumé en étudiant la littérature arabe d'Orient» (233). García Gómez evokes: «that white Cordova of the caliphs where the Western spirit still alive and operative catalyzed the sweeping tides of Persia of Bagdad and of Byzantium». Pérès writes «que l'hispano musulman du XIe siècle, dans la poésie se présente à nous comme un curieux mélange d'ancien et de moderne, de classique et de romantique, de voluptueux et de mystique et pour tout dire de païen et de chrétien». Miguel Cruz Hernández has written: «at times there is more difference between Cordova and Bagdad than between Cordova and Paris. García Gómez has qualified the Cordovan poetic school, whose best representatives were Ibn Suhayd and Ibn Hazm, of nationalist, because, in spite of being Arabophile, it tended to ignore the Oriental models and he supposes it aspiring to base itself on the temperament of the writes «perhaps by infiltration of the Western spirit». Lévi-Provençal says of the Hispano-Mussulman poets of the 11th century: «A coup sûr ils révèlent, plus souvent même qu'on ne pourrait le croire a priori, un accent profondément original, de fortes personalités de poètes sur lesquels les influences lointaines n'ont pas trouvé de prise ou se sont émoussées; ils reflètent à la fois la marque d'un génie et d'un milieu que de multiples circonstances ont à peu près rendu, par la force des choses très différente de celui des métropoles d'Orient.»

Naturally whatever the differences which separated Islamized Spain from the Arabic Orient may have been, the latter received from the former, philosophical religious ideas, literary and artistic forms, knowledge, techniques... The Hispano-Mussulmans stood out vitally and culturally before the residents in the other lands of the Islamic world, but they were living under the cultural dome of Islam. They accepted the spiritual creations of the Orientals and transformed them and recreated them at times. Al-Ándalus lived in martial and peaceful contact with the West, of which it was a part geographically and vitally. Let us recall Ibn Hazm's words:

«*I am the sun that shines in the sky of science, but my fault is that my Orient is the West.*»

---

(232) *La civilisation arabe en Espagne,* Cairo, 1938, p. 15.
(233) *La civilisation arabe en Espagne,* p. 138.

In the course of the centuries, Spanish Islam which had lived for the most part from the pre-Moslem Western heritage, matured spiritually, projected itself upon the West and contributed to its cultural renovation.

7. Oriental Islamic and Spanish Islamic

The prolongation of the pre-Moslem traits in Mussulman Spain and the consequent formation of a hybrid temperamental contexture were not exceptional historical processes in the world of Islam. Many common vital and cultural characteristics united the peoples who lived according to the Koranic dogma from the Ganges to Lisboa. Although Islamism regulates the life of Moslem believers in detail, it could not level nor unify the functional structure of all the historical groups which adopted it as a creed. The vital contextures of the many different Islamic peoples survived under the same religious dome and within the same cultural scope, because the way of being was different in the life of the man from the Moghrib, the Berber, the Egyptian, the Syrian, the Iraqi, the Persian, the Bedouin or the Islamized Hindu. I do not even know if the thoughts, sensibility, emotions... of the leading minorities who governed in the Islamic countries in the very complex conglomerate of nations which were conquered by the Caliphal armies, were unitarian.

Therefore, any concept judging what is Hispano-Moslem as a faithful reflection of what is Oriental Islamic, is very frail. It seems audacious for me to consider to be in vigor in Al-Ándalus the ideas on God, man, life, art... of the Mussulmans of the Orient, without previously verifying if the Mussulmans from Spain adhered to them. It is not permissible to apply to the latter statements about Oriental Islam, at times caducous, always questionable and only founded on the ingenious interpretation by European Arabists of texts written in Iraq, in Persia, in Afghanistan or in other remote countries, very far from Spain and with temperamental heritages very different from our own. It is even less legitimate to deduce from such theories, of problematic operation in Al-Ándalus, disproportionate consequences about what is Hispano-Christian. The imperious necessity of comparing what is Islamic from the Orient and what is Spanish Islamic interposes itself in our progress.

In Islam, it has been said: «A breath of God comes to things, whose reality, nothing in itself, rests completely in God». «The presence of the divine in the world was felt and enjoyed by the Mohammedan in a way impossible for the Christian, more interested in the opposite process, the ascent to God from the finiteness and misery of the world». «The holy book teaches that man lacks freedom... The presence of a God, always in ambush, became established and man's will was eliminated». «If God is the maker of the most minute things that we do and which occur around us, this signifies that creation is an eternal present. According to the Mus-

sulman, God is doing now the same thing as he was doing in the moment of creating the world; there are no 'secondary causes', as neither nature nor man can be accepted as such. All that exists is a point unable alone to prolong itself in a line of continuity, but with the divine impulse, the point or the instant A can become B, or vice versa; that is to say the subject can become the object or the object, the subject. In such a situation, man renounces the creation of anything with objective or conclusive existence, since God is the only one who can do it and man must not aspire to compete with Him». «Everything in the world, from greater to smaller, possesses a value since it is supported and visited by God... Everything is included in the creative and incessant flow of the divine, and everything is a fleeting instant which leaps towards the following instant, all of them as ephemeral as they are legitimate». «The very conscience becomes intensified to compensate for the difficulty in obtaining firm and objective structures». And Massignon's words on Al-Hallach's theology have been quoted: «Everything —from geometrical volumes to human states— is pure nothingness, subjective and ephemeral accidents placed over the atom of our hearts».

Such theories derive from those formulated by Massignon in 1921 and 1922 about the philosophical ideas and the forms of artistic creation of the Islamic peoples; I write 'derive' because his commentator has taken quite a few interpretative liberties in explaining his thesis. For example, I do not know if his words about the possibility in Islam for the subject to become object and vice versa are very orthodox, nor if his thesis about the intensification —among the Islamites— of conscience as compensation for the difficulty in obtaining firm and objective structures, is orthodox or not, two ideas which are not formulated by Massignon.

I do not know if Massignon continues to think today as in 1921. In August of 1951, Bataillon told me in Lima that he did not, but from Buenos Aires, I cannot locate his new thesis. I have only been able to note that the Andalusian poet Xuxtari, —equally tired of Sufí mysticism and plebeian aesthetics— strange combination of Ibn Masarra and of Ibn Quzmān —has provoked the problem of folklorism within the Islamic world, problem which undoubtedly, makes an important breach in his old theory.

I do not know either if his ideas of then reflect or not the reality of the Oriental Islamic thought. After reading the poetic fragments of Mutanabbi, translated by García Gómez, I have my doubts about the accuracy of Massigon's affirmations about the Arabic poetry of the Orient —I summarize them later—, since in many such fragments, I find authentic vital impetuosity and even authentic emotion. If the theories of the great French Orientalist coincided with the theologico-philosophical and artistic theoretics of the Oriental Mussulmans— the great Arabist Brunschwig considers Massignon too imaginative and has tried, for that reason, to dissuade me from considering his thesis—, it would be necessary to conclude that quite

a few differences separate the spiritual life of the former from the spiritual life of the Spanish Islamites.

Some of the central ideas which Massignon points out as peculiar to Islamic thinking were, naturally common to the Islamites of the East and West and they were also accepted outside Islamic land; other ideas were considered questionable by the great Spanish Arabist García Gómez when he translated, twenty years ago, *Los métodos de realización artística de los pueblos del Islam.*

It has been stated: «In Christianity, the Father is to the Son and to the Verb as Allah will be later to Mohammed and to his Book». Any average person somewhat aware of the Christian and Islamic doctrines will protest, with a smile or with anger, according to his temperament, against such a strange affirmation. Not even the Mussulmans established such a parallel, because they knew the Christian ideas about the Trinity and did not ignore the identification of the Son and the Verb, nor the Christian faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ. Besides this indefensible parallel, there has been an exaggeration of the contrast between the Islamic and the Christian doctrines about the divine action in life down on earth. The Evangelists recognized their faith in the continued action of God in the life of man and of the world (Saint Matthew 6; 25-31 and Saint Luke 12; 22-31); Saint Paul insisted on it (Acts 17: 25 and 28 and the First Epistle to Timothy 6:13; to the Philippians 2:13 and the first to the Corinthians 1:28); it went to patristics and became expressed in the scholastic axiom: *conservatio est continua creatio.* For the Christian too, a breath of God comes to the earth; God even looks after the lilies of the field: «He himself gives life and breath to all». «He enlivens everything». «God is the one at work in you (men) by the pure reason of his good will not only in willing, but also in the doing». «God has chosen... the low and despicable things of the world and those that were nothing in order to destroy those that are». «The leaf of the tree does not move without the will of the Lord».

The mystical ideas and the ascetic practices which soon appeared in Islam brought Islamism closer to Christianity. Asín demonstrated its Christian origin; he wrote: «Sufism introduced the neo-platonic and evangelical doctrine of the imitation of God into Islam». Leaning on information of 'Abd al-Rabihi, the same Asín pointed out the traits of Hispano-Mussulman asceticism, inspired from biblical and evangelical traditions, as the Oriental Sufism, which was appearing then: «The ascetics (Islamic) of Spain preach contempt for the world, fear of God and hope in his mercy; they recommend meditation on death; they meditate on the necessity for penance... they advise a happy resignation to endure the tests to which God submits the souls and to conceal from others the misfortunes with which God afflicts us; they invite men to take refuge against the perils of the world in solitude... and they consider the height of super-

natural perfection to be in the full conformity of the soul with the will of God».

To say that the Mussulman did not believe in free will is too categorical an affirmation. In various passages of the Koran, the doctrine of the free will is established; some sects as the Mutaziles defended it as an indisputable truth; the Spaniard Ibn Masarra attributed to human freedom the complete causality of man's actions without God's help and he founded all his ascetic morality upon such a conviction; Maleqi orthodoxy was seeking a compromise between divine omnipotence and free human volition; and even the great thinker Ibn Hazm, after rejecting the doctrine of fatalism just as heretical for him as its opposite, devoted many pages of his *Fisal* to discuss about the nature of God's help, in connection with the cooperation of the free will, cooperation from which comes not an absolute but relative freedom, because «the second or casual causes —it is observed that Ibn Hazm does not deny its value in Islam—, the same as with the effects, are... foreseen in the knowledge of God». The Hebrew-Spanish mystic, Bahya ibn Paquda, very influenced by the religious theories of Islam, years later asked himself the same question with anguish. As Asín has pointed out, scholasticism immediately discussed in similar ways the great question *De praedestinatione, gratio et libero arbitrio.*

If the French Arabist could prescind from contrasting his theories with the ideas in vigor in Al-Ándalus, we, the students of Spanish history, cannot renounce such an investigation. Who will dare construct brilliant conjectures about the psychic contexture of modern Spain starting from the religious ideas of Luther or Calvin?

Islamic thought is diversified in many sects which differed essentially in many of the basic doctrines of Islam. One does not need great erudition to affirm this. Asín has stressed these differences in two very accessible books: in his studies of Ibn Masarra and on Ibn Hazm. The reading of the *Fisal,* by this great Spanish theologian, attests the accuracy of the explanations of those who, like Asín, dedicated their lives to the study of philosophical thought of Spanish Islam.

Massignon declares to have been inspired by the ideas of the *mutázil* and *axari* schools to build his theories, and especially by those of Al-Hallach, Persian mystic crucified in Bagdad in 922. Now then, the two cited schools barely had any adepts in Mussulman Spain and were considered heretical there. Asín writes: «The theological schools of the Orient, the liberal movement of the *Mutáziles* or the harmonizing system of the *Axaríes,* were rejected brutally, without previous examination. The sporadic cases of adepts of the new doctrines... were accused of heresy»; the same Asín has demonstrated that they were persecuted inquisitorially. Dissidents of the general Malequi orthodoxy in Al-Ándalus even fought them with fury; the great thinker and theologian Ibn Hazm called the *Mutáziles* imbeciles and qualified the *Axaríes* of ignorance and opposed them with harshness and at times with violence.

Al-Hallach's ideas were of a mystic, considered as a heretic, who dared to say: «I am the truth», and whom his disciples deified, according to what Ibn Hazm says, in jest in the *Fisal.* The doctrines of the Sufis, connected with those ideas, only found a late echo in Islamic Spain and they too were zealously and ardently persecuted there: by the Malequí school whose orthodox ankylosis had created «the religion of the old women» of which Ibn Hazm spoke; also by the suspicious and passionate orthodox zeal of the government and of the peoples and even by thinkers such as the author of the *Fisal,* who «abominated» Sufism —with very few adepts in Al-Ándalus in his time— and came to consider some of its theses as tremendous blasphemies.

It is impossible to ignore dogmatic and ideological differences which separate the theologico-philosophico-juridical schools of the Orient and of Al-Ándalus, or the slow, late and limited propagation in the latter, not of the strict ideas of Al-Hallach, but of the Sufi doctrines and practices. Only in the second half of the 11th century, a physician and philosopher, Al-Qarmani, who settled in Saragossa, introduced in Spain the encyclopedia of the «Brothers of Purity». «Sufism (till then only sporadic, with the exception of the Masarri school) begins to give signs of collective life», Asín writes. Nevertheless, it never obtained the adhesion of the orthodox theologians of Al-Ándalus nor of the masses which they had made fanatical, both faithful to what Asín has called brutal exclusivism and dead religion. Ibn 'Arafi assures us of the reciprocal hatred that Sufis and Alfaquis had for one another and that the latter considered the former mad. At the beginning of the 12th century a Sufi nucleus was established in Almería. Asín says that «it was there that there was the first and unique cry of collective protest against the excommunication and *auto-da-fe* of the books of 'Algazel', which the conventional Alfaquis anathematized as impious works... and which were later burned by the proclamation of the Almoravid sultan Yusuf ibn Taxufin. Only in the midst of persecution, Sufism later spread through the South of Spain, only winning a reduced minority. Neither can these ideas serve to characterize the vital and psychic contexture of the peninsular Islamites, nor because of their late and limited diffusion in Al-Ándalus, could they influence at all in the formation of the Hispanic temperamental structure, which was already made when the mystic from Murcia, Ibn 'Arabi (1164-1240) began his ascetic life in Andalusia, from where he soon left for Africa and the Orient.

There were even slight differences between the Andalusian Sufism and the Oriental one. Ibn 'Arabi noted and stated them in his *Risalat al-quds* or «Epistle of Sanctity». He judged the Oriental Sufis with a contemptuous tone. «I warned immediately —he writes— that the goal of their aspirations and the target of their desires depended upon wearing very clean habits and even more upon the cleanliness of the attractive colors of the borders of their tunics and in having very well trimmed beards... They only de-

lighted in the goods here below: in the depths of their hearts, they considered the world so highly that they did not believe that beyond it anything was worthy of the search; on the other hand, in their souls the divine truth had so little importance that they hastened to flee from it... they are, in truth, spoiled children and well fed boys... they use the religious practices as instruments to obtain the vanities of this world; they take refuge in monasteries and convents only to enjoy the lawful and illegal goods that these places offer; they widen their sleeves and they get fat... If you should see with what emphasis they recite their prayers!... Between each one and his neighbor they leave enough room in the row for a thousand demons to fit comfortably... If you are careless enough to step on the tapestry on which one of them is praying, he will hit you with his fist at the risk of breaking your ribs... If you look at their faces, you will see a very hard restless and angry look in their eyes; if you look at their souls, you will see them swollen up with pride; if you look into their hearts, you will see them evil, empty of interior life. So much so that upon seeing them, you will ask God to free you from them. I have met one of those Sufis... who was not even capable to serve as a cleaning boy in the latrines.»

There is a tremendous contrast between these men and the Andalusian Sufis that Ibn 'Arabi describes in his Epistle. Reading the latter moves one to agree with the contempt that the mystic from Murcia felt for Oriental Sufism. In the Sufis of Al-Ándalus, there was such a total consecration to the divinity, such an exalted fervor, such a contempt for worldly life, such a spirit of poverty, such an eager flight towards God, such sincerity in their attitudes, such a strictly scrupulous conscience, such confidence in divine goodness, such a degree of asceticism, such profound piety and, at the same time, such vital warmth, such a feeling of human brotherhood, such simplicity in their progress towards the union with the Eternal One, that Ibn 'Arabi must have hopelessly clashed with those he rated as «true dens of ferocious lions and lairs of howling wolves». In Al-Ándalus, Sufism had been burned in the fire of psychic vehemence, extreme vitality, passionate zeal, familiar simplicity, confident faith, temperamental coarseness and the violence in launching forth towards the desired goal —God, in the Sufis' case—, customary in the Spaniards.

The ideas of Ibn Hazm —when he was young and not too far from the general concepts of the community of the Spanish Islamic believers —are not compatible with the ideas presented by an essay writer as particular to Islamic spirituality. In *The Dove's Ring*, the work of a young Ibn Hazm, such thoughts can be found. The souls whose essences tend toward the heights, although surrounded by earthly veils, seek union with fellowmen «in all those states in which man develops and lives». «We know that the secret of attraction or of aversion among created things lies in the affinity or repulsion which exists between them, because everything seeks a similar thing, and affinity reposes in another affinity.» «The soul

being beautiful, it longs for all that is beautiful and it feels an attraction to perfect images... form being a marvelous way of union between the souls.» «The sensible bodily organs are ways which led to the soul and they rest in it.» «Love exercises an effective power upon the souls, a decisive dominion, an irresistible authority, a strength against which there is no possible rebellion, an inescapable sovereignty and it imposes an inevitable obedience.» «Love occupies the mind, it obscures the reason, and it ruins the free will.» He who falls in love in dreams suffers «a case of psychic suggestion which enters within the repressed desires —Freud in the 11th century?— and the fantasies of the thought». «The Mussulman must be satisfied with abstaining from the acts prohibited by God, Honorable and Almighty, acts *which he can commit in the use of his free will* and for which he will be accountable on the day of the resurrection.» «The Supreme Lawmaker, He who sent the Prophet... He who determined the commandments and the prohibitions knows the way of the truth and knows the paths which lead to salvation... better than any of those who pretend to watch over themselves and those who hope to find an orientation with their sole reasons.» «Man humbles himself to the ground in order to be safe and honorable tomorrow.» «The works of men tell us about their nature; to know the essence of a thing exempts you from following its trace.» «What is genuinely natural is rooted in the habits... Habits are eradicated for lack of congenital nature» «We find in ourselves that the soul is dominated by certain drives which operate within the body. There are souls which abandon the delights and pleasures to take refuge in the obedience to the Most High God, or to obtain renown in the world, once their austerity is manifest.» «Many men follow their instincts and rebel against their intellects; they go in the pursuit of their passions and they withdraw from their faith; they set aside those acts which the Most High God inspired them to do and infused in the righteous spirits.» «We know for sure that God Almighty placed in man two contrary natures. One of them —which is the intellect guided by justice— leads us only to virtue... and can only conceive of things acceptable in the Divine eyes. The other —which is concupiscence guided by passion— is exactly the opposite: it only leads to appetites and only brings perdition.» «These two natures are like two poles... Each body takes its part from each one of these natures, in greater or lesser proportion according to what the Unique One, the Eternal One disposed in creating it and in forming it, the God whose names are sanctified. There is a perpetual war and constant dispute between those two natures.» The spirit is the point where those two natures unite, the bond which urges them and the vehicle of their confluence. For that reason it is impossible to be within the boundaries of the obedience to God except through a constant discipline.»

In «Los caracteres y la conducta» he said later: «If you knew the laws of the organization of the temperaments, or physiological complexus and how from these are created the habits or the intellectual and moral

qualities of the soul, in virtue of the possible combinations of the elements or of the simple bodies which make up the corporal organism...» «There is never any security against the wickedness of the soul even if it is imprisoned.»

In the song the «Superiority of Chastity» he wrote:

He to whom God grants his mercy
United to His countless benefits
And who foolishly rejects it
To seek what God forbids in his Books
Is he not among the servants the one who most deserves that tomorrow
The Divine disgrace and ire may befall him?

These ideas of Ibn Hazm, an Ibn Hazm still young when he wrote *The Dove's Ring* and already mature when he composed «Los caracteres y la conducta», of a Spanish Islamic thinker, still anchored in the port of the ideological tradition of the Hispano-Mussulman people, do they not clearly stand against the theories deduced from those of Massignon? They are also contradicted by the philosophical concept of time that we owe Ibn Hazm. He naturally considers the world transitory and God eternal. «The accidents of the world are caducous and passing, they cease and they disappear», he says in *The Dove's Ring*. «I have not seen anything more similar to this world than the Chinese shadows of the magic lantern; they are figures mounted on a wooden wheel which turns rapidly: a group of figures disappears when another one appears», he writes in «Caracteres y conducta».

«We know for sure —he says in another passage of *The Dove's Ring*— that all that begins must end, except for the happiness which the Almighty God reserves for his chosen ones in his paradise and the punishment that he prepares for his enemies.»

Along this concept of the caducity of all that is created and of the eternity of God, which is not an Islamic invention, nor is it exclusive, obviously, to Islamism, Ibn Hazm was far from having of Time the ideas which Massignon presents as peculiar to Islam and later distorted by his commentator.

They tell me: «You are far.» I answer: It is sufficient for me that you be with me within the same Time from which no one can depart.
The same sun that shines over me also shines over him
every day that it renews it light.
Therefore, he from whom no other distance separates me
than that of a single day, is he far?

«I am reduced to having the union with my loved one... occur in Time... all creatures are subjected to Time, which is the name that we must give

to the passing of the hours, to the passage of the celestial sphere and to the movements of its bodies... Day and night are created respectively by sunrise and sunset and they cease to exist beginning with a superior world, some thing which does not happen with Time of which they are only a small part. Some philosopher says that shadows are indefinite, but this contradicts evidence.»

For the Hispano-Mussulman cult of which we can consider Ibn Hazm an archetype, the cosmos, created by the Most High and subject to his inscrutable designs, was following clear, normal routes, which the Eternal One had marked out in the moment of creation. The divine will could change the natural courses of the creative beings, but while the Almighty did not appear on the way, the immense cosmos continued its daily life under the breath of God; it continued nearing its end without stops, hiatuses, crises nor returns towards the caducous past. Man, created by the Almighty, had been gifted by Him with different «natures», that is to say with incorporeal souls and various corporeal organisms, with different intellectual and moral qualities —united to that diversity— and with very varied psychic or passional tendencies and impulses. Different «natures» granted to man by God which were projected in his works and in his habits, he went on paths known by the Eternal One, he followed them supported by Him but by Him delivered to his own destiny, which man could select in the end, although under the eyes, with the consent and the assistance of The Almighty, before whom one day he would be accountable. Man owed his natural gifts to God but these gifts generated his logical existence. The Eternal One could interfere in the logical path of his life, but while the Most High did not cross his road on purpose he rapidly advanced towards his earthly end: obedient or rebellious along the just way or along the path of sin, fulfilling or opposing God's commandments.

He was advancing towards the final accounting followed closely by the other men of his time who also were swiftly going through time, as the Chinese figures of the magic lantern quickly advanced one after the other.

The God of the young and orthodox Ibn Hazm was not, therefore, the God in ambush, the capricious God who made time go back towards its sources, nor the God who like the prestidigitator played with nature and with man. He was the God creator and ordainer of the cosmos according to laws which he could change but which he usually kept unalterable and which he let continue, logically from the past towards the future. A God creator, not of inanimate puppets which could only move when He pulled the strings, but of living beings whom He sustained and animated but to whom, generously, he gave the freedom to live their lives according to their different «natures». A Western God? I do not know. I am not so daring as to pontificate about the philosophical ideas of all the peoples of Islam. He was the God of a young Cordovan aristocrat who had barely begun his great voyage through the seas of Islamic theology, who perhaps

had looked into Hellenic philosophy and who reflected the thinking of the educated minorities of Moslem Spain.

García Gómez has just written: «Indefatigable polemicist, Ibn Hazm with sharp and virulent words, a good part of his work has the hot tone of debate. In the middle of the 11th century, he represents live Scholasticism, Scholasticism with insults, before they imprisoned it, cold, dead, pitted with *ergos.*» Of *The Dove's Ring* he said that it is «nothing bookish and extremely personal» and that those two qualities, so common today, were literally extraordinary in an Arabic book written in Islamic Spain two decades after the year 1000. More than once he refers to the human warmth which Ibn Hazm puts in his works. Let it be said that today García Gómez believes in the *españolía* of Ibn Hazm, as I do. Before the ideas of his youth, can it be concluded that his image of God, of the world, of man and of life had aspects of Hispanicism or better still of Westernism? Did that of his contemporaries, the Oriental Mussulmans coincide with it? I repeat: I do not know. If it were possible to answer affirmatively to the first question and Ibn Hazm's ideas did not coincide with the ideas of the Islamites of the Orient, will I be blamed for believing more in his than in those of Al-Hallach and in those of Iraqi, Persian, or Afghan thinkers in order to know the cultural and vital contexture of the Spanish Moslems? Will I be allowed to believe that that vital contexture and that temperamental structure of the Islamites of Al-Ándalus were capable of excercising some influence on the peninsular Christians and not those of the Oriental Mussulman theologians?

I insist that it is necessary to distinguish between the times or the places within the world of Islam, a world which at some moment of its history went from India to Lisbon.

For Massignon, Arabic poetry does not pretend to give life to ideas through images, to imitate the creator, to enliven what has no existence, but it aspires to present the things felt by man such as they subsist in the present, that is to say stony, inanimate. Purposely it creates unreal metaphors. In a descending graduation it compares man with the animals and it even compares flowers with precious stones. In evoking the past, it does not atempt to enliven the emotions enjoyed in the past, it takes the memory such as it is with a mere descriptive intention. For it, love is nostalgia without despair, it is the union of a pure remembrance to the fidelity of an extinct feeling. «In Mussulman mysticism there is a rule which forbids having visions in a state of wakefulness. They can only be had in dreams. Well, then, Mussulman art is preciously that: a kind of light sleep, between dreaming and wakefulness.» «The main idea of Mussulman art is to rise beyond the forms, not to stop to idolize images but to go beyond towards that one who makes them move as any magic lantern, as any theater of shadows, towards the Unique One who remains.»

On such theories others have been founded about the methods of artistic construction of Hispanic Mussulmans from which they judge derived

those characteristics of Spanish Christians. Again Massignon's statements should have been contrasted with the reality of the literary creations of the Islamites of Al-Ándalus. Thus, differences would have been found between the Hispano-Arabic poetry, classical or neo-classical, and the Arabo-Oriental poetry such as Massignon imagines it. It would have been sufficient to open the pages of García Gómez, *Poemas arabigo-andaluces,* to find among them some in which things do not appear petrified, but humanized by way of metaphors in an ascending rhythm which gives them human qualities and gestures, others in which men and things appear animated by a breath of life and various others in which memories are enlivened in emotions and ideas take shape in forms or images, as if the poet really wished to imitate the creation of the Eternal and Unique One. It is not difficult to find those —Hispanic?— poetic pearls. I too have cast my nets and I have succeeded in getting quite a few from among the waves of Andalusian lyric poetry, in authors from the end of the Taifas on; it seems that then, when the dikes of the imitation of what is Arabic broke, the Western tide would have risen in Al-Ándalus.

Those differences between Arabo-Oriental poetry and Hispano-Arabic poetry are emphasized if we compare the image of the latter outlined by Massignon with the poetic «diwan» of *The Dove's Ring* of Ibn Hazm and with the smart zéjeles of Ibn Quzman.

For Ibn Hazm, love was not a nostalgia without desperation, the union of a pure memory with the fidelity to an extinct feeling. It was frequently a burning flame which inspired his poems with an enormous emotive force: «If in my spirit there were something else but you / I would uproot and tear it out with my own hands» — «Although the hollow of the grave may conceal / I cannot hide my love for you.» — «My heart is like an arid pasture / where someone threw a burning firebrand» — «I would like to split my heart with a knife / put you inside it and then close my chest again.» Here are some of his words of love, because of love he makes many a lover suffer great pains and even death. «I find pleasure in dying for your love, how marvelous is someone condemned to death who rejoices!», he says in one of his poetic anotations to *The Dove's Ring.*

His thought is very lofty in many of his poems and he puts great ideological depth and great human warmth in them. «If our eyes did not contemplate your being, we would say / that you were the true sublime reason.» «To judge by the torments of illness seen in him / if he lives it is because death has compassion for him» — «Was it an idea that reason enlightened by its reflections? / Was it a spiritual image which enlightened the thought?» — «The works of man tell us of his nature. / To know the essence of a thing exempts you from following its trace» — «My decision cuts through all that is concealed / as the throbbing veins cut through the body.»

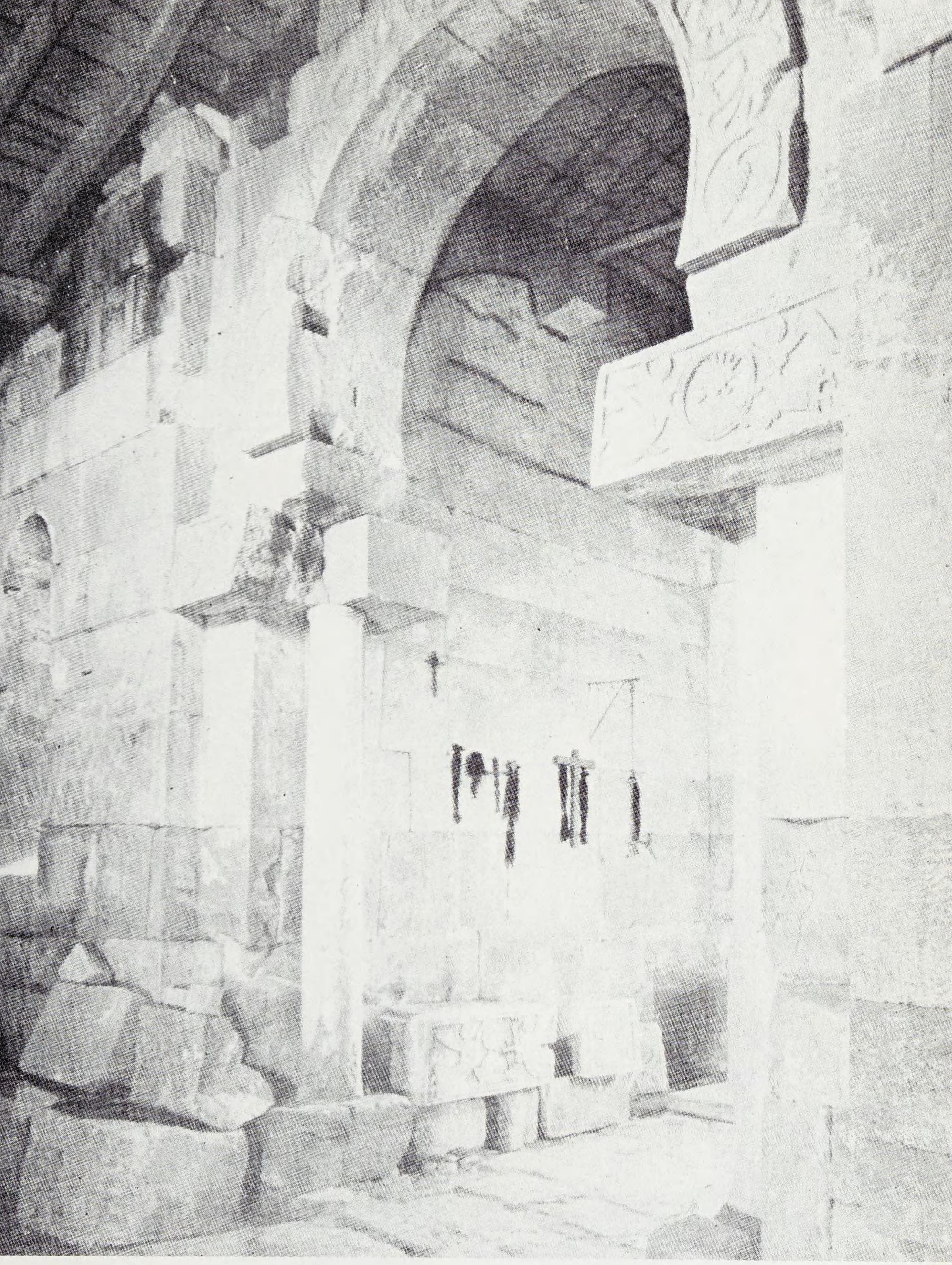
What characterizes Ibn Quzmān, as García Gómez declares, is: grace, unexpected psychological vision, spontaneity and his impetuous spirit; his caricatural deformation or his ironical renovation of the classical themes, his varied, flagrant, playful rhythm and metrics; his ease, his winsome way and his cynicism; his brilliancy in examining the echoes of the streets and in reproducing the most varied scenes of the daily life in the Andalusian cities; his making fun of sentimental religion and his final renunciation of his lewd and obscene life. Ibn Quzmān was probably neither the innovator of that type of poem in Al-Ándalus, nor did he cease to have imitators, among whom stand out the Sevillian Jew Ibn Sahl and Xuxtari, the mystical *zéjel* writer of Guadix.

One thousand years ago, Ibn Hazm already observed the reality of those differences. In the preface of *The Dove's Ring* he declares that the roads —that is to say, life— of the Bedouins were very different from his, and more than once, afterwards, he insists upon such diversity. Recall, as an example, his observation about the different attitude of Spanish and Oriental women as to the divulging of their amorous secrets. The former were afraid of them and the latter wished for them. Ibn Hazm says of the Bedouin women: «They do not consider themselves rewarded, nor do they accept the love of the one who becomes fond of them, while he does not disclose, declare, announce and reveal his inclination, praising the name of his lover» Ibn Hazm does not understand that «the culmination of his desires and of his happiness depends on such things being spoken». In various passages of *The Dove's Ring* he discovers the vivid —Hispanic—? sense of honor which dominated in caliphal Cordova. For example, he speaks of the guard or spy «who wishes to preserve the honor of the person entrusted to him»; he sketches the repulsive portrait of an accommodating husband, «of vile nature and abject condition», who «consents to share with another the love of the one he loves»; he declares that nothing was «like treason for a man with a free soul who knows how to preserve his honor»; he covers a pederast with insults for prostituting his wives in order to satisfy his lewd desires, and apostrophizes him thus: «Oh you who makes of the honor of your legitimate wives a net with which to hunt young lads.» That sense of honor —of Hispanic root?— explains the fear of the Spanish Mussulman women of the divulging of their love secrets and Ibn Hazm's lack of understanding of the customs of the Bedouin women.

I also suspect that the Mussulmans of Al-Ándalus were not as rigid as the Orientals in their Islamic dislike for human images during the first four centuries of their history. Until the Almoravid invasion, a statue of the Virgin crowned the Door of the Bridge in Cordova —*Ajbar Machmu'a* and *Bayan Al-Mugrib* attest it— and old Roman statues continued to adorn public baths —Ibn Hazm proves it. Not only the ancient sculptures were respected: we know from Al-Bakri that the seamen of Pechina, in encircling with ramparts the city which they made capital of their com-

19.—Portrait of a woman in a *paleo-Christian sepulcher of Tarragona.* The individualizing portrait slipped into Spain even to the sepulchral lands of the adorers of «The Crucified» and realism triumphed equally in all regions of Hispania. Observe, moreover, the *españolía* on the face of the Catalan matron of 1500 years ago represented in it.

20.—*Disco de Teodosio,* the last emperor who projected the style of Hispanic life in the Old World. Born in Coca, he promoted the idea of the Church-State and intended to carry out Roman unity on the basis of religious unity. His sons prohibited the Spaniards from destroying the temples of the old gods because already then we were passionately focusing on the problems of the other world. *Royal Academy of History (Madrid).*



21.—The Hispano-Gothic art arose as a transformation of the paleo-Christian era, through North African and Byzantine currents and the vivification of pre-Roman peninsular artistic uses. The horseshoe arch that already appears in Visigothic Spain —for example, in Quintanilla de las Viñas (Burgos)— is considered to be the continuation of those Hispanic traditions and it triumphs later in the Moslem. The Gothic-Hispanic art should be, thus, a clear link in the Spanish spiritual creations. *Interior of Sta. María de Quintanilla de las Viñas (Burgos).*

22.—*Interior of San Juan de los Baños (Palencia),* specimen of Hispano-Visigothic art. It was built by Recceswinth in 671 to be grateful for prodigious healings. The miracle had become a normal daily occurrence. The theoretical submission of civil power to the religious one triumphed. The rite of the sacred anointing of the kings had been invented.

munity of navigators, put a statue similar to the one standing on the Cordovan door mentioned previously, on one of the doors of the walled enclosure. Ibn 'Arabi saw on the gate of Medina Al-Zahra' built by 'Abd al-Rahman III another statue which was considered to be the image of the concubine of the caliph, who according to legend or history, had given his name to the city-palace. Among the ruins of the same Medina Al-Zahra' have been found more than one graffito representing human heads.

The thesis about the traveling of the Spanish Mussulmans through a world oscillating, evasive, evanescent, between shadows and symbols as the outcome of the projection, towards the world of feelings and towards the material world, of the customs of allegorical interpretation of the sacred bood of the Mohammedans, seems to me difficult to reconcile with reality. Al-Huchwiri's phrase upon which such a theory is based, lacks validity to judge the thought of the Spanish Mussulmans, because it was coined in the vicinity of India, in Afghanistan, in the 11th century. Would anyone dare use ideas and phrases of Bacon, Occam, Wycliffe or of Eckhart and Huss to judge the thought and the life of the Christians of Castile?

One cannot forget, I repeat, the essential differences which separate the various sects and Islamic schools and the different Moslem historical communities in regard to many problems concerning God, the world, man and life; nor can one prescind from the opposition that separated them in the exegesis of the Koran. The orthodox Malequi doctrine of the Islamites of Al-Ándalus categorically rejected the allegorical interpretation of the holy book. Asín has demonstrated it. The Hispano-Mussulman theologians —he says— had come to interpret the passages of the Koran «in a grossly realistic way». For example, they believed in the real existence of a celestial scale where the good and the bad works of men would really be weighed on the day of final reckoning. The *dahiri* doctrine, professed by some dissidents like Ibn Hazm, was likewise rigidly adverse to the allegorical interpretation of the sacred book. Asín has written about the theological, juridical criterion of such a school: «According to that criterion, the unique authority to which it is lawful and obligatory to submit oneself, in matters of dogma and of law, is the word of God stated in the Koran and in the authentic Traditions of Mohammed, understood without any allegorical interpretation and according to the unanimous feeling of the primitive Mussulman Church. Every analogous reasoning to extend or restrict the meaning of the letter of the divine law is illicit because it is equivalent to giving to human reason an authority equal or greater than the one given to the word of God.» The emirs and caliphs of Cordova persecuted any heretical deviation from these doctrines; 'Abd al-Rahman II, in 851, had a teacher from the Spanish Levant crucified for having begun to preach a new, esoteric theology, based on the symbolic interpretation of the Koran.

In Al-Ándalus only the following accepted that esotericism and that interpretive system of the sacred book: Ibn Masarra, whose books were subsequently burned; his school which for many decades was little known in Mussulman Spain and the Sufis who, as said, only succeeded in settling in Andalusian lands at the end of the 11th century, but who persecuted by the Almoravids were never able to win the minorities nor the masses and who only constituted some groups worthy of mentioning way in the 12th century, during the last century of Islam's dominion in the Andalusia of the Guadalquivir, when Hispanic life style had already been formed. It is important to note that not even all the Sufis always resorted to symbols and allegories. The great Spanish mystic of that time, Ibn 'Arabi, protested against the allegorical interpretation of Mohammed's traditions, according to Asín, who, with admirable zeal, studied his life and works.

Moreover, there is *The Dove's Ring* of Ibn Hazm of Cordova, at the disposal of the readers of all the main modern languages of today, categorically contradicting the theory that Spanish Mussulmans walked between veiled shadows and felt their lives as a flowing and sliding in a fleeting world of appearances. Its author and the Cordovans of his generation go through it, through life with their feet firmly planted on the beautiful Andalusian land, in the radiant light of caliphal Cordova, their eyes wide open to the reality about, and without being too concerned about reaching the ultimate reality of God. One day when Ibn Hazm was accompaning a lover «seeing him melancholy, sad, and taciturn... May God console you! —he exclaimed; but I saw on his face at that moment —he adds— signs of hatred for what I said». About the homosexual of whom he writes: «He goes around selling honor», Ibn Hazm declares: «I heard him once in the assembly of the mosque ask God to withdraw his protection, with the same fervor with which one usually asks that he does not abandon us.» And about another pederast Al-Dabbi relates that addressing his lover, he wrote: «My heart desires more to be with you than the memcy of the sublime Creator.»

The Cordovans of Ibn Hazm's days are going through life driven by romantic loves, tortured by violent passions or subjugated by troubled and foolish desires; rejoicing or suffering, happy or sad, their spirit aiming at the heights or dragging through the mire of the earth, no one trembling around them, nothing disintegrating at their contact, nothing vanishing between symbolic appearances, without clashing head on with a world of phantoms and without feeling prisoners of fleeting fantasmagoria that would make it necessary to keep awake.

Veils, shadows, symbols, appearances? No. One shall try in vain to discover an evanescent and evasive world in *The Dove's Ring*. The feelings that Ibn Hazm explains, discusses, analyzes and polishes are warmly and profoundly human; the men who parade through the pages of *The Dove's Ring* in a lucid and transparent atmosphere are real men. Only beautiful metaphors place a tenuous breath of poetry, not between the Cordovans

whose amorous stories Ibn Hazm relates, but between them and us, his readers of today. Clear light of a city of the South, and realism —spiritual realism which dives into the souls, vital realism which gathers the gestures and saying of men and of women, impudent and vile realism which reflects the lewdness and the miseries of the body—, here is the atmosphere in no way fantasmagoric through which Andalusian Mussulmans move in one of the works that best enables us to know them.

Let us keep from giving to the metaphorical images of the Arabo-Andalusian poets a value that they do not possess: that of the beautiful interplay of imagination and at times that of the exquisite rhetorical subtleties for which thinkers like Ibn Hazm have been praised. Interplays and subtleties in which everything is said with lyrical beauty or with affected rhetorical parallels and in which are described by means of euphemisms, not always succesful, even the dirtiest parts of the human body. Read, for example, the indecent verses in which Ibn Hazm accuses a pederast of prostituting his wives to satisfy his lewd desires.

Veils, shadows, symbols, appearances? Yes, the Hispano-Arabic poets used them to embellish the reality of the things that filled the fixed and firm world with which their feelings clashed and the reality of their noble or base feelings, their loves, fears, passions or angers, and their miseries, hopes, anxieties or ambitions. Veils, shadows, symbols, appearances? Yes, those that conceived the brilliant form of the Arabo-Andalusian lyric poetry in its frivolous and sensual or ascetic and profound poems. That and nothing else.

8. Points of contact between the two Spains: Islamic and Christian

The ways of expression, literary or artistic forms, ideas, institutions, techniques, the customs or the fashions of the strongest or more learned peoples have frequently been received by the weakest or most backward peoples. The normal contact between free human communities, of different vital or cultural level, has sufficed for such adoptions or imitations to take place. The mingling of different peoples has not been rare and there have been cases of historical grafts or symbioses of forms of life of diverse human groups. For these minglings, symbioses or grafts to occur, conquests and colonization by war or great pacific immigrations have been necessary. Only such movements, never the mere marginal contacts, have managed, and not always, to change the mental habits, the sensibility, the volitive desires, that is to say, the vital contexture of the peoples.

It has been pretended, and had it been correct, it would have managed to offer a strange exception to those usual historical processes, that the mere neighborly coliving of Hispanic Christians and of Islamic Spaniards

willing of the Spaniards. «It is known —it has been written— that there rarely was a sharp divission between Christians and Moors and that the norm was the opportune alliance against the common enemy.» Reality has been distorted. Those alliances and interminglings only existed in brief periods, during the three periods of fragmentation of Mussulman Spain —especially since the death of Ferdinand I (1065) until the total conquest of Al-Ándalus by the Almoravids (1110)— and during the struggles of the Banu al-Ahmares of Granada to escape from the double threat of Castile and Morocco. The norm until the 15th century was barbarian and ferocious fighting, especially until the fall of the Caliphate and during the dominions of the African empires in the Peninsula; and not even during those brief stages of opportunistic alliances, were the relations between Moors and Christians intimate and fruitful. Later, in these pages, I will study the process of our Reconquest as key to the history of Spain and I will prove, chronologically, what is uninterrumpted and lasting in the brutal clash between Islamites and Christians.

Great is the difficulty presented to the central idea of *España en su historia* by the fact that the symbiosis of the Hispano-Arabic and the Hispano-Christian should have occurred without an intense and fast mingling of the people bearers of such cultural complexes. We have just pointed out the invincible obstacle against Castro's theory about the graft of what is Christian-Western and what is Oriental-Moslem, the reality that the mingling of the Spanish-pre-Mussulman and of the Arabo-Islamic was anterior and that the inhabitants of the North of Spain never entered in contact with what is pure Islamico-Oriental. To this obstacle must be added another one, equally serious, that the relation of the Mussulmans and of the Christians was, during many centuries, superficial and hostile, and that it only reached a certain intensity very late, when Spanish Christianity was closely united to Western culture. Let us recall the illustrating parallel outlined before. To evaluate the discussed thesis, in light of the fruits of the Hispanization of America, it would be necessary to imagine the Peruvians and the Mexicans from the 16th to the 18th century as transmitting the pure Hispanic style of life to other American peoples always in a fierce struggle against them and recently united to the Anglo-Saxon culture.

The hybrid character, with very vivid Spanish roots, of the vital contexture of the Hispano-Mussulmans, is manifest. It would, therefore, be difficult to admit that the Christians from the North of Spain adopted the processes of conscience, the mechanism of sensibility and the forms of artistic creation of the Orientals —processes, mechanisms and forms which never triumphed totally in Al-Ándalus— even in the case that Northern Christianity had been conquered or colonized by the peninsular Islamites. Even more unlikely is the acceptance by Galicians, peoples from León, Castile, Navarre, Aragón and Catalonia of forms of Arabic life, considering the hostile and quarrelsome relations that they had with the

Spanish Moors, and how unfavorable were the few peaceful contacts they had with the bearers of the Islamic cultural patrimony, before the Christians triumphed over them.

During the 8th century and the first half of the 9th century, whatever the contacts between the free Christians of the North of Spain and the Islamites of the South may have been, they could not have transmitted to the mountain peoples of the North, Arabic Oriental forms of life, because they were still not Arabized, as has been indicated. The Orientals in Al-Ándalus were still a ruling caste, a reduced minority —even in Cordova where they formed a military colony with its own judge— which, naturally, could not have changed the vital contexture of the millions of Spaniards ruled by them. It is attested by the proven survival, among them, of the old temperamental characteristics of their most remote ancestors of more than a millenium before. Even if Al-Ándalus had been populated by pure Arabs or pure Orientals, the lack of lasting and fruitful encounters between the Northern Christians and the inhabitants of Mussulman Spain before the middle of the 9th century, would always have prevented the beginning of the symbiosis from which Castro derives what is Hispanic.

The slow mixing of what is Hispano-Gothic with what is Arabo-Oriental in Al-Ándalus had not yet been fruitful until the accepted date when blood and cultural bonds began to be established between the two Spains and when the relations between them, through the desert which separated them, began to occur more frequently.

During the second half of the 9th century an evident Mozarabic migratory current to the lands of León took place, and few important migrations to the other Christian countries: Catalonia and Portugal, for example; Castile and Navarre barely saw appear in their lands the Christian inhabitants of Al-Ándalus. The first contacts of some importance with the Southern Hispanic culture of the Northern Spaniards who were to make Spain facilitated these immigrations. It is important to reduce the possible effectiveness of such displacements to their just proportion.

It is a fact that some Andalusian Mozarabs enjoyed, at the time, the learning of their dominators, but those conformists and collaborationists did not give up their comfortable positions beside those who held power and wealth. The Mozarabs, most rebellious to the contagion of the vital essences of the minority of Orientals and Berbers who ruled in Al-Ándalus, were the ones who emigrated to the North, and, in particular, groups, more or less exalted of the bordering provinces, where the Arabic forms of life had not arrived yet.

As has been proven, the immense majority of the peninsular people, including the renegades and the tricksters, still lived according to the old modules of their pre-Islamic existence. What could those migratory groups, having come from the Mozarabic masses least adapted to the vital essences of Moslem Spain, bring to the Northern Christians? Some personal names,

some Arabic words with which to designate objects or functions of daily life, some customs, some techniques and some knowledge: of pre-Islamic Andalusian origin for the most part —such was the case of the horseshoe arch— and of recent Arabic importation in a few instances. They could not very well transmit Islamic-Oriental styles of life or thought since they were those who, in order to preserve their own, were fleeing from Al-Ándalus, taking their traditions, their books and their relics, as Gómez Moreno has demonstrated and as Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal is studying. The Mozarabic immigration of the last decades of the 9th century, could not, therefore, even initiate the symbiosis or the graft from which Castro makes the soul of Spain derive.

In the 9th century, political bonds were made and the contacts between the Christian kings of Oviedo and Pamplona and the Muladis and the Mozarabs were frequent. It would be strange to consider as active agents of the spreading of Islamic Orientalism among the peoples from the Basque country, from Castile, León, Galicia and Portugal, the renegades from the valley of the Ebro, ruled by the descendants of a Visigothic Count, proud of their heritage and united to the Aristas of Navarre by double bonds of blood; the Mozarabs of Alcarria who cannot be considered as permeated by essential Arabic cultures; the people from Toledo, always in haughty rebellion against the emirs until 933; or the renegade Christians of Guadiana headed by a Spaniard whom in Cordova, they called, contemptuously, «The Galician».

In the next decades, according to the best specialists in Hispano-Mussulman history, while the Orientalization of Al-Ándalus was detained or continued very slowly, occurred more than half a century of barbarian struggles between Christians and Islamites, in no way propitious to cultural infiltrations and contagions. In the intervals of the struggle, the trade of luxury items, begun in the previous decades, continued in the hands of Mozarabs or Jews, something ineffective in altering the vital style of the Northerners. Only in the last four decades of the 10th century the embassies and the trips to Cordova became more frequent; the Mussulman military interventions in the inner quarrels of the Christian kingdoms repeated themselves and the humiliating pacts and submissions were reached. However, let us be careful, it is not permissible to exaggerate the consequences of such trips, interventions and pactes in connection with the adoption by the Northern Christian of mental and emotive Islamic customs. The following facts could not cause decisive changes in peninsular Christianity: three trips: one, of Ordoño IV who did not come back; some embassies of abbots or noblemen, who did not know Arabic, who could only manage in Cordova through Mozarabic interpreters and who by Caliphal orders, remained forcefully and jealously isolated from any contact with the Hispano-Mussulmans during their journey; two or three military interventions in León which naturally clashed with the furious resistance and the lasting anger of the majority stripped of power; the

brief and forced submission to Almanzor of some collaborationist magnates hated by the people, as the «Cantar de los infantes de Lara» proves; and a few thousand Christian soldiers under Ibn Abi 'Amir's flag, soldiers who rarely returned to the harsh and hostile North afterwards.

The fashions of Al-Ándalus could be imitated by a minority of powerful men who, in all the societies of the past and of the present, have been and are ready to succumb to the temptations of foreign luxury. From that imitation to adopting the mental process and the emotive mechanism of the Islamites of the Orient, there is an abyss which the Christian people of the North never crossed. The Hispano-Moslems could never have transmitted the Oriental intellective and emotive mechanics in its purity, because, as has been said, they had not accepted it themselves. However, they did not even transmit their own hybrid one. I can affirm it without fearing contradiction, about the kingdom of León which comprised the land from Navarre to the Atlantic coast and from Mondego and the Duero to Cantabria. The thousands of documents prior to 1035 which disclose to us the intimate currents of thinking and willing of Christianity in Galicia, Portugal, Asturias, León, the Basque country and Castile, enable me to make such a categorical statement.

As soon as the Cordovan revolutions started, Castilians and Catalans intervened in them. The first ones entered Cordova as allies of the Berbers and the second ones as allies of the Slavonians. Christian armies knew *de visu* the great Hispano-Islamic city for the first time. All of them, especially the Catalans, took «remembrances» from the capital of the Caliphate to their lands; Count Sancho Garcés took some singers and dancers, gift from the Caliph Sulayman whom he had helped enthrone, and the taste for Andalusian fashions which had probably impressed him. Who will dare think that such brief military interventions could cause such lasting effects in the life style of the Christians of the North? To admit to it would be equivalent to supposing that a few weeks in Paris, London or New York for some foreing troops and the acquisition in such cities of a greater or lesser number of luxury items —such were the singers and the dancers of the Count of Castile— could influence the psyche of the historical communities to which these expeditionary bodies belonged.

The Cordovan revolutions which caused the fall of the Amirids increased the possibilities of fruitful contacts between Islamites and Christians for two reasons: because the encounters between them increased with the reciprocal interchanges of the two groups of Spaniards, Romanic and Arabic, in the interior affairs of their neighbors; and because the fall of the Caliphate and the formation of the kingdoms of Taifas, in creating in border cities strong political and cultural nuclei, intensified the Arabization of the millions of border Islamites with whom the Christians of the North communicated more frequently.

One cannot, however, hyperbolically deform the transcendence of these two processes. In the mingling of pre-Islamic peninsular with Arabo-Islamic while what is Oriental would end up triumphing in the ruling minorities of non Hispanic origin, what is Spanish would leave more lasting impressions in the great multitudes of Hispanic lineage. Castro will not be able to discuss that the Northern Christians frequented the popular masses of the borders, brothers by race and all the less intensely Orientalized as they were further apart from the geographical center of the Caliphate, much more than the princes, magnates, poets, philosophers, jurists, or Alfaquis of the center of Al-Ándalus, already in the 11th century more or less profoundly Arabized although still with much vital Spanish essence —remember the proofs alleged in support of such a statement—.

For that reason the Moors of Tudela got along very well with the count of Castile, Sancho Garcés and not, as has been erroneously pretended, because the former and his ancestors had cultivated the human value which the Mussulmans respected. Neither Sancho Garcés, nor his father, nor his grandfather, the stanchest enemies that the Cordovans always had among the Christians of the North, ever took as archetypes of life the chiefs of the South, not even the first one who adopted some customs of Al-Ándalus. People from Castile and from Tudela got along well —undoubtedly in the Romance language which they both spoke— because both, over and above their religious differences, were united by an identical temperamental heritage which rooted their forms of life in the Hispano-pre-Islamic tradition.

For that reason, although the Saragossa of the Banu Hud, the Toledo of the Banu Di-I-Nun and the Badajoz of the Banu Al-Aftas were more Arabized than two centuries before —when in the 9th century they lived under the leadership of the Visigothic Banu Qasi, the «Galician» Banu Marwan and their contemporaries the rebellious people from Toledo— it is certain that, because of the hybrid origin of the forms of life of the residents in the three-border kingdoms, they never could become active instruments of fruitful Orientalization of their Christian neighbors.

Until the conquest of Toledo, the contacts between Islamites and Christians were, moreover, reduced to: the brief interventions of Castilians and Catalans in Cordova at the beginning of the long stage of the Cordovan revolutions, interventions which lasted a few weeks; the interchange of various embassies between the kings Ferdinand I, Sancho II and Alfonso VI and the Mussulman petty kings; the occasional military assistance by the last two to some Islamite princes; to the official interviews of Alfonso VI with the sovereigns of Toledo and of Granada; to the reception of some illustrious Mozarabs in the court of the king of León; to the life in the Moorish courts of some Castilian adventurer; to the intervention in the Moorish Levant, of the Cid and his armed retinue and to the occasional presence in Christian lands of some Mussulman

merchants and slaves. Such encounters were too excessive for the suits, the fashions, the luxury of the Spanish Islamites to be imitated in the North and for some of their expressions, their customs, their techniques or their political practices to be adopted. Will anyone be able to believe that such brief and ephemeral contacts could Orientalize the processes of conscience, sensibility, volitive mechanism, the forms of artistic creation, in a word the vital contexture of the free Christians of the North?

We must not forget that such a stage of the history of the Christian kingdoms of Spain coincides with the forming of bonds each time firmer and of relations each time tighter with Western Christianity and culture. Thus it would be more difficult to overestimate the action of the slight encounters of the inhabitants in the North and South of Spain, during that period, on the transformation of the trilogy of psychic powers of the Northerners: reason, feelings emotions, and impulses instincts organic sensations, and the doubt about the efficacy of such communications to cause the graft Christian-Mussulman from which Castro has made what is Hispanic come, will increase.

The Christian Islamic ethnic and spiritual mingling could only have taken place, when after the conquest of the kingdoms of Toledo (1085) and Saragossa (1118), some Mozarabic masses became incorporated in the two kingdoms of Castile and Aragón and there began to be *Mudéjars*: that is to say, when there began to live within the Romanic national communities groups of Christian Spaniards (Mozarabs) or Islamites (*Mudéjars*) more or less Orientalized. But prior to such conquest was the beginning of the close union of Christian Spain with the culture of the West. The roots of the new Hispanic oak were already drawing vital juices from the European land through the constant flow of pilgrims and of crusaders and through the massive immigrations of ultramontanes or Franks. They sttled in all the cities and towns of Christian Spain and especially in Toledo —the law verifies it— and in Saragossa —Lacarra has just proven it— they intensively colonized monasteries, assumed the direction of the national clergy from abbeys and episcopates, governed Galicia and Portugal, interfered in the life of the court from the royal bridal chamber and left a profound impression on the spiritual and material life of the two monarchies of Aragón and Castile, as Defourneaux has just stated again. Can one doubt the enormous counterweight that these immigrations constituted before the possible influence of two minorities, one devitalized by five centuries of servitude and the other recently conquered and humiliated?

It is very doubtful that the Mozarabs and the *Mudéjars* could have decisively reversed that intensive renovation of the ancestral Westerness of the Christians of Spain. The Mozarabs of Toledo had become used to speaking and writing Arabic, the language of their dominators, and they kept such a custom after the taking of Toledo because new masses of Mozarabs, emigrated from Al-Andalus fleeing the Almoravid persecutions

had taken refuge there, —in the middle of the 12th century three Andalusian bishops lived in Toledo, among them the last bishop of Seville— and many Arabized Jews, who had also come from the South fleeing from the Almoravid cruelty and especially from the Almohad rage, as much by force of habit as not to lose a defensive cryptographic instrument before the proud and triumphant inundation of their native city by Castilians, Galicians and Franks. However, we know of their fidelity to the pre-Arabic tradition of the Visigothic Toledo, its government by the fuero juzgo attests it along with the conservation of chronicles and Gothic legends used by the author of the Pseudo Isidoriana. The Mozarabs of Granada, incorporated to the Kingdom of Aragón by Alfonso the Fighter after his failure in his expedition to Andalusia, proved in their relations with the man from Aragón their irreducible hostility towards the Islamites and what is Islamic. Shall we be able to consider the ones and the others capable of Arabizing the vital contexture of the free Christians of the North, strengthened in their pre-Moslem traditions by the immigrants from the other side of the Pyrenees?

It must be remembered that the *mudéjar* minorities were defeated and subjected masses not sufficiently orientalized to compensate the intense action of the West at the South of the Pyrenees, nor did they have the vital impetus or the cultural superiority necessary to spiritually conquer their conquerors in spite of their submission and defeat.

Perhaps a decisive twist in favor of the triumph of what is Oriental in the balance of the cultural and vital forces —Hispano-primitive, Christian-Oriental and Arabo-Islamic— which were fighting over the dominion of Spain around the year 1200, could have taken place if the great cities of Guadiana and Guadalquivir, conquered in the 13th century, had thrown the weight of the numerous masses of their peoples into one of the pans of the balance. They were very populous and wealthy urban centers; they formed focuses of Hispano-Mussulman knowledge and art; they were sufficiently Orientalized and enjoyed great prestige in Christian Spain. Their conquest could reinforce the Arabic essences in the Hispanic cultural and vital complex until placing the Westerness of the Spanish soul in dramatic danger.

Someone has paused with enjoyment to emphasize the historical importance of the occupation of Cordova, Seville and of the other Andalusian cities in the 13th century, because he believed that such conquests were what they could have really been: decisive factors of the fruitful symbiosis of Western and Oriental on the Spanish soil. It is a shame that the historical reality does not come in support of such a suggestive theory, because these cities, populous and wealthy, were emptied of their inhabitants by the Castilian conquerors. Their Arabized inhabitants abandoned their old lands to take refuge in the free lands of the kingdom of Granada or to cross the Strait and settle in Africa and for that reason they ceased to

constitute focuses of radiation and contagion of the Arabo-Islamic life style.

I invite everyone to read the book that Julio González had published on the *Repartimiento de Sevilla.* Based on the editing and analysis of the texts he has studied with documents the repopulation of Andalusian lands conquered by Ferdinand III and Alfonso X. As a summary of this detailed investigation, he writes: «The renovation of Andalusia in the 13th century is profound and radical. The Castilians make of it a prolongation of Castile, with their blood, language, beliefs, law, garments, art and customs. If what is ancient does not disappear in its entirety, it is difficult to see»

Julio González examines the conquest of that Andalusia of the Guadalquivir; he proves how the immense majority of the towns of some importance were emptied of their Moorish inhabitants and points out that their stay in the places whose capitulations permitted them to continue to live in their homes was not lasting. They rose in 1264 againts Alfonso X, in agreement with the king of Granada, and after his defeat such pacts were considered broken and they were expelled in mass, since the presence of possible enemies in border zones, always threatened and frequently attacked by the people from Granada and the Beni Amer was too dangerous.

González traces an expressive map of these first and forced emigrations of the Andalusian Islamic cities and he points out the exceptional and extremely reduced rural nuclei in which some Mussulmans remained after that decisive year, 1264.

Thanks to González, we know in detail the bitter history of those Moorish displacements and the subsequent Christian repopulation. In Seville, for example, where there were no Mozarabs nor Jews when it was conquered by Saint Ferdinand in 1248 —because the Almoravids and the Almohads had persecuted them and forced them to emigrate—, since the Mussulmans had to abandon all their homes, the city was totally empty for three days according to the testimony of Al-Himyari. Tragic and fruitful silence of that great metropolis, the richest and the most populous of Spain and one of the greatest of Europe! Later it was repopulated by Christians and the long series of towns and villages of its wide landmark or neighboring district were also repopulated.

Today, thanks to the *Repartimiento* and hundreds of documents utilized by González, we know the homeland of the new inhabitants of Seville. They came especially from Castilian lands. There also came people from Galicia, Portugal, Aragón, Catalonia, Italy, France and many were Jews. Another expressive map presents in quick synthesis the picture of the square from which departed the colonizers of the great city of the Guadalquivir and its neighboring district. We also know, though not in the same details, the total repopulation of other Andalusian urban centers. According to the *Crónica Latina* «nobis habitatoribus implenda erat, gente maurorum subito evacuata». According to the Toledan, they went to

populate Cordova, from all of Spain, as if they were going to a royal wedding.

The haul caused by the depopulation and the repopulation of the Andalusia of the Guadalquivir, was so great in the old land of the kingdom, that the ranks of its inhabitants were thinned and the Castilian economy was impaired.

After some years, some Moors came back to Seville, but the Sevillian Moorish population was insignificant. The figures of the taxes paid to the kings prove it. It amounted to 5,500 maravedis while the Jews of the city paid 113,333. Since the ninety Jews who lived in Jerez contributed to the royal chests with 5,000 maravedis, we can calculate the approximate number of Moors who came to live in Seville at the time the old Moorish city is supposed to influence decisively in the change of the vital contexture of the Spanish Christians.

Some Moors remained in Murcia and in Algarve de Niebla, two old kingdoms which had capitulated but which also rose against Alfonso X and who were defeated and punished. There remained also some rural nuclei here and there in the interior of Andalusia and in Estremadura, many in Valencia, and in New Aragón. But neither the former nor the latter, because of their limited cultural power, given their rural and sub-urban condition, could ever be active agents of Orientalization of the conquerors from Aragón or Castile.

The reduced group of artists or artisans who remained at the service of the aristocracy or of the clergy who had come to settle in Andalusian lands, weighed very little to be able to change, let us say it in vulgar words, the heads and the hearts of the Christians whom they served.

And let us not argue against this reality alluding to the *Mudéjar* art which triumphed in Andalusia, which spread through New Castile and at times even passed through the gates of the central mountain range and appeared in the valley of the Duero. Emptied of their Mussulman dwellers, there were the Andalusian cities intact and dazzling. Their beauty seduced their conquerors —with the passing of time the beauty of the Italian cities conquered or visited by the Spaniards, were to seduce them— and they enjoyed imitating the constructions and the luxury of the interiors which they saw. Gothic art, triumphant in the North, was expensive because it required transporting and carving the stone, which was becoming rare and at times was lacking in some parts of the two plateaus, while the Arabic art, which only required brick, wood and plaster, was cheaper and lended itself more to the work of ornamentation. For that reason not only Mussulman workers used it —I will not discuss the presence in Castile of Moorish architects after reading Torres Balbás— but soon also the Christian workers; the non-Andalusian origin of the builders of the Sevillian castle, for example, is a fact. For that reason, naturally, the development of *Mudéjar* art does not prove the continuation of numerous

Mussulman groups and even less the victory of a psychic and vital contexture of Islamic mark in the Spanish Christian kingdoms. The recent and magnificent book of Lapeyre on the «Geography of Morisco Spain» has demonstrated how limited the *Mudéjar* masses were in Castilian lands. In 1609 upon the expulsion of the Moors, adding up those who lived since old times in the kingdoms forming part of the Crown of Castile to those of Granada forced to emigrate there after their uprising and defeat in 1570, they only formed 1,5 % of the Christian population of the country. It is obviously certain that that proportion would be inferior before the taking of Granada. The form in which the Castilian Reconquest and Repopulation took place explains this demographic reality. Even if it had been different, artistic *mudejarism* would never force us to consider the Castilians spiritually and vitally *mudejarized.* From the book of Lapeyre, we know that in 1609 the *Moriscos* * reached 20 % of the Christian population of Aragón and 33 % of the Christian masses of Valencia, in the two kingdoms there remained many traces of architectural *mudejarism,* but neither in Aragón nor in Valencia are there clear traces of cultural and vital *mudejarism.*

During the 12th and 13th centuries, Christian Spain, although already inserted within the orbit of Western Christianity, really felt strongly pulled by the brilliance of the Islamic culture, at the same time as it sustained a cruel duel with the African empires, then the bearers of the political and warlike strength of Islam. I will not deny the depth and the efficacy of the influence of the Hispano-Mussulman civilization on the Hispano-Christian one and through it on the European civilization; I have tried to examine that influence with zeal and pleasure in my *España Musulmana.*

However, be careful, I have written *influence,* which means adaptation, acceptance, imitation; and I have referred to the ensemble of ideas, artistic forms, sciences, techniques... of the peninsular Islamic cultural patrimony. It was late for a change of the vital contexture, the life style of the Spanish Christians, which had matured in 6 centuries of battle against peninsular Islam, when the Hispano-Gothic temperamental heritage was accentuated, reappraised, vivified... or attenuated, changed, ankylosed. Averroes' philosophy, the mysticism of Ibn 'Arabi and the Almohad art could never have changed the mechanism of the thinking, the feeling and the willing of these rough Northern warriors.

Afterwards, the vital and cultural decadence of Spanish Islam and the splendid spreading of Western civilization made Spanish Christianity feel more strongly each time, the seduction of what was European at the same time as their attraction for what is Islamic decreased. And in the end there occured a cultural current opposite the ancient one —now from

---

* In the Middle Ages the term *Moriscos* was applied to the Spanish Moors who converted to Christianity during the Reconquest.

the Christian kingdoms to the Moorish kingdom of Granada—, a cultural current which ended up by Castilianizing the last shred of peninsular Islam in the course from the 13th to the 14th century, as García Gómez has pointed out.

At the beginning of the 14th century, the embassadors of James II of Aragón assured Pope Clement VII, on the occasion of the Council of Vienna, that from the 200.000 inhabitants of the city of Granada there were barely 500 that were sons and grandsons of Moors, that is to say, of pure Arabic race. Although we suppose such a figure very far from the truth it would appear that the Spaniards of around 1300 were still conscious of the racial Hispanism —and therefore vital— of the Andalusian Mussulmans. We, the Spaniards of today, cannot forget it.

Nevertheless, because of their ancient Arabization, after the fall of the kingdom of Granada, the last bearers of the Hispano-Islamic tradition, the *Moriscos,* could constitute focuses of contagion of Moslem practices among the Christians with whom they lived. Pure and spurious formulas of Mussulman-Spanish mysticism left some traces among the mystical and enlightened Christians of the 16th century. But precisely when the mingling and the graft between the two peoples was easier, the symbiosis between the two primitive modules of Roman and Arabic existence must have been less fruitful, because the *Moriscos* could not free themselves from the vital pressure of the Christian society within which they lived, and because the channels of Spanish life were already very deep to have been altered by the presence of a minority defeated and dominated, in the majority made up of people from Granada forced to emigrate after 1570, and forming as Lapeyre and Chaunu have pointed out an uprooted and floating subproletariat. Between that minority and Christianity, more than the vivid contraposition between two vitally and culturally opposite worlds, there came to be the difference which always separates the dominated group —as such forced to earn a difficult living in times of peace— and the caste of the dominators in whom prevails the seigneurial and martial spirit.

Little by little even the last echoes of the *Mudéjar* architecture disappeared; there only remained some industrial art of Moorish origin, and very sporadically some Christians of Estremadura —there were many learned people there— or of Toledo lands —Saint John of the Cross, born in Fontiveros (Ávila) lived in Yepes later— gathered some theoretical or expressive sparks from the Sadilis or Moresque mystics, if my compatriot got to know the Islamic tradition, which Paul Nwyia denies today.

Chapter IV

THE HISPANIC VITAL CONTEXTURE IS NOT ARABIZED

1. Hispano-Moslem vs. Hispano-Christian

No; the Hispanic vital contexture could not become Arabized. The obstacles to its Arabization have been surveyed. The functional structure of peninsular peoples was already firmly formed when in 711 the Berbers of Tariq set foot in Gibraltar. What was Arabic-Islamic was still fluid and imprecise. Many human groups, recently converted to Islam and still not being Arabized, arrived in Spain. The Hispanic pre-Moslem survived with strength. The cultural Arabization of the Spaniards under the dominion of Islam was extremely slow and their vital Arabization was either achieved very late or never. There was a difference between Islamic-Oriental and Islamic-Spanish. The possibilities of communication between Spanish Moslems and Christians were sporadic and difficult. The latter could only receive from the former a hybrid form of life and it was very difficult for what is Mussulman from the Orient to penetrate as far as Christian Spain and decisively influence it.

I trust that I have demonstrated what I have said. Now, it is important to investigate what were the historical corollaries of that reality. There is only one way to know them: the examination of the authentic origin of those Hispanic characteristics which have been considered to derive from what is Arabo-Islamic.

The limitations of the infiltration of what is Islamic-Oriental in Mussulman Spain and the exact nature of the Hispano-Arabic uneven cultural and vital mingling which triumphed there with time, ballasted inexorably the possibilities of vital and cultural Arabization of Christian Spain. If in three centuries the Spanish Islamites had not dilapidated their pre-Moslem temperamental heritage completely, and the theological thought and philosophical concepts of the Orient had only found a limited echo in Al-Ándalus and even the most Arabized and most educated peninsular

Mussulmans were discovering in their very flesh their own Hispanism and even felt conscious of their Westerness —Ibn Hazm wrote: «My fault is that my Orient is the West»—, one will have to tone down the disproportionate conclusions that have been deduced from the parallel Hispano-Islamic and Hispano-Christian. The parallel is very tempting, but it is very risky and dangerous, as is always the case when comparing different peoples and different cultures. Ortega y Gasset has said that in history «the equality of two ideas does not mean anything: it is necessary... to prove the effective influence of one upon the other». The same reflections upon the Koran, which it is said, moved 'Umar to order the destruction of the library of Alexandria, were formulated in relation to the Bible by Wycliffe seven centuries later. The Nafadis attributed supernatural virtues to the princes Fātamids as the Gallic clerics attributed it to the Capetian kings. The same thought coined in the sonnet: «'My God, it does not move me to love you» had been thought 400 years before by an African Sufi. No one will dare to imagine that the English heresiarch took his inspiration from the Mussulman Caliph, nor that the Kings of France imitated the sovereigns of Egypt nor that the Spanish poet plagiarized the Islamic mystic on the other side of the Strait. Nor can one admit that the French Descartes took the central idea of his philosophy from the African Saint Augustine, although the latter had already formulated in the 5th century the *cogito, ergo sum* of Descartes, nor that Sartre has taken his ideas on man and human freedom from Ortega because they coincide with the ideas of the eminent Hispanic thinker.

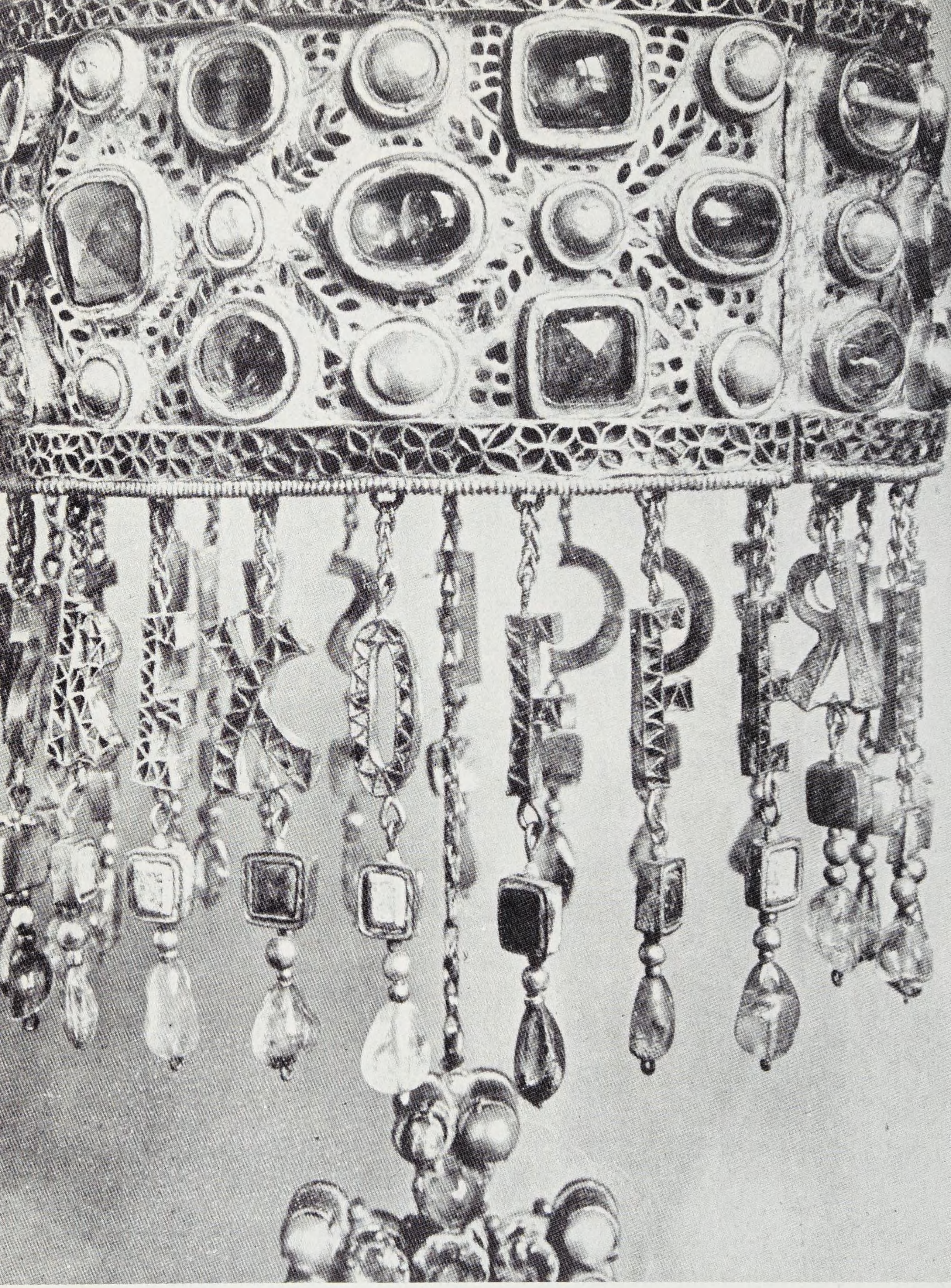
The similarities of the forms of life of two human communities are at times the fruit of the parallelism between two synchronic stages of development, of the casual coincidence between two vital styles or of the autonomous derivation from common distant roots, and do not always imply, therefore, a genetic filiation, not even a more or less intense interference.

The Andalusian Alfaquies and Sufis just as the Castilian clerics realized prayers *ad petendam pluviam* and nevertheless, who will run the risk of believing that the ones imitated the others? The eager request for rains from the omnipotence of the Most High by the Moors and the Spanish Christians, derived, by separate ways, from practices of primitive Christianity, in their turn rooted in cults anterior to Christ and to Mohammed.

Rigorous ascetics existed at one time in Spanish Christianity and Islam; around both there existed pious legends; they attributed similar miracles to saints and to dervishes, and no one will decide to connect directly the Sufis of the South with the miracle workers of the North. The Christianization of Islam in the Orient explains their approximations.

Between the Islamic *futuwwa* and the Christian knight-errantry there were many points of contact, no one has yet determined the chronological priority of any of the two, but in any case, who will dare derive the Spanish knight of the Middle Ages from Arabic models? Who will dare

23.—*Interior* of the Hispano-Gothic church of *San Pedro de la Nave (Zamora).* In the seventh century, the epoch of its construction, belief had already an enormous social and political force in Gothic Spain. According to Saint Valery, so many lay people were ingressing into monasteries that the dukes asked the king to prohibit such professions because, otherwise, there would not remain any recruits for the army.



24.—As on the temples of all Gothic kings, the crown tottered on those of Recceswinth to whom we owe the *Lex Visigothorum* or *Fuero Juzgo.* The throne was an abundant fountain of power and wealth and the factions struggled to domineer it. And Recceswinth offered the Almighty a votive crown, because the intermingling of the terrestrial and the celestial required that the princes hand over their jewels to a church *(Archeological Museum, Madrid). Votive Crown of Recceswinth.*

25.—*The central Range of the Picos de Europa (Asturias, Santander).* At the foot of this gigantic natural fortress rising a few kilometers from the Cantabrian Sea, the Asturians and the Cantabrians fought against Rome, already the Queen of the world. In one of the entrances of such a fortress in Covadonga, Pelayo (722) resisted the Moslems who already dominated from India to the Atlantic. Therefore, Spain was born under its protection.

26.—*The primitive part of the mosque of Cordova.* It was constructed by Abd al-Rahman I, after 780 and over the old church of Saint Vincent. All the emirs and caliphs beautiful and enlarged it in competition with each other. At the end of the tenth century, Almanzor achieved the last of its enlargements. The revolutions and the caliphal crisis that caused his dictatorship initiated the detention of that creating process. It served as a model for African mosques; some Fatimi Egyptian ones, for example.

find Islamic roots in the Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha?

It is very dangerous to see summer in a single swallow and to deduce disproportionate psychological consequences from phrases or words in which ordinarily we should only see customs without profound roots in the structure of life of one nation. While European people greet you with the wish, in the singular, for a good day, afternoon or a good night, we, Spaniards, wish good days, good afternoons, good nights. Will it not be risky to conclude from this linguistic way that we are the most generous people of Europe because we wish happiness in the plural?

There are some natural products and some manufactured objects of very remote origin which have in Spanish a name of Arabic origin. Is it permissible to deduce from such a reality their introduction in Spain by Oriental Mussulmans? For example, we would have to attribute to them the teaching of the making of oil to peninsular people.

All these dangers render the venture of comparing Hispano-Moslem and Hispano-Christian very arduous and difficult. Nevertheless, dozens of students have carried out such a comparison happily and with confidence. Their conclusions oscillate between the negation and the hypertrophy of the role played by what is Arabic in the formation of what is Hispanic. I have never felt hostility toward the theses of the Arabists on the influence of Islamic-Spanish in Hispano-Christian —I have gathered their theories in *España Musulmana.* But those who have considered the most attractive features of the Spanish vital contexture as a heritage from Islam have never succeeded in convincing me.

No one has denied and no one can deny that the presence of Islam in the Peninsula has left clear traces in the Spanish language and customs. It is difficult to determine the depth of such impressions. It seems certain to me today that the framework of the influences of Arabic in the Hispanic language and life is more ample, thanks to the most recent investigations. But it does not seem less certain that one must extraordinarily limit the area of such influences.

I cannot nor do I want to give an opinion about the objections that Romanists and Arabists have raised against the projections which, the last scholar who has compared Hispano-Arabic and Hispano-Romanic, has attributed to the linguistic contacts of Spansih Christians and Islamites.

Spitzer sustains that the majority of the expressive pseudomorphoses or parallelisms attributed to Oriental origin, proceed from Romanic roots. His criticism has been accepted by eminent philologists.

Nykl reduces to more than half the number of Spanish words of Arabic origin, which had been numbered, hyperbolically, in some 2.000. He denies that *hijodalgo* can derive from *ibn al-jums;* real from *aryal;* «viajó todo su día» from *ibn al-ayyan...* He does not admit that the Portuguese personal infinite can be connected with Arabic forms of thought. He disagrees about the Arabic etymologies of *vergüenza, pala-*

cio... He maintains that some expressions considered as pseudomorphosis from Arabic appear in non Semitic languages. He rectifies the logical sequence which has been established for the various meanings of «nuevas», and thus determines it: 1) an event; 2) information divulged about it; 3) the matter is converted in a topic for talks and tales. He rejects as disproportionate or hyperbolical the consequences deduced from the adaptation by peninsular people of some Arabic forms of expression. In various constructions, Nykl says, that the verbs *amanecer, anochecer* and other similar verbs have lost their temporal aspect and simply mean to be or to become.

I limited myself to demonstrate that *hijodalgo* did not derive from *ibn al-jums.* The author who imagined such a derivation and insisted on maintaining it has finally recognized his error. Today he maintains that it proceeds from the Hebrew *ben tovim.* His new theory is even less fortunate than the old one, which I hope to demonstrate. When the expression *hijo d'algo* arose, at the latest in the first part of the 12th century, it is impossible that the Castilians should adopt from the Jews, who were few among them, the name with which to qualify the noblemen. *Fijodalgo* would be equivalent to *hijo de bien,* such expression could refer to the new noblemen having arrived at the dignity of *infanzón* (ancient nobleman) by royal concession in virtue of their *bienes, bienes* that would permit them to serve in war on horseback —such was the case, for example, of the Knights of Castrojeriz, converted into infanzones by Count García Fernández. It would thus have been a derogatory denomination applied originally to those who entered the noble hierarchy suddenly through their *algos.* It would have opposed the noblemen by birth —sons of their fathers, infanzones, to the noblemen by privilege— sons of their wealth, sons of their *algo.* The expression may have passed to Hebrew, not vice versa.

These flaws of the last thesis about the linguistic contacts between Hispano-Moslem and Hispano-Christian make me doubt the accuracy of all the hyperbolic affirmations of the same author about adoptions, acceptances and imitations of Arabic practices among the peninsular peoples. He is not alone in attributing a Moslem origin to the habitual use of the baths by peninsular peoples during the Middle Ages. Torres Balbás also accepts such heritage. I tend to believe today that Hispanic Moors and Christians bathed following Roman practices or, better still, Mediterranean. It is forgotten that in Arabia there was no water, not even to water the horses, as I have pointed out in studying the origins of Mussulman horsemanship. The whole Peninsula had been filled with Roman baths, including the most Northern regions of Spain, in Asturias and in Galicia; in the primitive land of the kingdom of Oviedo there are remnants of them in Gijón, the Isla (Colunga), Puelles (Valdediós) and Beloña. It is doubful that the use of these baths would completely stop with the Germanic invasion or with the Mussulman conquest. Through

The Dove's Ring by Ibn Hazm, we know today that the Cordovans of the beginning of the 11th century continued bathing in the Roman baths of the city, still adorned by the old statues. A long time ago, I have demonstrated in my *Estampas de la vida en León hace mil años* that the kings, noblemen, monks and even the people bathed in Asturias and Galicia, in regions where the Mussulman influence never reached and before it could have been efficacious. It is a fact that in the palace of Oviedo of Ramiro I (824-850), in the Naranco, the baths were under the chamber of the throne.

During the Middle Ages not only were there baths in the peninsular cities —Ruiz Moreno has studied them— but also in the cities on the other side of the Pyrenees. In France during the 13th century, they bathed in the noble castles and the bourgeoisie also bathed and even the common people. In Paris, there were 26 houses of public baths, where one could take steam or lukewarm baths, by paying an insignificant number of denarii. The people who frequented such houses got to be so numerous that they ended up by forming a guild of bathhouse owners whose rules have been preserved until today. Some French literary works —*Les trois channoinesses de Cologne, Le Prête et la Dame*— describe the uses and abuses of the baths in France. A Latin poet of Erfurt, those of the bath houses in some Germanic cities. And those customs on the other side of the Pyrenees lasted until the sunset of the Middle Ages, as various pages of François Villon among others prove. I dare believe that no one will attribute an Arabic origin to them.

Following Mediterranean and not Arabic practices —I insist on the lack of water in the craddle of Islam— Spanish Mussulmans and Christians must have also bathed the dead. They used to do it in regions so far North in the Peninsula —on the shores of the Galician rivers— and so saturated with pagan traditions and practices, that it is difficult to attribute that strange mortuary rite to the Islamic influence. It is a fact that it also happened in France since we know that young girls of Breton nobility washed Gilles de Rais' corpse, condemned to be burned because of his demonic arts, but who out of consideration for his high ancestry was hanged and not burned.

I also suspect that many of the civilities that are still used in Spain and in Moorish lands can have a very remote Mediterranean origin or may have crossed the Strait with the Spanish Mussulmans and Christians who, saturated with temperamental Hispanicism, passed to Africa many times, from the Revolution of Arrabal of 817 until the end of the Hispano-Islamic history; these emigrations deserve a book. I think it is probable that many of the devout and pious expressions or phrases of more or less similar use among Mussulmans and peninsular people, could come from the adoption by the Moslems of some old Christian sayings, when Islam extended to countries Christianized before or during the sub-

sequent Christianization of Islam, studied by Asín. The Hispanic «to the peace of God» and the Islamic *al-salam'alayq* (peace be with you) can proceed, for example, from expressive formulas prior to the propagation of Islamism. Other similar expressions can have the same origin. The ancient and medieval use of such pious or courteous expressions has not been investigated. We must not forget the customary and linguistic conservatism of peninsular peoples. Let us recall that at the end of the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th the Spanish Mussulmans continued to be bilingual, that is to say, they continued to speak the Romance language. People who keep their native tongue four centuries after the Moslem invasion, could well have kept old phrases and courteous and pious gestures. Many of them have been used and are used outside the Arabic and the Spanish worlds.

Practices and customs have had a very long life through the centuries. The torture that the Cid inflicted upon the Cadi of Valencia at the end of the 11th century was of pre-Roman origin. In a book of anecdotes of the 16th century, we read: «Persius in his 6.th Satire mentions the game *'I give it to you alive'*. Horatio mentions the *odd-even* game (and the wedge game).» Martial mentions movements with the fingers —one of them with an obscene meaning— which continue to be used today. A rattling noise with the fingers, also cited by Martial, continues and was known already in the court of Ninive.

We should not increase the volume of the linguistic and customary loans made by the Hispano-Christians, borrowed from the Hispano-Mussulmans and much less deduce from them disproportionate conclusions about the psychological and vital impact of what is Islamic on what is Spanish. The customary and linguistic loans of Arabic Spain in Romanic Spain are minimal, compared with those taken from France and Italy in the course of the same 10th to 17th centuries when Mussulmans and Christians co-lived. They are no more than borrowings that could not alter the processes of conscience nor the mechanism of the sensibility of peninsular people. How many foreign words have been incorporated into the patrimony of modern Castilian, how many pseudomorphoses of French, English or German origin can be discovered in the tongue that we, today's Spaniards speak, how many strange customs we have accepted and practice every day, without, for that reason, having altered our functional structure to adapt it to that of the peoples from where they have been taken or imitated!

We have come to the essential question which causes the confrontation of Hispano-Moslem and Hispano-Christian. The greater or lesser number of words or linguistic turns of Arabic origin and the greater or lesser number of customs of Oriental tradition accepted by the peninsular people concerns us as a mere indication of another more serious problem: the greater or lesser Arabization of the Spanish vital contexture. Here is the great question mark which forces us to meditate upon the contacts between

what is Islamic and what is Christian upon the bull-like skin of Spain.

I have rejected elsewhere the idea that the Spanish Christians adopted an attitude of submission and marvel before the Mussulmans. Only during the second half of the 10th century did Spanish Christianity live marvelled and submissive before Al-Ándalus. Both attitudes did not occur together either before or after. From the days of Silo and Mauregato to those of Ferdinand and Isabel, never, except during the decadence of the kingdom of León and the triumphant period of the Cordovan Caliphate, did the Christians of Spain live mediatized by the Spanish Islamites. The word marvel poorly describes the attitude that the men of the Christian North adopted before the Hispano-Mussulman civilization after the great political crisis of Moslem Spain. Marvel? No. Appraisal and esteem, because that period coincided with a rising period of Western culture and with an increasing influence of what is on the other side of the Pyrenees in the South, and peninsular Christianity could anchor its devotions and fervors in Western Christianity. The gradual projection of the thought, letters, the art and the life on the other side of the Pyrenees in the Christian kingdoms of Spain beginning with the 11th century, first offset the influence there of the Moslem of the South, and rapidly ended up by overcoming it. To prove this statement is easy. Anyone who knows the thought, the letters and the arts of medieval Spain cannot doubt it, and neither can anyone who has visited Spanish cities like Oviedo, Compostela, León, Burgos, Soria, Segovia, Ávila or Salamanca.

The life of the peninsular Islamites never imposed itself totally upon Spanish Christianity. The impact of what is Arabic on Spanish occurred at very concrete times of the history of Spain, which have been pointed out. It was limited to very small areas of the Peninsula —minimal to the North or the Central Range, nil at the north of the Range Cantabrian-Asturian—; and at no time and in no place did it ever have the depth and the extent given by the last scholar comparing Hispano-Mussulman and Hispano-Christian. I will insist upon the theme many times in the course of this book.

Even though the debt of peninsular Christianity to the Moslems be great, it only shows sporadic and passing influences which do not involve any spiritual colonization. It is the result of a simple contact of culture, one more in the history of Europe and of humanity and not among the most effective nor profound ones.

Only with one's back to historical reality can one state that the Spanish Christians imitated the Islamites and fought against them «from the very vital posture that the Mussulmans had imposed, that is to say, from within a belief, a belief in an unearthly power». Neither the Moslems could impose their vital posture to their permanent enemies who, in the end, were their victors, nor could the latter have stopped living, during the medieval centuries under the dome of the belief in an unearthly power, even if the Mohammedans had never crossed the Strait. Who

dares to believe that Hispanic Christianity owed to Islam its faith in the powers of the other world? Who will be able to believe that to adopt Hispano-Arabic ideas, techniques, forms of literary or artistic expression, fashions, customs... the Christian Spaniards needed to accept the vital contexture of the peninsular Mussulmans?

Years after writing *Spain in its History,* the author has annulled, in truth, the greater part of his theories about the outcome of the supposed symbiosis Islamic-Hispanic. I cannot keep silent the words with which he destroys his previous thesis.

The enormous differences which separate the functional contextures of the Spanish and the Arabs have been recognized. In his *Ensayo de historiología,* he has written: «In spite of the occasional similarities that we find between Arabs and Spaniards, both peoples were very differently situated and they took different directions within the structure of life in which are integrated the activity of the mind and the conscience of the totality of the person and of the which world surrounds it.»

«The distinct direction of the vital movement led the Mussulmans and the Hispano-Christians towards opposite courses.»

«When the Moor expressed the conscience of his living —he says— it appeared as seeing itself flow, as being taken through a world also flowing, and without stable firmness.» «The life of the person (among the Islamites) disseminates through the world about, and connects sensibly with what it sees and touches.» «The Mussulman feels himself in things.» «The direction of his vital interest urged the Arab to pour himself in the object exterior to him.» «The importance that the Spaniard conceded to the person as one of the poles of his existence, had led him, on the other hand, to make of the former a center of attraction and of reference for what exists in and around him. Thus, there is a kind of imperialism of the person.» «The point of departure for the Mussulman was his belief that he was a constant work of God in what is greatest and smallest; on the other hand, the Spaniard mixed the high and the low in order to encompass all that is possible of the vital range of the person.»

«The Hispano-Christians were not integralists in the same way as the Hispano-Mussulmans. These cultivated intellectual activities and techniques which the Christians ignored or disdained.» «Having travelled and lived in countries different from theirs, as much or more than other European peoples, the Spaniards' travel literature is extremely limited.» «On the other hand, the Arabs were interested in the dscription of their land and of other lands; their travel literature is abundant and valuable.»

«Arabs and Spaniards conjugate the verb *amanecer* in the first person and say «yo amanezco»; nevertheless the conscience of the person who speaks is more accentuated in «yo amanezco» than in the corresponding Arabic expression.» «The adoption of that Arabic way of speaking *(amanezco* or *anochezco)* adjusted itself more to the Castilian feeling of the

value of the very person.» «The Spaniard does not let himself be carried by the *amanecer* or the *anochecer,* but he incorporates them to himself.»

«The Mussulman feels himself in things: the Hispano-Christian feels things in him.» «The peculiar function of his structure of life consists (for the Spaniard) in bringing the world to him, not in dissolving himself in his contacts with the world.» «For the Mussulman everything was reduced to letting himself live in the will of Allah; for the Spaniard the 'whatever God wants' certainly was very important, but almost as imperative as the will of God was 'what *I* want' for him.» «The Spaniard combined the homage to his person with the worship of God»

«The Arab does not conceive that a person would forge his own personality in connection with that of other men.» «The epic, the novel and the drama manifest the importance given (by the Spaniards) to all that concerns the person. In this, as in the representation of the human person, Spaniards have been extremely genial. The Mussulman, on the other hand, has not possessed, nor has had to build an epic, nor a novel like Cervantes, nor dramas in the style of Lope de Vega, nor paintings like Velázquez or Goya, considering that he has existed within the will of God and without confronting his person with that of God... his narrative literature is limited to 'relating' how the events flow, events in the midst of which glides the flow of life of their persons.»

Can there be a contraposition and a confrontation more absolute between the functional structures of the two peoples than the one mentioned about the ways of being in life of the Hispano-Christians and of the Hispano-Mussulmans?

Against the approximation Spaniards-Islamites stands all that we know of them. It is certain that the first ones lived with all their being, since we see them firm in their progress along the path of life, conscious of their value and of the imperiousness of their person and capable of bringing the world to it and of confronting it with those of their peers and even with God. Can it be said that those who let themselves go in the will of Allah lived with all their being, people who disolved in the contacts with the world, who did not conceive that anyone could forge his own personality in connection with other peoples, who saw the flow of life glide in the midst of the events?

I do not even guess how from the imprecise, fluid, unstable vital contexture centered in the will of God of the Mohammedans could derive the rigid, firm, dynamic functional structure, centered in the will of the person, of the peninsular Christians. It is impossible to explain the historical process which could produce the miracle of leading from Mussulman integralism to the Spanish by way of the symbiosis, the graft or mingling.

2. Meaning and Origin of what is «Centauric»

The idea expressed by the word «centaurism» is and is not new. It is not new, because for centuries there have been talks in Spain and outside of the great «personality» of the Spaniards. In that word, many different concepts were locked under pressure. They are all connected with extroversion, the explosive temperament, the exalted subjectivism, the passional vehemence... of the Spaniards. Western literature is saturated with allusions and judgments —not all of them benevolent— about that complex and at the same time unitarian characterization of the sons of Spain. It has always been so ever since each people began to know and judge their neighbors. The invention of the odd word used in the title of these pages is extremely new and so is the concrete formulation of the centauric and its connection with what is Islamic-Oriental. The importance of the cultural and vital projections of Spanish centurism forces me to bring it to task here.

One has improperly called centauric style «the existential disposition of those who connect their lives with the products of their spirits», «the mixing of the expression of the intimate experiences of the person with the expression of what is imagined or thought». In those who use it: «The attempt to express the object of the observation or thought is entangled with the expression of the simultaneous swell of the intimate experience.» «Between them and their accounts is established a vital connection; the objectivized narrations which serve as sources are changed, by them, in human actions, and include in their works, their own working»

It has been stated that within this scheme of vital expression is found the best and the worst of Spanish letters. And it is not a phenomenon which can be restricted to the sphere of art but it transcends all the life of the Spaniards and is manifested in their scientific work, in their oratory, in their conversations. It would, therefore, be something more than a mere literary projection.

Among the Centauric has been included the projection of what is real, vulgar and even base in literary works.

It is important to unfold the themes unjustly mixed with the Centauric. Let us leave for later the problem of realism. It is fitting to separate it from that entanglement of any attempt to express observations or thoughts, with the expression of the simultaneous swell of the intimate experience of the author, because the intimate experience of the scientist, artist, philosopher or writer can refer to his pure projection in the world about or of the world about him —realism— or transcend the fruit of his introspection, the creations of his fantasy and even his metaphysical leaps.

The number of the testimonies of the centauric connections could easily be increased. No human group of those that form the national complex

of Spain ceased to show a great tendency to centaurism. Of the Catalan Raymond Lully, it has been said that, obssessed with himself, he did not know how to speak of anything that was not related to himself or his life; in another chapter of this work his centauric projections will be proven. Juan Marichal has just pointed out how the Galician —by birth and by temperamental condition— Gutierre Díaz de Gámez, chronicler of Don Pero Niño, placed himself in the middle of his chronicle with all his being and at each step he felt his own ego being involved in his historical account. Those overflows of life into literature probably contributed to the flourishing in Spain of the modern novel, they could have caused the early appearance of the author in them as one more character of the poetic fiction: appearance that can be documented in *La lozana andaluza,* published in 1528, and perhaps also the early conversion of some fictitious characters into real characters endowed with vital authenticity.

It is not possible, however, to establish the Arabic origin of that singularity of the Hispanic forms of literary expression.

I confess that I do not succeed in understanding how the supposed faith of the Mussulman in his continued submission to the divine will, because of his lack of free will, and his supposed conviction that he could not create firm and objective structures, could intensify his own conscience to the point of making him overflow in his literary and artistic works. It seems more logical that those who have faith in their own creative power and in their own human strength to decide their own destiny, would feel the hypertrophy of their own consciences. The conviction of impotence and of insignificance before a God in ambush, upon whose will depends the course of life in each instant, without man and nature being able to count as possible «secondary causes» can lead more to the discouragement of the soul than to the exaltation of the individual self; it can be more the cause of inaction, indolence, quietism, the letting oneself go along the paths of fate than the haughty vital reaction implicit in the hypertrophy of the personal human conscience and the collective conscience. The very author of *Spain and its History* has come to think thus, since years after writing it, he has outlined the sharp and violent contrast between the Mussulman and the Spaniard mentioned a little while ago. It is difficult to reconcile these affirmations with what is centauric: «When the Moor expressed the conscience of his life it appeared as seeing itself flow, as being taken through a world also flowing, and without stable firmness.» «For the Mussulman everything was reduced to letting himself live in the will of Allah.»

Let it be mentioned to what degree it is dangerous to consider that ideas, doctrines, concepts formed in the Orient were in force in Mussulman Spain. The differences which separated vitally and culturally the Spanish Moslems from the Oriental Moslems were not small. *The Dove's Ring* enables us to discover in its author Ibn Hazm, and in his contempor-

aries, many temperamental traits different from those that characterized at that time the other Islamite peoples and a vital contexture related to the one peculiar to Spaniards before and after Islam. Some of those temperamental traits precisely refer to the hypertrophy of the individual self, which at times reaches obsession with self, which is translated in the warmth of humanity placed by Ibn Hazm in his work and which is projected in his frequent autobiographical confessions, less times tending to support his reflections upon love than born from intimate and uncontrollable vital overflows.

In the end, this is Hispanic Centaurism, characterized by an overflow of human vitality which is poured into the literary work, the work of art, the philosophical work, the scientific work, the discourse, the talk... A vital overflow capable of breathing action in any cold objective account, of seeking man —with all the vital charge that can be given to the term— behind the most abstract philosophical theory. That projection of human vitality does not necessarily reflect upon pure objective concretions, but it transcends, frequently, to emanations of the spiritual power or of the emotive or passional forces of the self, as many of the examples of centaurism prove, which can be gleaned from Hispanic authors of all time, even from Unamuno and Ortega y Gasset, for example.

In proof of the Arabic origin of the Centauric style, has been alleged the relationship which is supposed to exist between the Centauric forms of expression of Ibn Hazm and the Archpriest and between those of Ibn 'Arabi and Berceo. This allegation is invalid as I will demonstrate later; neither Ibn 'Arabi influenced Berceo, nor Ibn Hazm, the Archpriest and the centaurism of Ibn Hazm and of Ibn 'Arabi could have been of pure Hispanic origin. If, as I have maintained and as García Gómez maintains now, Ibn Hazm, without a drop of Arab blood, was existentially Spanish to the marrow, it is obvious that the overflows of his integral ego in his literary or philosophical production could not derive from his Islamic culture but instead from his vital Hispanicism, and if Ibn 'Arabi descended from some Oriental who had come to the Peninsula about 1.500 years before his birth, at the end of such a long time, very few Arabic vital essences were left in him; although he lived under the ideological dome of Islam, he was existentially a Spaniard. His autobiographical notes prove it since his personality is outlined in them with a clarity and a vigor which contrasts with the diluted and floating quality of Islamic existence. His integral Hispanicism makes us discover at each step his pride, passion, intolerance, venturesome spirit, his vital exaltation; I refer to the biography outlined by Asín.

Because of the weakness of the two rejected allegations, in support of the Arabic origin of the centauric style, passages from *Las praderas de oro* of Al-Mas'udi and a treatise of Ibn Sina (Avicena) have been brought in: *Sobre la congelación y aglutinación de las piedras.* It has been pointed

out that none of the two authors owed anything to the Hispanic temperamental tradition. Not only nothing less than the historicity of the Spanish epic is connected with those forms of expression of both —I will reject such a thesis later— but a chapter is devoted to proving that «The learned Spaniards expressed themselves in a form that recalls Avicena».

I am surprised that one has not considered the impossibility of reconciling the methods of historic-scientific asseveration of Al-Mas'udi or of Ibn Sina (Avicena) with the vital overflows projected in their works by Ibn Hazm, Ibn Quzmān, Ibn Jaldun and some other Hispano-Mussulman authors of exalted personality, nor with the ones projected in their works by the Archpriest of Hita and all the other Spanish authors who fall into the sin or practice the virtue of centaurism! Al-Mas'udi and Ibn Sida try to affirm their information —always disconnected— on strange and very unlikely phenomena of the nature or the life of men or of animals, with the assurance of their own personal knowledge of the same or with the information of witnesses worthy of trust. This asseverating the truth of an event, infrequent and totally unlikely, by means of one's own testimony or consigning the direct or indirect assertion of those who have witnessed it, has nothing to do with the tendency of peninsular people to sing about recent historical events in their epic poems, or to incorporate in their literary or artistic creations the same creative vital process or to place in their philosophical or scientific works autobiographical overflows which do not serve to guarantee their allegations.

Al-Mas'udi, for example, describes in an anecdotic way an event which ends with the strange sleeping of a mule between camels and another in which oxen get on their knees like camels, and declares that he had known about the first one from a friend and that he had witnessed the second one himself. Avicena asseverates through his personal experience the strange solidification of a strange clay and the fall of a meteor. How to connect the asseveration by the two Oriental authors of such surprising events with the confidences of his spiritual intimacy which frequently escape the Islamized Spaniard, Ibn Hazm, with the vigorous sentiment of the self that another Hispanic Mussulman, Ibn Tufayl describes in *El filósofo autodidacto*, with the union of the poetic and vulgar in «Cantar del Mío Cid», wiht the projection of the «man» Berceo and of the «man» Juan Ruiz in their own literary creations, with the peeping of Delicado or Cervantes as fictitious characters into the pages of *La lozana andaluza* or of the *Quijote*, with Velázquez' taking to the canvas of the «Meninas» his very pictorial task or with the continuous personal projections of Unamuno or Ortega y Gasset in their philosophical or literary essays? It is not even possible to connect with the cited testimonies of Al-Mas'udi and Ibn Sina, the vital overflows of Nebrija, who declares that he composed his timetables to free himself of a friar's impertinences, of Fernández de Oviedo who notes the painful memories aroused in him in reading a

passage of Mejía, or of Laguna who relates the cure of his insomnia with henbane.

The Orientals being used to give free rein to their fantasy in the account of any event and to the hyperboles in their eulogy of men —for something did Cervantes qualify the Moors as tricksters—, they were well aware of their own and others' tricks and fables. To guarantee the reality of events, which, in spite of their legendary appearance, did not deserve such blame, or to attest the authenticiy of events really fabulous, they attempted to garantee the credibility of their information: the historians through the *isnab* or chain of testimonies which went back to the first narrator; the scientists, philosophers and pure literary men, through the ingenuous and simplistic means of Al-Mas'udi, Avicena and many others. How can one root in such methods of asseveration, born as antidotes for the deluges of Oriental fantasy, the historicity of the Spanish epic from which comes its verism, or the vital overflows of the Spanish artists, the writers or the scientists who, obsessed with themselves, project their integral self in their artistic, literary, philosophical or scientific creations?

They are two different psychological and contradictory processes. The first one responds to a defensive posture of the mind; the second is the child of impetus. One implies the intimate conviction of the possible going astray of the imagination and is born of doubt; the other derives from the Hispanic vital impetuosity which cannot be limited by the walls of the pure artistic creation or of the pure scientific construction. The Islamite slides in Arabesque from the subjective to the objective, fearful and insecure, as if dragged by an external force and desirous of securing the foundations upon which his thought rises. The impetuosity which sometimes pushes the Spaniard to hysteria, when it does not go into the channels of adventure —any of the many genres of adventures at times neither noisy nor solemn— tortures him in such a way and swells up the sails of his emotive or passional powers in such a manner, that it leads him to project his person vitally in his works. If in Islam it is not fitting to lead a conspicuous existence, in Spain existing is a continuous overflow of energies. Vague floating and exaltation of the ego, here are the two opposed and contradictory processes of Islamic-Hispanic.

The Hispanic centauric extends its roots to the temperamental heritage of the pre-Islamic Spaniards. It is nourished by the juices that come from passionate pride, aggressive impetuosity and the energetic dynamism of the first dwellers of Spain. It is connected with the exalted cosmic vitality of the integral man that the *homo hispanus* already was before Christ.

The ego of Seneca exploded many times as a spring and made him put into his works intimate experiences and confessions. Antonio Almagro has gathered many of them: «I saw with my own eyes...»; «I read this with pleasure...»; «I have heard that one of the marvels...»; «Near Caligula I saw...»; «I remember having hear Demetrius say...». Referring to memories of his master Atalo, he confesses, for example: «Ever since

that time I have renounced oysters for life...»; «Ever since then and for life I have renounced baths...». He introduces his own personality in his works with frequency.

The overflowing personality of Martial and the nervous anxiety of the runner Orosious were also versed centaurically in their works. Differently from what happens to the poet Catullus and the historian Saint Jerome, for example, the two Spaniards frequently entangle the expression of their observations or thoughts with that of the simultaneous swell of their intimate experience. In spite of the backward motion which the symbiosis Romano-Hispanic determined in the «Hispanic fury» —excuse the expression—, Saint Isidore, Saint Valerian and Saint Eugene also at times put their on intimacy into their works. We have said that of all the collaborators of Charlemagne, the Spanish Theodulfus was the one whose personality overflowed the most in his literary work. The overflow of the personality of Agobardo of Lyons, also Spanish, in his writings is notorious. Later, it is possible to observe the authentic literary projection of their egos in Mozarabic authors as Saint Eulogio, strongly rooted in what is traditionally Hispanic.

Men of non Spanish origin have also placed abundant biographical notes in their works, but they were men who felt themselves moved by the same vital impetuosity that has usually moved the Spaniards. Yes, men gifted with an exuberant personality, at times tortured by uncontrollable passions and at times saturated with confidence in their own genius, with an acute consciousness of themselves, people very different among themselves but in whose moral physiognomy what is individual has reached extraordinary preponderance, have felt their existential experience get entangled in the creations of their minds. Benvenuto Cellini, Montaigne, Cardano —already compared by Goethe and again by Dilthey— and many other men not too different, Luther among them, have committed the same centauric sins as the Spaniards.

We must not disdain the similarity of the personal formulas of balance between spirit, emotions and instincts, as generator of temperamental approximations between writers of different kinds and nations. But it is clear that the repetition in the members of a historical community of the same formulas of balance between that trilogy of vital forces —statistics applied to history, although it seems paradoxical— verifies the lasting temperamental tendency which necessarily derives from generic traits rooted in the organic contexture of the people, in a contexture which is connected genetically with the most remote stages of history and which in the course of history, as has been said before many times, has been changing or asserting itself with different rhythms and outcomes.

In the South, where the struggle between Mussulmans and Christians must have been less effective in exalting the primitive temperamental heritage —in the Andalusia, of millenary culture, never as strong and violent as the cruel and rough Hispanic Northerner—, the torrents of

violent dynamism received from the African and Oriental invaders of the 8th century, and the great struggles which the Hispano-Islamic nationalism had to sustain against its dominators during the whole 9th century, must have contributed to fortify the vivacious feeling of the individual ego of the Andalusian Moors.

It is not possible to separate what is cultural from what is vital nor to distinguish in history the political life from the psychic life of the peoples. It is not fitting, therefore, to prescind from temperamental contributions which the Islamized Spaniards received: from pride, impetuosity, the feeling of dignity, the haughtiness, the arrogance, the adamantine spirit... of many of those who had recently come; who did not even have a century of Islamism behind them. Those Bedouins and those Syrians, still not deformed by the religious theories of Islam and whose personality had been hypertrophied by the conquest of the Caliphal empire, as I have mentioned in my *España mulsulmana,* in alluding to the «Contemporaries of Abd al-Rahman I», bequeathed a heritage of exaltation of the individual ego to the pre-Moslem Hispanic people, favorable because of its long history to accept fruitfully the legacy of its conquerors. The cruel struggles which for more than a century, the Muladis or neo-Mussulmans in all the corners of Islamite Spain, maintained with them, must have facilitated the hypertrophy of their own personal conscience, more than help to subdue the exalted passional ego of the peninsular people.

In the North, the centuries of cruel and uninterrupted clashes between Moors and Christians must have accentuated the energetic impetuosity and dynamism of the primitive Spaniards, which the involved juridical administration of Rome, the acceptance of the cultural Greco-Latin patrimony and the contact with the Roman forms of life had only managed to put to sleep, and that the three centuries of Germanic dominion in Spain, before 711, had brought back to life.

While in Oriental Islam, the person was diluted in a floating existence under the determining creative and governing will of Allah, in Christian Spain, during many centuries always on the verge of asphyxia, man, free under the dome of the religious theory which sheltered his daily existence, in order not to perish, had to strengthen his intimate contexture and double his own energies, already strong and vigorous by heritage. Precisely as his prehistoric ancestors, he had to gamble his life frequently in confronting death because of his desire to live in freedom.

Centuries of that dramatic existence had to increase the human vitality of the individual; and at the same time as they dulled his reasoning power they must have exalted his emotive and passional drives. Thus moved by a hypertrophy of the impules, generator of the disorbed action, the Spaniard in his ancient struggle against Islam could not easily curb his torturing dynamism. And when he could not find a channel for his frantic activism and stopped at the literary, artistic, philosophical or

scientific creation, the overflowing strength of his ego escaped him and projected his life into the products of his mind. Here is centaurism. What is centauric which is not isolated in the Spanish historical panorama, as an exotic mountain flower, but which is interwoven with another connected series of passional overflowings into the religious, political, martial, literary, artistic life... in the life of everyday and of every one and in the historical life of the community, which is connected with the inner pressure, of many atmospheres, of the entire man who became a Spaniard, by the work —prodigious and magical work—, of the affirmation, without intervals nor discouragements, of the vigorous explosive ego of the Northern people of Spain, in the course of the harsh battle for their free authentic life, before the dangerous sliding towards not being what they were, under the rule of Islam. We will see the unfolding of the human potential which also penetrated the slight cracks of the Centauric on the way to very different vital horizons.

3. Active life and realism

Many thinkers, historians and politicians —such categories are not always separated— in Spain and in the world have confronted what is usually called Hispanic realism. The interpretations of that characteristic atributed to Spaniards, are extremely numerous. That long series has been increased not long ago. A very new and suggestive theory connects the so-called realism with the temperamental singularity of the peninsular people, and also attributes it, to Islamic heritage. It would be one more fruit of the symbiosis of the Romanic and the Arabic in Spain, a symbiosis from which would have come what is Hispanic. That connection and that origin seem erroneous to me. I have come to conceive of Spanish realism in another way and to explain its historical concretion through paths that seem clear to me.

Among the various concepts, different though related, which are usually qualified with the term «realism», not one of them coincides with «the existential disposition of those who interweave their lives with the products of their spirits», nor with the intervention of the attempts to express human observations or thoughts, through the overflows of the simultaneous swell of the intimate experience: existential disposition and intercrossing of expressive lines which some have called centaurism.

What I believe to be an evident differentiation between centaurism and realism has not been clearly established because it supposes the Spaniard facing reality with an eschatological and personalistic vision. «Reality is (for the Spaniards) what it will be and what it must be, connections without chinks with the given and total existence of the person.» The world is what I hold in my belief and in the firm security of myself and nothing

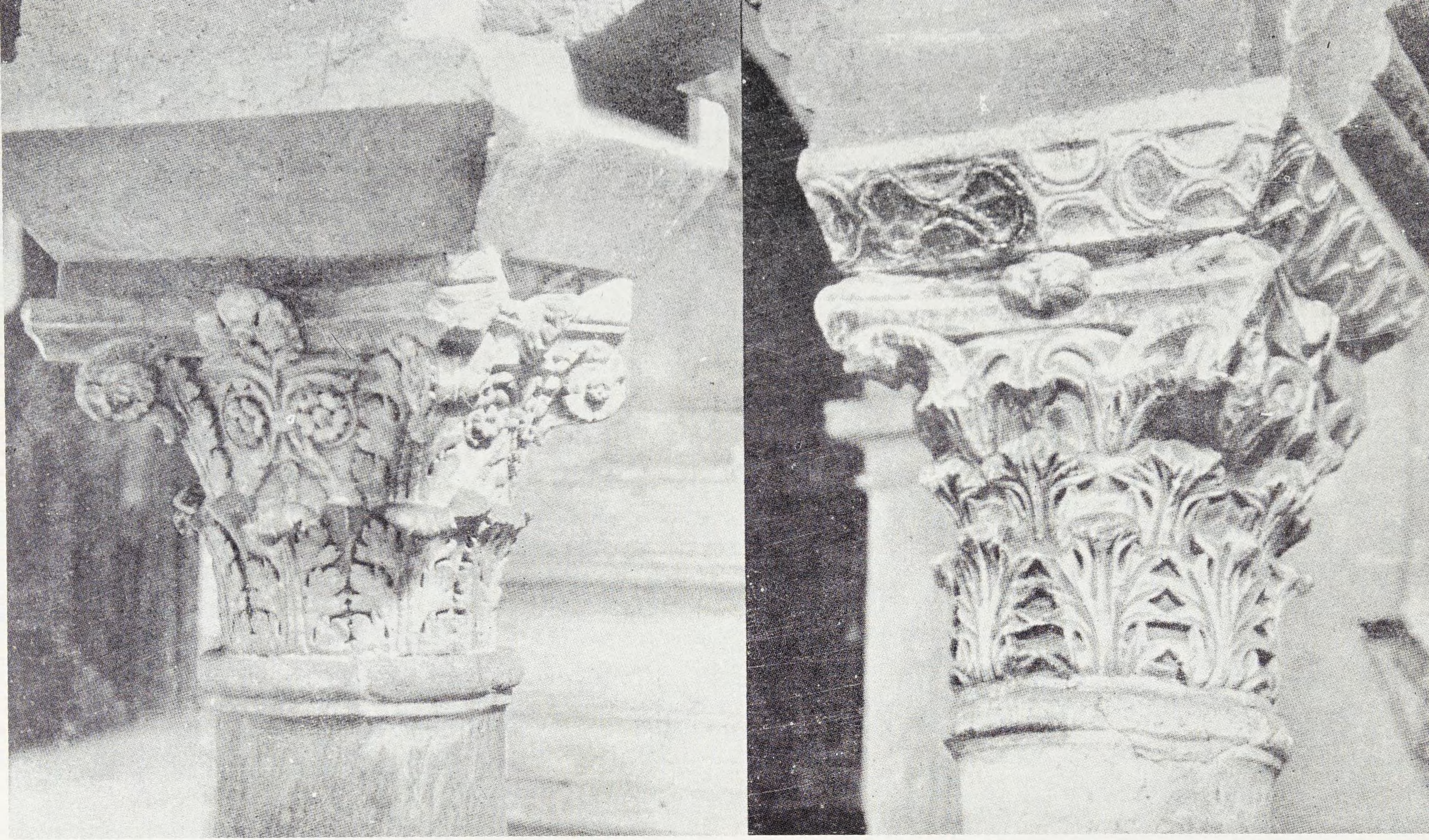
more. The reality of the present is questionable, *hic et nunc,* it does not matter: it is a veil tenuous or thick, which conceals the beyond.

Such a statement projects on Spain theories conceived to explain the spiritual life of other peoples; in this case those of von Soden and Zubiri about the confrontation of reality by the Hebrews and those of Massignon about the attitude of the Islamites before it. Some have considered the Spanish Mussulmans, first, and then the Hispanic Christianity, grasping reality in the same way as those two Oriental Semite peoples.

That supposed eschatological and personalistic vision of reality by Spaniards contradicts obviously, the naturalistic and ingenuous vision that the primitive Spaniards show of man and of things in their works and the Hellenic and Western vision of reality, at the same time theoretical and naturalistic, which logically must have been general in Romanized Spain. Ortega y Gasset has pointed out the extreme difficulties encountered in the mental adoption by the members of a historical community, of ideas conceived by men of other nations and of other times. A priori, we could consider the total change of the traditional confrontation of reality by the peninsular people, suspicious. It would be necessary to surrender before the effectiveness of the exchange if it had ben convincingly proven that the Hispano-Mussulmans and the Hispano-Christians had, in fact, come to possess this eschatological and personalistic vision of the world and of life, peculiar to the Jews and the Islamites.

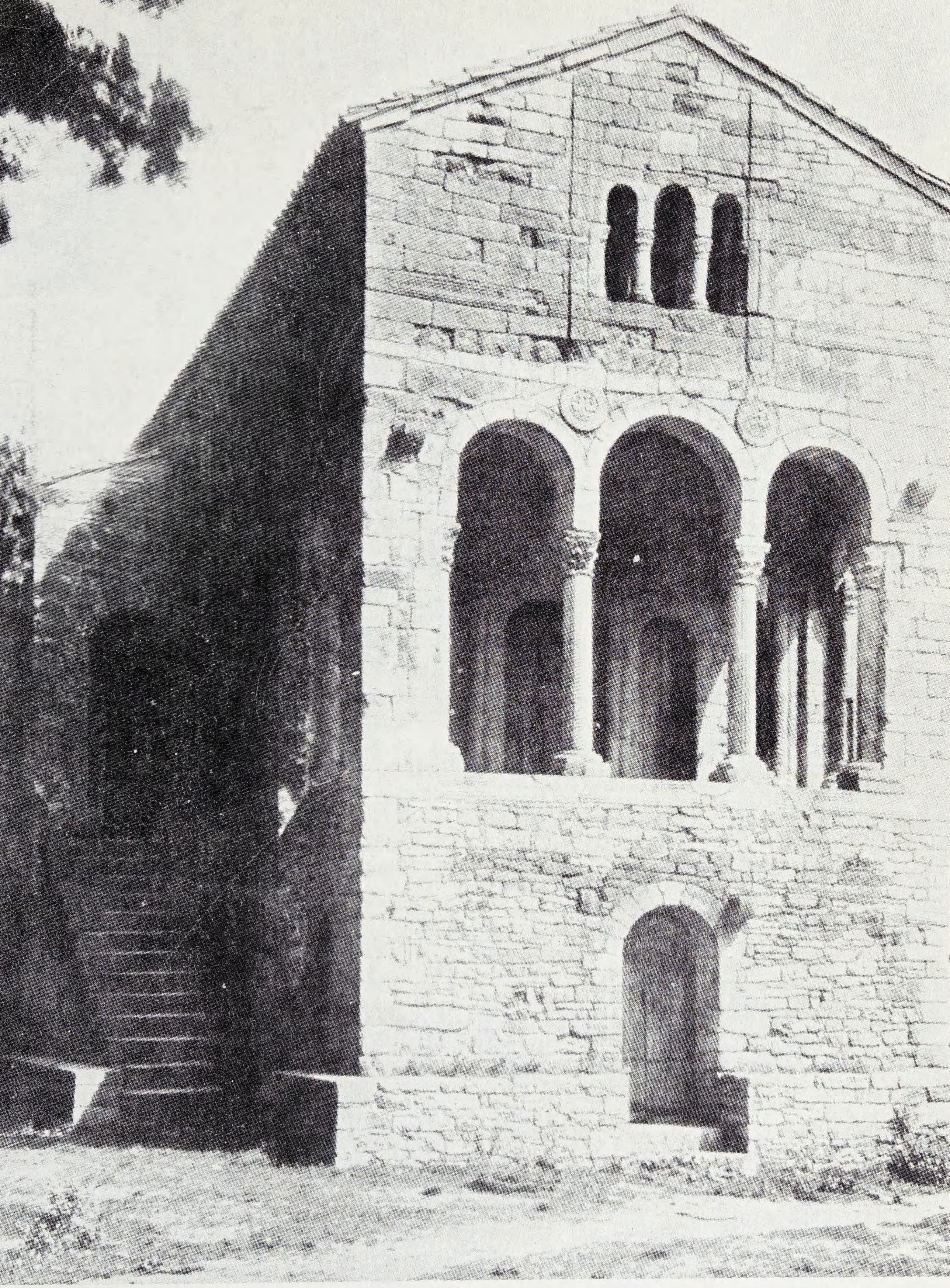
Laín Entralgo has fought the thesis which concerns us from two points of view: «one of the most obvious intellectual consequences of the Hellenic idea of the world —he writes— is the Latin concept of *substantia.* A «substantial» vision of reality... appears rigorously irreconcilable with the supposed eschatological and personalistic attitude of the Spaniards before the world.» To prove such a contradiction, Laín alleges the surprising penetration of the term «substance» and of its derivatives in the Spanish popular language. He also brings to task the grasping of reality by Velázquez and by Zurbarán. «His Hispanic personalism —Laín Entralgo says— did not prevent Velázquez from contemplating reality according to the presence of what it is, in amorous and Suárez-like respect for its existing essence and its substantial existence. For Velázquez reality does not seem to have been only 'what he felt, believed and imagined', but in each case it corresponded to the nature and the substance of the man whom he was painting.» «Here are —he says later— the material objects painted by Zurbarán: those marvelous clay vessels which line up, free, and extremely real upon tho canvas of the Prado... In all European painting —Laín concludes— are there 'things' more clearly limited to what they are in themselves, more faithful to their own 'substance'?»

It has not been proven that the Spaniards faced reality in an eschatological and personalistic manner. In some pages back I have pointed out the «realistic» vision that many Hispano-Mussulmans, authors imbued with *españolía* or Hispanicism —Ibn Hazm, Ibn Quzmān...— had of the

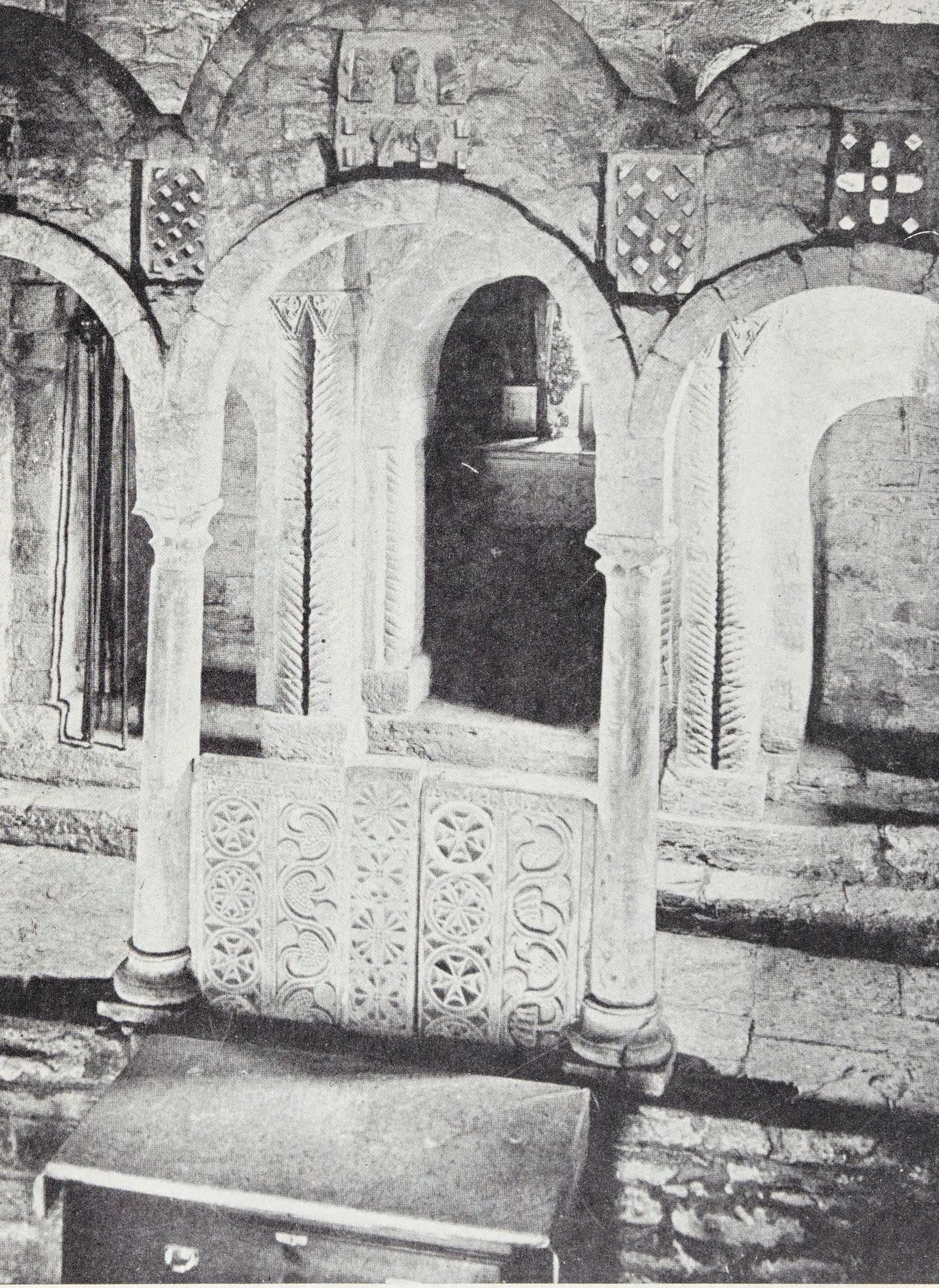


27.—The mosque of Cordova, without precise genealogical setting with Oriental models, has been connected by experts with Hispanic pre-Moslem architecture and its arches have been related with those of the Mérida aqueduct of the Miracles. In it were used, besides, many architectural elements before the Musulman invasion of the Peninsula. Those capitals of pre-Islamic origin serve as examples. *Pre-Islamic Capitels of Mosque of Córdoba.*

28.—*Interior of San Julián de los Prados,* built in the outskirts of Oviedo at the beginning of the 9th century, by Alfonso II the Chaste (791-842), the rescuer of Asturias, friend of Charlemagne and initiator of neo-Gothicism who intented to make of the Oviedo kingdom the continuation of the Toledan one. In «Santullano» the Hispanic provincial tradition and the Carolingian art are joined. The horseshoe arch was perhaps not used because it triumphed among the enemy Islamites.



29.—Palace of Ramiro I (842-850) on the hill of Naranco which dominates the valley where Oviedo rises. It reveals two distinct artistic traditions: one national, Asturian, manifest in the churches of the Chaste King and the other late Roman with influences of the Christian Orient. The grandson of its constructor, the Chronicler King Alfonso III, proud of its arches, declared that there was no similar building in Moslem Spain. *Santa María del Naranco (Oviedo).*



30.—*Santa Cristina de Lena (Asturias)*, a work by the same architect of the Ramiro buildings of Naranco. Its interior, with arches, has the same organization as the large room of the palace of Ramiro. In it they use as railings Visigothic reliefs of the 7th century. Built in the Asturian mountains, it attests the constructive impetus of the small monarchy of Oviedo.

world, of man and of life, and how that realistic vision was generalized among the Spanish Islamic masses, with weak cultural Orientalization, and barely vitally Orientalized. I doubt that the students of Hispanic letters and art will accept that they are based upon a distorted grasp of reality, veiled by the thick gauze which separates the present from the beyond, and in the whimsical confrontation of the same by a personalistic exuberance which ends up by converting it from what it is into what it should be.

We can still go further. Realism of souls and of things permeates the epic account of *the Cid,* the stories of the miracles of Berceo and of the Learned King, the amorous anecdotes of the Archpriest or of Celestina, the novelistic biographies of *Lozana andaluza, Lazarillo,* and the *Hispanic rogues* (pícaros), and the pages of Cervantes and of Lope... would the fictitious characters of Hispanic letters have leaped from their painted state into reality and would they have begun to walk through the streets and the squares of Castile, if their authors had not fashioned them with the clay of the authentic vital reality that was before their eyes? The exigences of a narrow, realistic vision of the world, man and life, led the Spanish writers to strange extremes of interconnection between fiction and reality. They gave aspects of true history to their *Retratos* or *Vidas* —Cervantes in the 9th chapter of Quijote, not only appears as having someone translate the story of the hidalgo, from Arabic, for him, but he records a supposed marginal annotation about the same which read: «that Dulcinea of Toboso... they say that she was really good at roasting pigs.» They presented themselves intervening in the manner of secretarial narrators, in the very course of their novelistic biographies —Delicado did that in the *Mamotretos* XVII, XLVI... of *Lozana andaluza.* Characters of the books claimed for themselves an existence real and literary at the same time. Delicado showed his heroine being conscious of her double personality and Cervantes took the same artifice much further and in the second part of his work he had his characters speak as such characters.

Here is also the realism of Spanish painting, contradicting Castro. «For Velázquez —Lafuente Ferrari writes— the world of art consists in transmitting to us the profound and unique poetry of what is poetry which derives from the flowing of the very existence.»

«The 'naturalism' of Velázquez —says Ortega y Gasset— consists in not wanting things to be more than what they are... he finds it repulsive that man should propose to imagine for things a perfection that they do not posses» «Velázquez... is going to make of the portrait the radical principle of painting...» and «Painting is portrait —he writes—, when it pretends to transcribe the individuality of the object». He had a genial gift «to achieve that painted things, even in their movements, should be «comfortable», because «he presents them in their own movements, in their habitual movements». «Velázquez paints mythologies... But he does not accompany the myth in its flight beyond this world... he seeks the

root of every myth in what we might call its logarithm of reality and that is what he paints...»

Guinard has pointed out many realistic characteristics in Hispanic pictorial art. «We are surprised —he says— by the almost total absence of all that proceeds from imagination and fantasy.» Religious painting —he adds— «looks up to the sky but with feet strongly planted on the earth». He describes how man and things appear in it with extremely veristic details. «It accepts the world as God has wished it including evil, ugliness and death.» «The hams and the pitchers of the innkeeper, the celery, the carrots and the boxes of marzipan which the butler of the convent keeps, we portray all these things with an attention filled with love... We see supernatural realities in the image of our land.» «No painting has expressed the immutable character of each being, the closed world in which it consists, with more intensity, more seriousness and simplicity; no one has refused so vigorously to treat man as a simple particle of the changing universe.»

Here is within reach of anyone who looks into the Hispanic religious imagery, the realism —at times moving, at times cruel and at times tragic— of the bleeding Christs, with grim faces and ruffled hair, of the «Virgins with the Knives» or the virgins with cloaks, and of all the polychromatic sculpture, with plastic tears, authentic clothing and drops of blood, which fill the Spanish churches in particular the Castilian and the Andalusian ones.

When we speak of Hispanic realism we do not refer, obviously, to any kind of philosophical, cognitive, nor to metaphysical realism. We refer to an ingenuous or natural realism which considers man as a being existing among things, exterior to him and different from him, which considers cognizance as the faithful grasping of the beings among which man breathes, which without asking itself if the immediately visible is truly real or not, considers what is perceived as true and reflects it as such, without distorting it subjectively, in its literary artistic or merely human expressions. We also call realism a style of behavior that pretends to limit itself to the dictates of the facts without being guided by the urgings of the so-called ideals. Centaurism and realism must be clearly distinguished. A first confrontation of the two concepts could lead to considering them as two contradictory human attitudes. Hypertrophied consciences and exalted egos which do not succeed in reflecting the fruits of their thought or observation without mixing them with vital intimate overflows, would seem the least qualified for the aseptic grasping of reality and for its accurate subsequent projection in literary or artistic creations or in decisions of the will. It would seem normal that this hypertrophy of the ego, this exaltation of the conscience should succeed in penetrating, subjectively, from the visible exterior to the intelligible interior and that they should reveal the reality, thus grasped, after distorting it again, through the lens of their own personalities.

Nevertheless, centaurism and realism are not contradictory. If centaurism is a vital overflow and reflects an eruptive personality which, of not going along the roads of authentic action, places action in the creations of the spirit and uses the smallest valve of the philosophical scientific, literary or artistic game to let out its exalted and restless vitality, it is fitting to understand that what is centauric and real coincide in the same man and in the same peoples. Because those volcanic and dynamic personalities which thus intervene vitally in the production of the mind: either lack the necessary spiritual quietude to stop to meditate upon the existence of a reality distinct from and superior to the visible one and about the true nature of the knowledge of things by man; or they do not have the necessary tranquility to purify the data of their direct and primary observation by making them go through the filter of their reflection nor to juggle them, transforming them through fantasy, in reflecting them in their works. Although they possess more than the sufficient capacity to reach even to the philosophical attitude anti-being in the consideration of nature and also sufficient leisure for the depuration or deformation of reality to make it pass through the sieve of their talent, they have behind them the pressure of the temperamental heritage of their historic origin and that pressure is translated in vital centauric discharges.

Perhaps the same taught vital springs which caused centaurism led the *homo hispanus* to falling into the singular way of grasping and of expressing reality. Some time ago, Vossler stated that the majority of the authors of the picaresque novels exaggerated and distorted reality by dint of attempting to apprehend it with extreme zeal. Guillermo de Torre remembered that thought of Vossler when he points out how in present neorealism, the writer seems to contemplate the world about with a magnifying glass, so that later, when seen by the reader with the human eye alone, the projections of reality which has been distorted thus, seem monstruous. I do not know if the hypertrophy and the temperamental exaltation of the Spaniards, which irrupted into their attempts to objectivate in ideas or in things the simultaneous swell of their intimate experience, did not determine the realistic deformation of reality by the Spanish writers. Perhaps the centauric Hispanic explosions can be lined up in a geometric projection along with that extreme and disorbed grasping of reality, disorbed and extreme as a consequence of the impetuous desire to reflect only the very reality with all its natural shadows, without making it go through the corrective filter of the imagination, capable of touching up poetically the vision grasped by the feelings

The exaltation of the vital beat can incite in the projection of one's own vitality in the most varied creations of the spirit as much as it can in the grasping of the throbbing of life about and then in reflecting the data so perceived in the literary or artistic creations. Grasping and reflecting the palpitations of the life of the souls, without excluding one's own, and the life of things, without excluding from them what is external to man seen

as a thing. There is a realism which grasps the blinking of the mind and a realism which grasps the forms and the movements of beings. It is important not to forget it. In order not to limit the borders of Spanish realism to the faithful projection of the externally visible, to a mirror-like reflection, to a reproduction of a miniature painter and even less to the fixation of the photographic lens. The pens of our writers, the brushes of our painters and the chisels of our engravers have grasped many times the minute reality of minute things and of minute movements. From the Iberian sculptors and from Martial and Prudentius until our days, we could quote countless examples of this power for grasping. Our writers and artists have not only had a realistic perception of a purely sensorial type; next to the true realistic orgies of a visual, auditory, tactile form... they have often attained much more. They have known how to look into the souls —theirs and others— and seize their intimacy, then disclose it and reflect it realistically in their artistic and literary works. They have also attained that very early —since primitive sculpture surprises us with authentic profound psychic portraits— even until now. Only by possessing this double grasping power have they been able to instil action and life in their writings, their paintings and in their carvings. Only thus can we explain that centauric vitality and realistic vitality could be combined in the same men, the same human groups, or better, in the same historical groups.

Difficult to define philosophically and in its popular sense, the triumph of realism is usually admitted in Spanish arts, and it is frequently forgotten and disdained as a guide of behavior of the Hispanic peoples. Curious antinomy of our expressive realism vs. our volitive idealism. I do not dare to go into the problem that this contradiction presents. It is not easy to specify the terms of that authentic or supposed opposition. The problem of the limits of the realism or of the active idealism of peninsular peoples is to be studied; or put another way, of the various peoples who have converged into the Hispanic history, because the formula of the balance between the two realisms is not the same in all and at times I strongly suspect that the accentuation of the expressive realism is accompanied by the decrease of the volitive realism and vice versa. This is a theme —one more— of those waiting for a mature investigation in the field of our history, as is the theme of the chronology of the changes experimented in the course of time by that or those formulas of balance between the two types of realism. At some moment the two high tides seem to have coincided: of idealism in the collective conduct and of collective artistic realism. But the two tides have not always risen the same way. The idealism and volitive realism faced each other in an unstable and always changing balance; the first one was growing, constantly growing at the cost of the second one in the course of time. Expressive realism —also changing with time and successively colored by different nuances— oscillated from psychological realism, or of the souls, to miniaturistic realism or realism of things.

I cannot believe in the genetic union of that Spanish realism with the mental habits of the Islamites of the Orient, received and accepted from them by the Hispano-Mussulmans and transmitted by the latter to the Christians of the North of Spain. The never denied Oriental fantasy warns against such a hypothesis since it would seem strange that a people with exalted imagination should given lessons in realism to peninsular people. It is also attacked by the early triumph of realism —of an expressionistic realism— in the artistic creations of the primitive Spaniards —from the paintings of the Cave of Altamira and the rocks of Cogul to the Lady of Elche and the bronze offerings in the sanctuaries of Sierra Morena— and the clear trace that it left later in the literary works of the Hispano-Roman writers Martial and Prudentius. Can there be greater realism in that of the *Epigramas* of the poet of Bilbilis? And there are, horrifying because of their realistic details, the descriptions of the martyrs of *Peristephanon* by the poet from Calagurris, Prudentius.

In vain, does one want to make the appraisal of minute things by Hispanic realism derive from Islamic metaphysics, because that appraisal does not always imply in realistic expression; as we will see soon, the habitual methods of artistic creation of the Islamic peoples deformed and even disfigured the images of these objects, metaphorically taking them out of reality, because Iberian sculpture, ceramics and silver or gold work already reflect a peculiar liking for realistic grasping of the insignificant, and Martial later dedicated his poetic genius to dozens of objects and things such as «New Year's Day presents» —from the walnuts to the soap and from the toothpick to the flyflap— and Prudentius did not disdain to bring to task the instruments of torture of the Hispanic martyrs.

As the pre-Moslem Hispanic writers and artists knew how to dive in the «reality» of the souls and transmit to us their soundings in them, much before the Hegira, the peninsular people would have, therefore, adopted —naturally with different nuances according to the times, the races, and the geographical regions— the interpretative attitude of man and of nature which is usually called realism. They could never have received from the Oriental invaders a similar system of grasping and literary or artistic reproduction of nature, man or life. The contrast easy to detect between the account of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs that we owe to Oriental authors or to Mussulman chroniclers born in Al-Ándalus, but of non-Spanish origin and not yet Hispanicized, and those written by Islamite historians of Spanish origin or already saturated with Hispanicism, this contrast has already been pointed out. While the first ones filled their pages with fables, stories, marvels and legends, the second ones were so permeated with realism that they removed from their histories of the invasion the items with the legendary or fabulous twist from their old sources or they tried to explain them rationally.

Another contrast has also been mentioned, the contrast which separates the Arabic Oriental poetry and the Hispano-Arabic poetry which takes

it as a model, from the Islamic Spanish poetry which is rooted in the peninsular pre-Moslem. Let us recall that images were prohibited in Islam. In the very ancient *Hadiz* of Ibn Abbas is the account of how a Persian painter was ordered to decapitate the animals in reproducing them so that they would not look alive and to attempt to make them loow like flowers. «From not binding oneself to the figures, not idolizing the images —Massignon writes—, has been born Mussulman art, simple and immaterial, like the art of a musician who would be an algebraist and who did not believe in the beauty of harmony.» «It deals with the inanimation of non lasting forms.» «What from the beginning surprises in Islamic poetry is a kind of inanimation of the metaphor. Purposely it is made unreal and there exists a descending slope in it. Man is compared to the animals, the animal is generally compared to a flower, the flower to a stone: a tulip is a ruby.» «Mussulman art is precisely... a kind of half sleep, between sleep and wakefulness.» «The main idea of Mussulman art is to rise beyond the forms, not to stop to idolize images but to go further, towards The One which makes them move as in a magic lantern, as in a theater of shadows, towards the Unique One who remains.»

If one is to believe Massignon, there is nothing less propitious to grasp and reflect reality than the methods of artistic creation of Oriental Islam. I do not know how the Hispanic Moslems could receive lessons in realism from the Islamites of the Orient, so accustomed to the continuous metamorphosis of the real. Nevertheless, there is also a record of the taste for the sculptures and the images of the Hispano-Mussulman popular masses and the saturation by realism of great Islamic literary figures of Al-Ándalus: Ibn Hazm, Ibn Quzmān, Xuxtari... whose works show an evident Hispanic contradiction to the Oriental poetic style. Also recorded have been the warm and human projection of the amorous life in Cordova in the year 1000 —grasping of the intimacy of the souls and record of human facts, sayings and gestures— in *The Dove's Ring*, the jovial and shameless voice in the streets of the Cordova of the 12th century —themes, language and popular spirit— of the smart zéjel writer, Ibn Quzmān, and the strange personality of Xuxtari which made Massignon think about folklorism.

Spanish realism must thus be anterior to Islam and it would have maintained itself in Moslem Spain in a victorious struggle over the Islamic-Oriental. It is impossible to explain with precision the genesis of such a Hispanic attitude about life, as it is impossible to point out the reasons why the Greeks, in order to form concepts, started from the esthetic feeling or the theorizing intellect and the Romans from the will in their projections of freedom, right and government.

It is probable that that peculiar manner of grasping nature and life is connected with the formula of the temperament of primitive Spaniards that we know to be driven to action with frenzy and, therefore, extroverted, since the subjective interpretation of man and of the world always

requires a flight from a warm and cultivated intimacy. But it is obvious that it is not permissible to go from conjecture to affirmation in such a complex question.

But if it is not feasible to clearly specify the origins of Hispanic realism, it is fitting to outline the reasons of its lasting. The spiritual and artistic climate in which the Hispanic dominators of Spain moved could not fall negatively in the ancient inclination of peninsular peoples to grasp reality with ingenuous eyes, without deforming it subjectively. The literary and artistic works of the Romans are characterized by their realistic abundance; their cold reasoning projected itself upon the process of human co-living, not at all propitious to the unfolding of the imagination, and their philosophy transcended towards the acts of the will more than towards the data of conscience. The Romanization of Spain could not, therefore, alter the primitive Hispanic weakness, one can even suspect that it contributed to reinforce it.

And then? Then the Galician Celts, soon separated as is evident, from the divine war against the Moor, could concentrate in quiet introspective meditation, confined to their shady and narrow valleys under the dome of rain and snow. The fruit of that leisure was the Atlantic lyricism which destroyed the equation of the psychic forces of the person in favor of imagination. Neither nature, nor man appeared in clear outlines before the Galicians' eyes, heavy with subjectivism. Nature, because it usually appeared veiled by mists or rains, limited by the Sierras or hills or protected by abundant woods; and man, because the successive layers of dominators that he had suffered during millenniums and the harsh rule of the seigneurs to which he had been subjected had accustomed him to be on the defensive and to keep from disclosing his intimacy. The logical outcome of that conjuction of geography and of history could be the slyness, zigzagging reasoning, irony, emotive and sentimental overflows, never the serene grasp of reality about and its projection in literary or artistic creations.

In Catalonia, the aboriginal suffered an intensive projection from beyond the Pyrenees and from the Goths. The Reconquest stopped first during three centuries and ended then very quickly in the first half of the 13th century. From the middle of the 11th century, the Catalans dedicated as much activity to undertakings beyond the Pyrenees as to the great divine task of the Spaniards, and from the reign of «The Conqueror», they dedicated themselves entirely to the Mediterranean expansion of their empire. They did not consider themselves forced to live an absorbing active life as the other Spaniards of the central zone. The land and the sky of Catalonia were not the same as those of the plateau, and neither was their social and political organization, centered around regimes —seigneurial and feudal— of Carolingian origin. In that series of historical differences, in part the work of chance, we must look for the differences of their reactions before man and nature as opposed to those of the other peoples of Spain. We do not know what were those of the Spaniards of

the South during the Mussulman dominion. Had climatic influences colored the realism of the other peninsular peoples and given way in Andalusia to the flight of fantasy leading to the hyperbole? Did the impact of what is Oriental contribute to this rut, stronger there than in the rest of Mussulman Spain? Roman architecture shows there a decorative ostentation not customary outside of the region. In the Cordova of the 9th century are witnessed already the Andalusian exaggerations through the history of the Cordovan judges of Al-Juxani. In a couplet of the Sevillian Ibn Quzmān we read: «If I were to put my hand into the river, it would crest.»

The Archpriest of Hita wrote: «He ran down the path as the Andalusian does.» And the examples could be multiplied. In what way did that temperamental inclination project itself on the grasping of the world about and, in the end, on realism? Here is one of the many topics worthy of being studied slowly.

The grandsons of the people from Asturias, Cantabria and the Basque country did not have the leisure to unfold the potential of their fantasy in serene peace. They could not alter the algebraic formula of the trilogy forming their integral ego —which Ortega y Gasset has called spirit, soul and vitality— inherited from their ancestors.

The imperious necessity to fight without rest, each year for freedom and even for life, must have accentuated the passionate impulsiveness and the overflowing vitality of the ancestors of the people from Castile and León —from Asturias, Cantabria, the Basque country and Germany— from the 9th to the 11th century. The residents of León and Castile did not have leisure time. The strong and cruel struggle forced them into constant action, they only could live an active life. It was not possible to think, but only to do.They had to respond by actions to anguished calls of the anguishing necessity of resisting the enemy blows.

Living in the open air, in a continuous thunderstorm, they were unable to interpose fantasies between their impulses and their wills. They could not dream or imagine. Little by little the vital tension which moved them to the point of torture accentuated the temperamental heritage which they had received from peoples also used to passionate impulsiveness. The centuries lived in such a way opened a profound trench in their lives. By dint of continuously launching into action without being able to have any time to dream their imaginative potential became atrophied. Their minds could be lifted up to God in an urgent call for help. Their eyes could not detain themselves except in the now and in the nearby, in the reality which pressed and imprisoned them, and in the affirming or deforming of their old vital habits, their millenary traditional realism must have been accentuated.

Moreover, nature and man did not present obstacles to their grasping. Man, because he was free and his own master, did not lock himself up

defensively in his intimacy, but projected himself overflowingly and confidently towards life; and the land, because it appeared flat, open, without limits, without celestial veils of rains or mists and without the protection of trees or of the Sierras.

That active life, not at all favorable to introspection, to dream about fantasy, projected itself temporarily in the continuation of the cruel struggle against the Moors until the 14th century. Man and the earth did not change in their progress towards the South, since after the plateau of the Duero was that of the Tagus, which also offered itself without veils nor borders, cutting even in its sunny nakedness; and the free municipalities which arose in the new lands confirmed the psyche of the man from León and Castile, open to the grasping of his countrymen without the reservations of someone who is afraid and retreats within himself. It is obvious that prolongation of man and of nature in space and in time, that is to say, the prolongation of the limits within which life took place, and the continuation of the life style formed in the North, from the 9th to the 11th century, must have perpetuated Hispanic realism towards modern times and must have maintained it as an essential trait of the Spaniard. The realism which not only grasped the outline of things and of beings around it but which took possession of the secrets of the souls which man confronted. A realism which not only reflected «still lives», sceneries, events and gestures, but which at the same time sketched real psychological portraits. And so it has been from *the Cid* on.

4. About Hispanic Vulgarity

Many have pointed out that the Spaniard has a great propensity for rough expressions, risqué jokes and even for rude phrases. This shameless form of expression was probably reflected, not only in the daily and vulgar life, but it would transcend to the creations of the spirit of some great Spanish poets and thinkers. Hispanic vulgarity is not a pure lewd inclination of the Spaniards, without historical importance and without significance in Hispanic vital contexture It would not deserve to be brought to task here if it were not connected with rich sources of the Spanish temperament and if it were no more than a mere exponent of bad upbringing of peninsular people, if it did not sink its roots in a double historical process, peculiar to the history of Spain.

Such a weakness of the Spaniards would also have Arabic origin. It would be connected with the capacity of the Islamite to equally grasp the spiritual and the vulgar. In support of such a thesis have been cited vulgar phrases referring to the most vile acts of the physical life of the human being which appear in the Koran and in other Islamic texts. But as he realizes the weakness of such an allegation, because of the essential differences which separate such a mode of expression from the mentioned

Hispanic modes, he brings to task the dirty and rough phrases which Ibn Hazm lets out in his *Historia de las religiones.* He could have used other texts of Hispano-Mussulman authors, for example, the shameless *zéjeles* of Ibn Quzmān, abundant in impudent jests. But it is forgotten that Ibn Hazm was, not only of pure Spanish race —he probably descended from the Iberians of Huelva—, but also completely Hispanic by his psyche and his temperament, as was also the happy grandson of Spaniards and Goths, Ibn Quzmān. What philosophers or Mussulman poets non Spanish used phrases so rough, crude, dirty and shameless as Ibn Hazm and Ibn Quzmān?

Seneca used very dirty phrases in his epistles and even in his philosophical works.

Phrases just as vulgar, from which we could say that nauseating odors emanate, appear in the midst of the impudent epigrams of the Celtiberian Martial filled with apostrophes no less cutting than those of the author of *Fisal* and those of the civilian zéjel writer.

In November of 785, Beato, monk in a monastery of Liébana, a closed valley situated to the East of the Picos of Europe, the author of the famous «Comentarios al Apocalipsis» which bears his name, in *Tratado Apologético* about the discussion of the supposed doctrine of Adoptionism of Elipando, archbishop of Toledo, at the same time as he was losing himself in the most baroque theological and scriptural disquisitions, with the greatest naturalness called his adversary «testicle of the anti-Christ.» The monk from Liébana could not have been corrupted by the Arabic forms of expression, considering the insignificant penetration of the Oriental-Islamic in Spain by then and the total absence from any contagion of those in the lost corner of Liébana where Beato was professing.

What Latin philosophers or poets, or what clerics equalled Seneca, Martial and Beato in vulgar expressions?

It is not necessary to attribute an Arabic heritage to the weakness of peninsular people for crude and inelegant expressions, insults, strong jokes, coarse and dirty expressions, weakness which led them at times to let them come out in their literary works.

Castro has scorned the importance of the Mediterranean tradition in the Arabo-Oriental and in the Hispano-Arabic. We must root in it many Islamic ideas, institutions and customs, from the whole Mussulman world. The reading of some Latin authors, including some of the most subjective lyricists of Rome —I now recall Catullus— and some of the most courteous poets of the time of Augustus —Horace— reveals to us that the capacity to unite what is beautiful and vulgar and to intermingle it in their works was a literary weakness not only prior to Mohammed, but to Christ.

If the Mediterraneans of the West were not affected by the same weakness, which is not impossible, the Spaniards could have adopted it

from the Romans. The modest veil with which Christianity covered pagan impudence would have curtailed the pens of the Hispano-Gothic writers and the Hispano-Christians of the Reconquest. However, the old habits would have remained alive in daily usage. At a very early date, before 873, when Count Vimara Pérez, who repopulated Oporto, died, they nicknamed «Foul Mouth» a brother of Bishop Fredosindo, placed in charge by Alfonso III, with the prelate and with the count, of delimiting, the boundary of Braga. Foul mouth! Here is a clear testimony of the freedom in the speech of a Galician magnate in the second half of the 9th century, a testimony of vulgar practices of expression in the high social ranks of far away Galicia and in times previous to any possible Islamic contagion. The same freedom is proven by the entertaining item which has come to us about the phrase pronounced by the sister of King Bermudo II of Galicia when she was taken to Cordova to enter as a slave in Almanzor's harem. Apostrophizing the soldiers guarding her during her trip, she told them: «people should place more confidence in the swords of their soldiers than in the cunts of their women.» And the bawdy notaries of the kingdom of León felt no scruples in stating crude phrases in the Latin writings that they composed.

The use of obscene words in Romance by the Andalusian renegade Christians and Mozarabs is proven At the end of the 11th century a civilian botanist gathered those used to designate certain plants: Dog's testicles (Colyón de can), king's penis (pichola de rey), cow's vagina (conno de vacca)... Asín comments on them in his *Glosaric*: «their Arabic synonyms... although they also belong to the common language, are freer from the impudent meaning.» In fact, according to the version of the Arabist priest, the Hispano-Mussulman botanist writes, for example: «*Conno de vaca*: signifies vulva of the cow and is (the plant called in Arabic) *alfahixa* (the obscene).» Ribera demonstrated that the caliphs of Cordova, when they wanted to use vulgar words, did not go to Arabic but to the Romance language that their Hispanic subjects spoke and which they also knew.

We know the base abuses with which the inhabitants of the cities and the towns frequently addressed one another, Christians as well as Jews; they are consigned without bashfulness by the scribes who wrote the municipal *fueros*, in recording the penalty incurred by those who pronounced them. They did not curtail their pens when they described the possible strange misdemeanors of the citizens: «He who takes a girl's tits or cunt», «He who bares his ass in front of another man or who farts in the face of another man», they write with the greatest naturalness. The «Fazañas» of old Castile are filled with crudeness; it is not possible, for example, to reproduce the phrase used to describe the castration of a *knight* by another one who found him «lying» with his wife. In 1279, the mayors of Burgos asked Alfonso the Learned with the greatest simplicity possible, what penalty they should impose on someone who

called another one a son of..., I do not dare reproduce the expression which the king repeats in his answer, because he alludes to the heinous sin. Never do we find similar expressions in Arabic texts.

Bawdiness of speech was not the exclusive patrimony of those in the *concejos*. At the beginning of the battle of the Navas of Tolosa. Don Diego López de Haro, who was commanding the Christian vanguard as he heard his son who was shouting to him: «Since the King gave you the vanguard, act in such a way that I not be called son of a traitor», «he turned to him, furious, and told him: they can call you son of a whore, but not of a traitor.» Berceo in relating one of the «Milagros de Nuestra Señora», presents a bishop calling an ignorant cleric in this words: «tell the son of a bitch to come to me. Do not leave it until tomorrow». Through the chronicle of Sancho IV we know that Don Lope Díaz de Haro, favorite of the king, rebuked the latter who demanded from the nobles the restitution of his castles, saying: «Prisioners? how? Shit on you!» In *El Victorial* it is related that Don Juan Alfonso of Alburquerque responded with these words to a messenger of Peter the Cruel: «I know that the whore of Doña María de Padilla is now playing with my head before the king.» The great lords continued to use the most vulgar expressions in their daily life. They ended the deposition in effigy of Henry IV around Ávila kicking the image of the king and saying «Down with the male whore», according to Diego de Valera We know that the count of Benavente, grandson of kings, always had on his lips the «son of a whore» and the «old whore» and that he enjoyed speaking with his accountant because he spoke in a coarse and degenerate way». It is a fact also that the old duke of Alba enjoyed hearing the doctor López de Villalobos relate the dirty scenes that followed the frustrated attempt to help the cited count of Benavente, frustrated attempt because they burned his «anus».

The antiquity, the racial and geographic diffusion —it was used by the Mozarabs, spread to areas where the Islamic influence cannot be proven—, its use even by the grandees and the lasting of this crude manner of expression, make us suspect that, in reference to vulgar expressions and accounts, the Orientals had nothing to teach to the Spaniards, Islamite and non-Islamite.

The Roman tradition would have survived in the two Spains, curtailed in the Northern lands by Christian modesty and heightened in the South by the coincidence of Arabic models, representative of a cultural stage not too developed, more perhaps, than of a singular style of life.

If Hispanic vulgarity had been born of Islamic vulgarity, how could one explain the appearance on the other side of the Pyrenees, in literary works by the pen of lofty writers, of expressions superior in crudeness, vulgarity, obscenity and shamelessness to those used in Spain? Castro forgets that the capacity to combine the spiritual with the vulgar was not

the monopoly of the peninsular people. Who has not read Chaucer's tale in which a peasant treats a mendicant friar to a stinking «wind»? Or that other in which a student exposes his buttocks through a window and lets out another «wind» in the very mouth of an annoying suitor of his lover who was about to kiss her? The *fabliaux* are filled with shameless expressions. I do not dare to make an anthology of the vulgar phrases in the poems of François Villon. It will be sufficient to recall that to finalize his poetic testament, he is supposed to be hanging from the gallows and exclaims: «Now my neck will know how much my ass weighs.» In the «Repues franches» from a friend of Villon, a rogue «son cul descouvrit jusque aux rains» and the poet «Il fist laver le cul bien net-a un gallant». I refer to the book of Olivar Bertrand.

The series of impudences, obscenities and extremely crude expressions in the literary productions of the medieval centuries in all the West would fill many pages. In the late Middle Ages, artisans, canons, lawyers, seigneurs, dukes —remember Philip the Good— and monarchs —I am thinking about Louis XI— used equivocal and vulgar phrases. Equivocal and vulgar phrases went from the common language to the works of prose writers and of poets. Those that appear in Chaucer, Boccacio, Villon, etc., would have made our risqué and shameless archpriests of Hita and Talavera and the other contemporary peninsular poets and writers similarly fickle, blush.

The refinement of the collective sensibility and the cultural saturation of the leading minorities might have permitted the aristocratic and intellectual groups who ruled the peoples of the West during modern times, to muffle the medieval, expressive, vulgar customs, with time. Naturally, there were exceptions. Some authors dared to break the trends of the new fashion and they still used crude and bawdy expressions. The account by Rabelais of the supposed talk of Villon with the king of England, about the indecent place in which the latter had placed the shield of France, equals the most shameless phrases of Quevedo, and the pages of Voltaire about the lazy stomachs are worthy of our Don Francisco. But in general, the peaceful and distinguished renunciation of vulgarity, triumphed as the inflexible sign of good taste, initiated by the superior classes in very hierarchical societies.

Meanwhile, the traditional rudeness of Spanish life and the repeated victory of the popular in it, might have contributed to prolong among us, even in the leading classes of society the bawdy habits of intimate and literary expression of the Middle Ages.

Those two essential aspects of Spanish life have been neglected: what is rude and what is popular. The history of both of these decisive forces in the making of what is Hispanic should be written. It is difficult to discover the impact of the Arabic or Islamic in them. I see them, or better still, I guess them, to be rooted in the primitive temperamental rudeness of the people of the North of Spain and in their weak social hierarchy;

they must have been perpetuated through the centuries by the unique history of those peoples on whose shoulders fell the making of the Spanish nation. Its millenary roughness lasted because it was the region between the Basque country and Asturias which least enjoyed the soothing and educational action of Greco-Latin culture, during the dominion of Rome, and later for three centuries during the Gothic-Christian period. The social articulation with a democratic foundation continued and became stronger, as a projection of complex economic and political processes connected with the Reconquest and Repopulation. Processes which brought the birth of the low nobility, not in the castles, nor in the courts, but in the village streets, in intimate contact with the lowest popular masses, and which later permitted the old and new noblemen, residents of the towns and cities, to give a tone to the life of the nation from their rough and vulgar temperamental contexture.

I will deal with Hispanic rude-popular aspects, but I want to say here that from all the Western societies, it was in the peninsular one in which the people counted the most, by their number and historical efficacy. A people with a bourgeoisie and from whom had been born, but had not been totally disconnected, the low nobility. Let it be said also that I seem to sense a double historical current which impelled the popular masses to the imitation of aristocratic modes of life, and which drove the aristocracy towards becoming plebeian. The lack of urban bourgeoisie to be interposed between the two social forces confronting each other in the Peninsula, the lack of a bourgeoisie which would detain the mentioned continuous pendular movement, contributed much to the strengthening of those two mimetic currents, reciprocal and usually synchronic. Is there not always something burly in the most distinguished Spanish lord and something of a lord in the most villainous of the Spaniards?

I repeat that I will try to explain this double inclination of the peninsular masses and minorities, but is it possible to refute the rudeness and the popular aspect of what is Hispanic? Will it be possible to deny the effectiveness of both realities in the joyful and very natural use of vulgarity by peninsular people after the limits of the Middle Ages?

One has pointed out the phrase in which Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, ambassador in Venice, referred without circumlocution to the genital illness he suffered in a letter addressed to the secretary of Charles V. There is no Arabic official epistle, nor any similar Islamic document in which such naturalistic and plain language is used. That of the great Spanish humanist, on the other hand, matches that of another Hellenist, the very learned Diego López de Zúñiga, collaborator of the Polyglot Bible of Alcalá de Henares, who in reference to his *Anotaciones* to Erasmus, wrote to a common friend: «I did not think that anyone would have been so quick in throwing the stick at this fierce bull.» Is it not normal to see in both phrases the same rudeness and the same plebeianism of expression?

The famous doctor López de Villalobos was joking once with the duke of Alba, and when he heard the latter say «now let us come back to my illness and stop all the coarse jest», he answered him this way: «These coarse jests, after God, give life to your Lordship, since you grew in them and such are the ways of the country.» The great philosopher from Valencia, Vives, in crongratulating Erasmus about the spreading of his works among the Spaniards, was saying: «I hope that if they get used to this reading and others similar, they will become smoother and get rid of certain barbarian concepts of life with which their penetrating but ignorant minds are filled.» Eguía, printer of Alcalá, in his dedication to the archbishop of Toledo, Fonseca, of some treatises of Erasmus, wrote: «I do not know by what stroke of fate the typographical workshops are constantly monopolized by vulgar and even obscene songs and by inept verses.» Even taking into account what might be hyperbolical in the three judgments, do they not serve as a proof of the triumph of what is rude and vulgar among peninsular peoples at the dawn of Modern Times? Of Fray Diego de Vitoria, brother of the famous theologian, Fray Juan de Vitoria said that he was «the best preacher of his time in form and contents, style, rhethoric, manner of speaking, eloquence which taught the way to preach now and banished the coarse preaching and witty themes and using jokes and other things very foreign to evangelical authority». As the contemporaries of Philip II pointed out with amazement that he never used a bad word, it is fitting to suspect that even from the lips of the Spanish kings there must have come until then vulgar expressions and coarse or risqué jokes.

After the severity and the hostility against obscenity and vulgarity which characterized the reign of Philip II, the waves of rudeness and plebeianism flood Spain again. To prove it, some announcements taken from the dozens of them which Ortega y Gasset has selected in *La España alucinada en tiempos de Velázquez,* will suffice.

> «The one of Olivares has become bold because of the spite of the Palacio and of the people and one of these days, as the queen and the one of Olivares were going through the halls, there came some thickly veiled women to the ladies and they told them: 'cunning as you are, why do you not throw that old maid out of the house?'»

> «The count of Monterrey is in Carabanchel while visiting the workers as a great lord with the workers and plays bowl with them, as they are used to doing, he plays for ½ a liter of wine and when he wins, he makes a big feast of his having won.»

«Between the Augustinians and the Trinitarians there were great debates in Salamanca, resulting in fighting with the superiors of their

religion, with slaps and kicks in the public acts about whether or not Adam was imperfect when God took his rib and if it was only flesh with which he filled the hole from where he had taken it.»

«His Majesty has ordered that tomorrow only the women should go to the Comedy without farthingales, because there is room for more and says he wants to see her with the queen in the special grilled loge and that they have some mousetraps with more than a hundred fattened rats in them in order to let them loose in the height of the feast, in the top gallery as well as in the patio.»

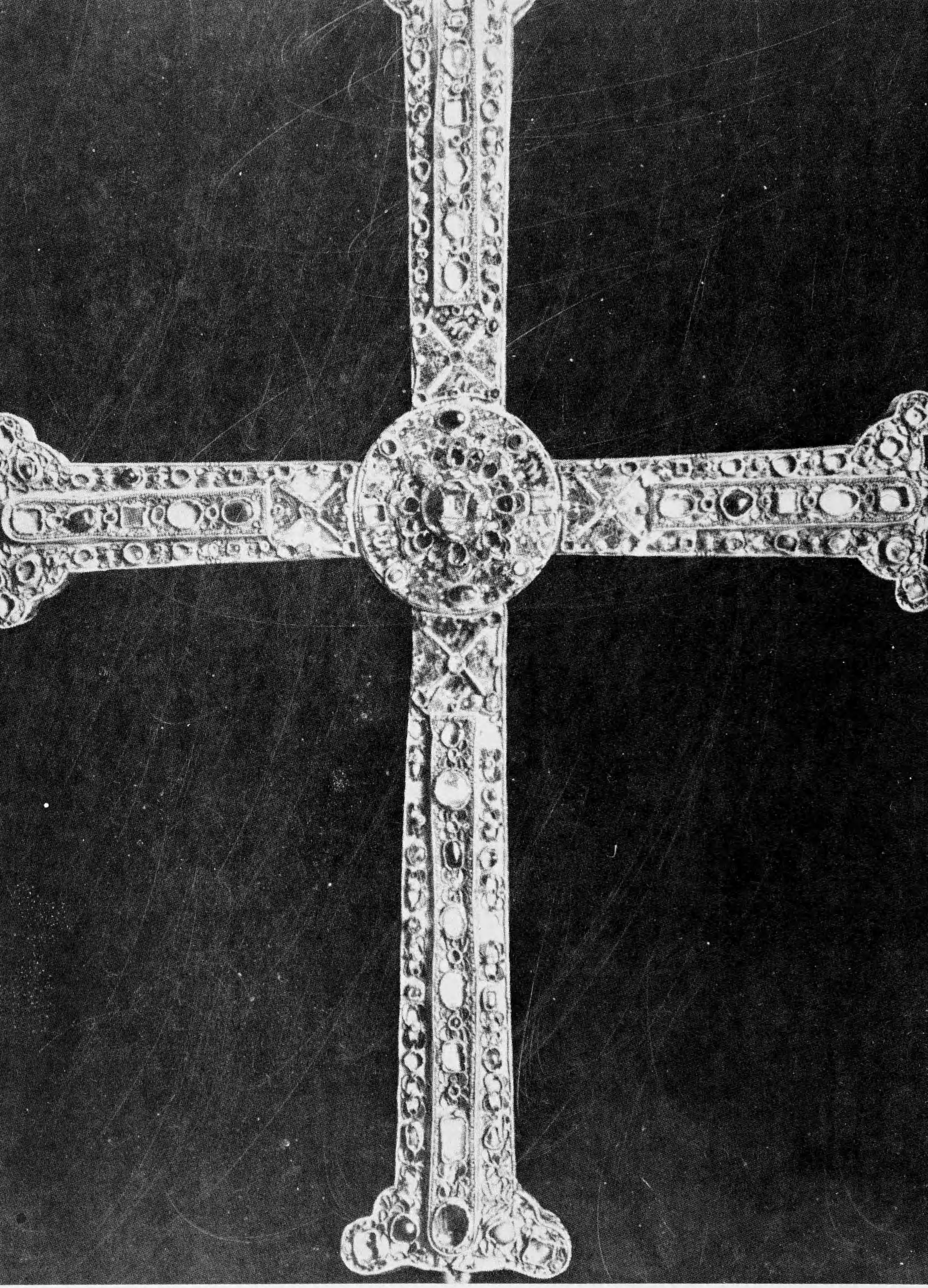
In a society based upon what is rude and popular, the naturalistic and ingenuous realism of the Spaniards must have grasped so many vulgar images and heard so many vulgar expressions that it had to take them from life into art, from the overflowing human reality to the pages of the works. When the eyes and ears of a writer opened up to the world about, they contemplated and heard such coarse jests and such plebeian crudities that inevitably their minds were invaded by an impetuous current of vulgar sensations. He too, being prisoner of the same tendencies as the king, the duke and the peasant, it was difficult to withdraw from the vital current of Hispanic vulgarity.

It has been written: «The Spaniard erased the limits between clean and dirty when he needed to integrate them into the sovereignty of his person, when both aspects of living were important for him.» Beautiful phrases without any historical or human reality. When Quevedo was writing about the «fortunes and misfortunes of the asshole», I do not believe that he needed to integrate such filth under the sovereignty of his person. Nor is it fitting to see Cervantes moved by the same necessity when he describes the nauseating results of Sancho's fear during the nocturnal adventure of the mills. Some years ago, a different explanation of the bawdy inclination of Quevedo towards vulgarity had been given. «The after effect of disappointment is seen in Quevedo in his spitefully rejoicing in filth when he comes down from his flight in search of God's providence.» The two interpretations are too heavily rhetorical.

Spanish life was shaken up by the swell of crudeness and plebeianism. It is not possible to raise an issue about what is clean and what is dirty in Hispanic literary expressions. Behind this, there is all the coarseness and bawdiness of living —the insults in the halls of the palace, the wine of the count of Monterrey, the kicks of the Augustinians and Trinitarians, the royal rats in the Comedy...— opposed to the elegance and distinction of the court of Philip IV. The Louis of France selected their favorites among the marchionesses or made their favorites marchionesses; Philip IV lowered himself to comedians and even lower without giving a hoot about the status of his mistresses. The noble and the plebeian intermingled always in Spain, we do not know since when.

I suspect that if we penetrated into the jungle of literary and documentary testimonies of modern Spain, we could prove a permanent paralellism:

31.—Alfonso III (866-910) following the «Libro de los Testamentos» by Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo. The Great King brought the borders of Asturias to the Duero and to Mondego. That advance permitted the repopulation of all the extensive area that was barren for more than a century. It was in those new lands where the singular society surged that served as the foundation of the singularity of our history. *Alfonso III, miniature of the «Libro de los Testamentos» (Cathedral of Oviedo).*



32.—*Cross of Victory* ordered to be made by Alfonso III in 908 for the cathedral of the royal see, Oviedo. The Asturian gold work was the work of local and ultrapyrenean artists. Already at such an early date the Western effect enlivened the Spanish autochthonous tradition, at the margin of all influence of Islamite Spain. *(Cathedral of Oviedo.)*

vulgar/popular and Hispanic plebeian/vulgar, not only in the bawdy expressions but also in many other aspects of daily living. The Hispanic sensibility and culture and the cleanliness and refinement of life and language have grown in similar proportion —again cultural influencing vital—, as we are very far from being free from traditional rudeness and plebeianism and for that reason we continue to leave room for coarse jests in our talks, although we have expelled it from our prose and mostly from our lives.

5. Meaning of the land among peninsular people

Another very suggestive theme in order to know the *homo hispanus* is the one which serves as the title of these pages. It deserves a book: the Spaniard before the land, how does he feel about the homeland? Has he enjoyed rural life sufficiently to live far from the cities? Has he been tied with strong amorous bonds to the corner where he was born or where he lived? Has there been in him a predominance of a quiet tendency to sedentary life or has he been won over by bold migratory instincts? Has he been a cattle owner or a peasant? Has he centered on the land his desire for wealth or has he thought less about that wealth? How have his ideas and his sensibility about the land changed in the course of time? It is inadmissible to prescind from all these questions in any attempt to characterize what is Hispanic, just as it is impossible to improvise strong answers without a very exhaustive investigation. Here is what I comprehend about the problem.

It has been said that the land bound the Spaniard with a tight magic knot which had a vital influence on his beliefs in the course of history. And it is obvious that this devout love of the peninsular people for the land has been given Islamic origin.

«The Spanish soul was as a bisector between a divinized land and a humanized heaven.» «Spain was a faith, a belief nourished by life and death, heaven and earth; it was the land of eucharistic worship and of wheat which gives it its earthly form.» «Differently from Western Europe, Spain lived under the dome of a belief and bound to a land which means custom and tradition», has been said and repeated.

It is not easy to explain the insistent converting of this telluric worship in nothing less than one of the rails on which Spain progressed in its history.

The mind resists the admission that the Spaniards learned this love of the land from the Orientals, giving to these words the meaning of love for the homeland. To connect with Islamic roots this ardent love of peninsular people for their land, the words written in the Orient by Al-Mas'udi in the 10th century, do not suffice —«God has created countries

inspiring their inhabitants with the love for the land where they are born»... «Because this force of intimacy and custom is such that man sacrifices his existence to return to his homeland»— in connection with those that Cervantes places on the lips of the Moor, Ricote, filled with the same dramatic nostalgia for the lost homeland because it is a fact that such an excellent specialist in the Islamic sensibility and thought as García Gómez has written: «The tendency to expatriation is also a purely Mussulman feeling, but more than the lack of interest for the earthly bonds, it is the expression of the indifference of the Arab for the country of his birth and of his incapacity to live the concept of 'homeland', well known topic of profane poetry», and because the allegation of the Moor, Ricote, is inoperative. People of his origin were Spanish by race and were Hispanicized culturally and vitally because of their many centuries of living among Christians and, besides it is Cervantes who writes.

It is also impossible to attribute an Arabic origin to the proud faith that the Spaniard has had for many centuries in the fertility of the Spanish soil, the literary devotion of many peninsular writers to country life and the authentic love for the homeland. Those three have deep roots in Roman antiquity, including the hyperbolical concept of the fertility of the Peninsula. This idea already appears in some Greek authors, in most of the Latin praises of Spain, finds a warm echo in Martial's heart permeated with Hispanicism and is gathered by Saint Isidore inspiring himself in Virgilian poetic forms. Naturally, none of those who referred to it in their works colored his literary expression with Orientalism, since it has been repeatedly used much before the birth of Mohammed and of Islam. The rhetorical dithyramb of the land which appears in some medieval and modern Spanish works goes back to pre-Islamic authors and also to other Hispano-Christian texts —in Latin and in Romance— but none of the examples brought up nor those that could be brought up can attest the telluric worship nor the reality of its influence in the life and soul of Spain.

Who will dare give credit to such suppositions on the basis of the literary passages that can be alleged to praise country life in Spanish authors?

Between the texts of Al-Mas'udi and Cervantes about love for country, could have been placed others not less expressive of an acute nostalgic devotion to the land from authentic exiles from the Hispanic land, some Mussulmans, others Christians. Among the first ones are poems translated by Schack and by Valera and that can be read in my *España musulmana.* Whatever their number and the conviction of all about the continuation in Islamic hearts and medieval Christians of a warm nostalgic love for the land, that is to say the homeland, they do not prove that the Arabs were the first to conceive and express such a feeling nor that Spaniards received it from them.

To demonstrate the opposite will be impossible. If one looks a little

at the pages of two Spaniards, one exiled from Rome against his will —Seneca— and the other absent from Spain due to fate —Martial—, one will find in both that devotion to the homeland which they lacked. The love for Hispanic homeland is already painfully recorded by the Mozarab who wrote, in 754, the history of the last stages of the Visigothic kingdom and by the king of Oviedo, Alfonso III, in 883.

Moreover, no Western people have felt less tied to the earth than the Spanish people. Outside of the borders of the Peninsula, the land united, indeed, men with strong bonds. Not in Spain. The history of our homeland is the history of a continuous emigration in search of new land. In *Lo hispánico y el erasmismo* we read: «The Spaniard is used to seeking the satisfaction of his vital necessities in a geographical or spiritual beyond.» «The Spaniard starts from the hypothesis that the world which matters to him is found in some far away corner of the earth or heaven.» «The history of what is Hispanic is based on... looking for the geographic or spiritual beyond, either as a promised land or as an ideal system placing a halo around his soul.» Such affirmations are strengthened by the words of Onis and of Vossler.

The Arabic invasion forced many Hispano-Goths and Hispano-Romans, non-conformists, who did not want to live under the Mussulman yoke, to emigrate to the North of the Peninsula and to the Gauls. In times of Alfonso I (739-757) the depopulation of the plateau from the Duero to the Cantabrian-Asturian chain was intensified. These inhabitants went toward the maritime and mountainous monarchy of Oviedo. In the 9th century, hordes of non collaborationist Mozarabs who were fleeing from persecutions and the inner discords of Al-Ándalus, went up to Christian lands; from the mountains of the North, crowds of Galicians, Asturians, Cantabrians, and Basques moved to repopulate the lands of León and Castile. From then on, as the Reconquest progressed, numerous masses of people from all the corners of the Peninsula abandoned their old headquarters and emigrated to the South, in a continuing colonizing migration; thus the regions that they were winning from the Moors, many times emptied from their former Mussulman inhabitants, were repopulated.

People from Galicia, Asturias, Cantabria, the Basque country, the Pyrenees and from Catalonia left their lands to establish themselves in the valleys of the Duero, of the Ebro, or in Old Catalonia. From among them and from among the inhabitants of the regions repopulated in the 9th and 10th centuries came the colonizers of the lands between Duero and Tagus, of New Aragón or of New Catalonia. From the primitive, the new, and the very new areas of the Christian kingdoms, emigrated to Alemtejo and to Algarve, Mancha, Estremadura, Andalusia, Murcia, Valencia, and to the Balearic Islands, crowds of different people eager to trade their old lands for others. When the borders of the Christian kingdoms reached the beaches of the Mediterranean or the Atlantic, and

during two centuries the progress towards the South was detained, while the tide of the Reconquest was crashing against the breakwater of Granada, the Spaniards, far from being in love with or prisoners of their land, launched into the seas or crossed the Pyrenees in search of adventures. People from Aragón and Catalonia conquered Sicily, Sardinia and reached Athens and Constantinople; the Portuguese initiated their Atlantic enterprises, people from Cantabria traded and fought in the Northern seas, those of the South primarily dedicated to African piracy and then went to the Canary Islands and to Guinea, and adventurers from everywhere crossed the mountains and fought in France alongside the kings and dukes, and many of them settled in France.

The history of those migratory displacements of peninsular peoples during the Middle Ages could fill a book. Some day it should be written. The author will not be able to forget that dozens of *fueros* (statutes) and documents about repopulation and codes and compilations carefully regulate the possible emigration of the residents of towns and cities to and from them. The study of some emigrations —the repopulation of Estremadura and of Andalusia, for example— has already being honored by important monographs by Julio González. The account of the undertakings of one of these adventurous captains, Pero Niño, has already occasioned the composition of *El Victorial* in the 15th century. About the deeds of the Catalans and the people from Aragón in the Orient, there is a numerous bibliography, crowned by the works of Rubio and Lluch. Ballester and Suárez Fernández have begun to write the history of the Cantabrian marine; their undertaking must be completed. Pérez Embid has just referred to the Castilian pre-Colombian maritime adventures on the coasts of Africa.

This continuous and ancient emigration towards the South or beyond the land or sea borders of the country, in search of new horizons and new lands, explains the frequent crossing of the Atlantic by hordes of emigrants after the discovery and the conquest of America. To our days, this easy separation from the old headquarters to come to colonize on this side of the ocean has been uninterrumpted.

The strength of intimacy and of habit of which Al-Mas'udi spoke, never imprisoned the peninsular people. They never let themselves be won over by the amorous seduction of the land they inhabited. They were always ready to leave it to emigrate in search of new homes and new homelands. The longing for freedom —many emigrated to liberate themselves from oppression or poverty— and the longing for adventures, triumphed in them over the love for the corner of the earth where they had been born. The other Western countries, after the Germanic and Norman invasions, did not know important human changes. Men lived in amorous communion with the land. In many areas of France, Italy or England, live today, or lived yesterday before World War II, the descendants of those who lived there 1.000 or 2.000 years ago. Nothing similar happens

in the narrow valleys of the North of Spain, because the reflection of the migratory swell from the South of the Peninsula reached them from time to time.

The Spaniards did not live attached to a land that signified customs and tradition. Their tradition and custom were to be ready to take their relatives, their household and their cattle to happily emigrate towards new horizons. All the lands are homelands, says a Castilian proverb, and it has truly been so for the Spaniards. The unique Spanish medieval history had accentuated the migratory and adventurous feeling of peninsular peoples before Christ. The Levantine Iberians enjoyed searching new lands outside of Spain and at swords' point: numerous Greek and Latin items and abundant archeological findings studied by García Bellido attest it. Two tribes of primordial importance in the history of Spain: Portuguese and Cantabrians showed a similar inclination for predatory migrations. The history of *bagaudia* verifies similar tendencies in the Basque people.

No amorous bonds with the earth, no telluric devotion. The land, in the strictest sense, was the least appreciated of the riches during the first centuries of the Reconquest. It is so proven by the scale of values that documents enable us to outline. The Christians appreciated personal property much more. See my study on *El precio de la vida en León hace mil años* and the monographs on related themes by Miss Laguzzi, Emilio Sáez and by María del Carmen Carlé. The wasteland was abundant and the continuous Mussulman invasions always threatened its always precarious possession. Jewels, horses and cattle could be saved in emigrating and for that reason, personal property was always more valued than land property, Corominas has already said it, in his days. And when the restitutions came and the Christians were able to advance towards the border of the South, there were so many untilled fields that it was not possible to exploit them except for cattle grazing. Transhumance would not have been possible in an essentially agrarian country. The shepherd won over the peasant. The *Mesta* of the cattle owners was of economic and political importance. Wool was, and not wheat —«the cereal of the eucharistic bread»— the essential factor of national wealth, and it has continued to be so even after the great historical crisis of Modern Times changed the appraisal of rustic wealth and of agriculture by the Spaniards; it was so until the period of Enlightenment.

Chapter V

CULTURE AND FAITH

1. Celestial beyond and terrestrial below in Spain before 711

Many archeologists and historians have studied the gods of primitive Spaniards, the Hispano-Roman religion, the first steps of Christianity in the Peninsula, the history of the Church under the dominion of the Goths ... until now no one has stopped to inquire into the religious sensibility of peninsular people before Islam. The examination of their peculiar ideas about the relations of man with the divinity through such a long period of time is a problem worthy of a monograph. The knowledge of the divinities which they worship, the record of their changes of religious creed and of their dissidences with the generalized faith of each period and the study of the organization of the priesthood and of worship in the successive stages of its history, do not suffice to disclose their authentic feeling in regard to the powers and the life of the other world. We do not know well their idea about the integral union between the celestial beyond and the terrestrial below, nor the zigzagging balance between their tendency to live in the hope of an everlasting life and their dedication to the changing tasks of worldly existence and in interested observation of man, nature and life. For that reason, the history of our religiosity before 711 is incomplete. This explains, in part, that the initial historical date of the forming of our singular religious concept of human existence has been situated in the great commotion suffered by Spain that year and in the reception of Islam among us.

«Hispanic history is, in its essence, the history of a belief and of a religious sensibility and at the same time of the grandeur, of the misery and of the madness caused by them.» Conserving the hyperbole which this beautiful phrase encloses —the history of Spain has been much more than that— one can agree with the main idea behind it. In a singular

way, we focus our observation on the decisive period of the Spanish past. It is a fact that during the 16th and 17th centuries, Spain gave its all to service of its belief, while in the other peoples of the West, national interests were above service to the faith. With his customary erudition and his penetrating sharpness, Castro tried to single out again the differences which, since modern times, separate our Catholicism and its projection in our forms of life, from the Catholicism and its vital transcendence in the other nations of Europe. Those differences by dint of being unquestioned are beginning to get old. But they do attest an evident peculiarity of the religious concepts of Spaniards.

«I suspect —it has been written— that such a way of confronting life was incubated and developed in co-living with the magic culture of Islam, based on the submission to a belief» All theoretical suspicion is legitimate, provided that it be dropped when it cannot be legitimately demonstrated. This is what happens with such a conjecture.

One has pretended to demonstrate that the attitude of the Hispano-Goths before the religious problem contrasts with the one which the Spanish Christians adopted after their long contact with the Islamites. Saint Isidore and the contemporary scholars would have shown a clear will to know man, the world and life, which, later, the sons of what he, wrongfully, considers the authentic Spain, never felt again. In the Hispano-Gothic society, the celestial «beyond» would have been connected with the terrestrial «below» without that the belief should absorb the tension of the vital contexture of life, in contrast with the integration of the functional structure of the Spaniards of later centuries in the rigid service of faith. The religious sensibility of peninsular people would have changed deeply after the ruin of the Visigothic state and such a change would be owed to the contact of Northern Christians with the Islamic culture dominated by the central idea of belief.

This argumentation rests on two essential allegations noted previously: Spanish Christianity lost the taste for investigation of the secret of man and of the world, to center its life under the dome of faith, and society became theocratic, in dedicating its vital contexture totally to the service of an ardent desire for the ultra-terrestrial beyond. The historical reality of those two processes cannot be denied; but one forgets that they occurred not only in Spain but in all of Western Europe. It could be argued that they must have reached a singular course and level in the Peninsula to judge by the differences which separated the functional structures of the «authentic Spain» and of the other European peoples at the beginning of Modern Times. I will not discuss such differences —however, they have been very exaggerated— but I differ in the explanation of why the two peculiar processes of the Middle Ages followed in Spain different channels from those on the other side of the Pyrenees and the other side of the Mediterranean. We shall examine the two problems separately. But it is important to reject the liminal affirmation of the opposite thesis.

I have already said that the problem of the religious sensibility of peninsular people before 711 deserves an exhaustive investigation. I cannot stop here to carry it out. From what I know about the subject, I tend to suppose that our distant Spanish ancestors possessed a peculiar concept of the relations of man with the divinity, different from the one which triumphed in other peoples of the West and related with the instinctive and profound way of feeling God, which the Berbers showed many times, before and after the Islamic conquest. Some known facts seem to support such a hypothesis. The extraordinary quantity of votive offerings in stone and bronze which appear in the Iberian sanctuaries of Andalusia and Levant corresponds well with the purified devotion of the *homo hispanus* for the divine powers ruling life. The strange fervor for magic of the great peninsular masses, during the Roman times —verified by the proceedings of the Council of Iliberri and the process of Priscillian— and even centuries after the fall of the Empire —in the days of Saint Martin of Dumio and those of Ramiro I of Oviedo— discloses the lasting anguish of those distant Spaniards before the mysterious forces which could change the course of human existence. It cannot be a coincidence that it was an Andalusian, Trajan, who first defined as a misdemeanor religious dissidence in a letter to Pliny, and that Theodosius imposed the Roman Catholic faith on all his subjects and persecuted heretics. If in the year 380 was born the coordinating system of the great powers: state Catholicism and a Catholic State, through a Spaniard's initiative, Spaniards, converted to Christianity, launched into the destruction of the temples of the old gods with such passion, that their fury had to be curtailed by a *Constitutio* of the emperors Arcadio and Honorio. How not to see in those measures and in that attitude the result of the religious singularity of the primitive Spaniards? The fervors and the heresies —vehement fervors and at times numerous heresies— of the Hispano-Roman and the Hispano-Visigothic Christianity confirm it.

As soon as asceticism was introduced in the West, the acute religious sense of peninsular people allows a group of lay ascetics —Priscillian was part of it— to achieve such successes that it caused a movement of the masses. Without that exaltation of the sensibility of Spaniards, the change of course which led Priscillian from the attempt to better the life of the clergy, through ascetic ways, to that of converting asceticism in the archetype of the general Christian life, would not have occurred. Only that religious fervor explains the extension, the rooting, the resistance to persecution and the extensive survival of Priscillianism in which doctrine and ascetic practices played an important role.

The will to know man and nature among the Hispano-Gothic scholars of the 7th century did not fall into the old functional structure of peninsular people, nor did it succeed to alter their religious traditional sensibility. Their scientific creations were integrated in their preocupations for the life beyond. About the work *De Natura Rerum,* Fontaine has just

said that it is «une longue méditation mystique sur l'économie du salut chrétien». It was written —he adds— to give the clerics an elementary cosmogonic formation with which to challenge the peasants' superstitions. Saint Isidore associates the rational order with the religious one about every phenomenon studied.

Other facts disclose the influence exercised by belief upon the Hispano-Gothic vital contexture. It was Saint Isidore who universalized the Augustinian doctrine —developed by the Spaniard Orosius— about providential transcendentalism, in its double aspect of disposition and foreknowledge of history by God and of terrestrial consequence of human acts in the flow of historical life. Flórez, Pérez de Urbel and Benito Ruano have demonstrated that the same spirit triumphed in all the Spanish historiography of the time. Saint Isidore called *Corpus Mysticum* the organic framework, progressive and liberating, which unites the past values with the future ones and guarantees the tight relationship of generations and of cultures; Sagües has studied his doctrine.

Miracles became a normal and daily occurrence in Gothic Spain. «The miracle —J. L. Romero has written about Saint Isidore— seems evident to him and he incorporates it into his account as an effective datum.» Ruano has pointed out the direct and spontaneous interpretation of the miracle as a historical fact by the other Hispano-Gothic chroniclers. «Because the logic operating in time —he says— is a logic of religion which is applied, indistinctly, by historians, to objectives of human knowledge and dimension and to extra rational processes.» And he concludes: «History is, therefore, for the man of the time, an alternate interweaving of human events and of supernatural portents» It can not surprise, therefore, that for Juan de Bíclaro, God was a supreme judge upon whom depended the luck of the armies in war and that he presents him, making 300 Goths triumph over 60.000 Franks, in 598, in reward for the conversion of Recaredo. It is true that the historians, Juan de Bíclaro and Isidore of Seville, called Saint Hermenegildo, converted to Catholicism, rebellious, defeated and then executed, a tyrant. Such a fact does not say anything in favor of a strange subordination of religious problems to worldly interests. In light of the doctrine of the Church, his conversion to the Catholic faith did not authorize Hermenegildo to uprise against his father and his king, violating his duties of son and his oath of fidelity as a subject. No Catholic cleric could avoid qualifying his act as tyrannical.

Saint Isidore discloses his ideas about the theoretical submission of civil power to religious power in the 4th council of Toledo; in his *Sententiae,* he does not hesitate to situate the king at the service of the Church. The rooting of that thesis in the minds of the clergy and of the aristocracy determined the invention in the Hispano-Visigothic monarchy of the rite of the anointing of the kings with sacred oil —I demonstrated this 40 years ago, and no one doubts it today. So much this rite as that concept, later generalized during the Middle Ages, were born, therefore,

in Spain. Will anyone dare deny the transcendence of this double birth as a symptom of a peculiar religious sensibility? Is it not confirmed by the fierce anti-semitism of Visigothic legislation? I have maintained that the latter was in part magnified with the intention of finding a derivative for public opinion, distracting it from the essential struggle which was shaking up the Hispano-Gothic society. The very fact that in order to conceal the vital crisis of the monarchy, one should resort to such an anti-Jewish policy, does it not clearly say how the rulers of Visigothic Spain were aware of the religious exaltation of their people? The very rebellion of the neo-Mussulmans of the suburbs of Cordova, pure Spaniards, against the emir's impiety, does that not prove the continuation of the old functional structure concerning the strange attitude of peninsular people before the problems of the «beyond»?

To prove the non-absorption of the vital contexture by belief in Gothic Spain, my words have been alleged about the submission there of the Church to the strength of the princes. I maintain this without a doubt today, but what was not mentioned, is that, as I have demonstrated in another study, the dependence of the clergy upon the kings, was even closer during the first four centuries of the Reconquest. Until the Gregorian and Cluniac reactions triumphed in León and Castile, the kings from León and Castile were indeed the uncontested chiefs of the national Church. Bishops, abbots, clerics and monks found themselves just as obliged to obedience to the princes as were the public officials of the king and the lay nobility. The Church owed its restauration to the kings, communication with Rome was difficult; the royal authority was stronger than on the other side of the Pyrenees and the dependence of the clergy before the *iussio regis* was constant.

That submission of the Church to the power of the princes was not only compatible with the ardent devotion of the kings and the people towards the Most High, but it constituted a clear indication of such fervors. What to modern eyes seems like humiliating obedience for men of a millennium ago was only efficacious protection, coupled with the generous gift and the ordered defense against internal corruption and anarchy, and against the laity's ambition threatening the Church from outside.

No, Spanish Christians did not radically break with the past. Their attitude before God, man and nature had deep roots in the past. Already in Gothic Spain, belief had an enormous social and political strength. No one looking at the juridical, narrative and literary Hispano-Gothic sources can deny it. Many times exteriorizations of thought and life repeated in the course of our history are already there; a tempting theme. Let us mention a few. Saint Isidore writes in his *Sententiae:* «There are many who find more pleasure in... pagan wisdom than in the Holy Scripture. What is the use of excelling in worldly doctrines and being ignorant of the divine ones?... The word of the Lord hides in humble vessels the brilliance

of wisdom and truth... Passion for worldly science only deifies man with praises.» In the thought of the Hispano-Gothic scholars, as in that of the luminaries of modern Spain, the knowledge of man, the world and life meant very little in comparison with the knowledge about salvation. In proof that salvation was already dramatically urging the masses, it would be fitting to allege to the words of Saint Valery. According to him, lay people came to the monasteries founded by St. Fructuoso de Braga in such number that the military chiefs of the province asked the king to prohibit such monastic professions, because if it were not so, there would be no recruits left for the armies. In the 7th century there was already the same flight of the people to monasteries as there was to be in the 17th century.

Two decades before anyone looked into the contacts between Christian and Islamic Spain to look there for the causes of the religious hypersensibility of peninsular peoples, I attributed the maturing of that hypersensibility to the struggle against the Moors, but I do not agree with the genetic connection established between the full integration of the functional structure of the Spaniards to the service of the faith, and the co-living of Spanish Christianity with the magic culture of Islam, based upon submission to a belief. The action of the long and anguishing fighting of the Spanish Christians against the Mussulmans for many centuries upon the formation of the Hispanic ideas of the relations of man with the divinity and in the projection of the same into the Hispanic forms of thought and of life, seems undeniable to me, but without creating an entirely new vital contexture; affirming and magnifying the temperamental heritage of pre-Moslem Spain.

2. Key to the attention crisis of Hispanic Christianity before man and nature

It has been noted that the movement of intellectual curiosity of some Hispano-Gothic scholars, their will to know man and nature was the result of the graft in primitive Spanish of the vital Greco-Roman attitude. That atmosphere of devotion for ciscelestial problems, thus born in the Peninsula, does not stop with the Arabic invasion but it fructified three different areas of culture.

Displaced outside of Spain through the Hispano-Gothic emigrés who crossed the Pyrenees escaping from the Mohammedans, it contributed to cause the so-called Carolingian Renaissance; Theodulfus of Orleans, Claudio of Turin, Agobardo of Lyons and other illustrious Spaniards collaborated in it.

The Christians who remained in their old headquarters did not forget the Isidorian tradition either as is proven in *Liber Glossarum*, encyclopedia of knowledge of the 8th century and source of the books of medieval

glosses, written by a Mozarab before 750, and the devotion that Eulogio and Álvaro still showed for classical culture, in the middle of the 9th century, verify it.

It continued in the scientific and erudite creations of the Mussulmans of Al-Ándalus who gathered the intellectual Hispano-Gothic heritage, as those of Egypt, Syria and Persia had received the creations of those lands. If it did not continue with the same intensity in the kingdom of Asturias it is because the cultural tide had never come there with strength. However, the presence of copies of the works of Saint Isidore and of other scholars of the time in the libraries of Asturias and León demonstrate that the twofold emigration had born fruits in the Northern lands, emigration of Hispano-Gothic refugees because of the Mussulman invasion and of Mozarabic refugees in the 9th and 10th centuries.

The echo of science and in general of the Hispano-Gothic culture resounded even in the North of Spain during the 8th and 9th centuries. Later, as I have pointed out somewhere else, intellectual curiosity and creative potential suffered a great low in the kingdom of León in the course of the 10th century and in the first decades of the 11th century. After the death of Alfonso III and the death of the men of his generation, for many decades, chronicles were not written, nor were inscriptions of literary value composed, and the only thing was the copying of scriptural or liturgical books, and even the barbarian prose of the charters fell into the extreme degree of degradation.

Well, while the people in the kingdom of León-Asturias and those in the Basque-Navarre country were falling into barbarism, during the anguishing hours which peninsular Christianity passed until the fall of the Caliphate, in Al-Ándalus a brilliant unfolding of the desire for knowledge which was to give marvelous fruits in the following century, was taking place. The Spanish Mussulmans were then capable of objectigying their thoughts in literary or artistic creations, in scientific investigations, in technical discoveries or in industrial realizations; as Lévi-Provençal has demonstrated, they invented crystal and they attempted to fly in the 9th century.

It is, therefore, difficult to believe that the great crisis of the will for knowledge which the Christians of the North of Spain suffered, was due to their encounter with the Islamites of Al-Ándalus and, therefore, to the contagion of the magic culture of Islam.

He who, without feeling profound scorn for erudition, looks into the political history of Hispanic Christianity from the 8th to the 11th century, will have to conclude that the decline of the intellectual curiosity of the Spanish Christians was the result of the coincidence between the weak intellectual tradition of the people in the Cantabrian-Pyrenees Mountains and the forced dedication of all their vital energies in a life or death struggle against the formidable power and the formidable attacks of Moslem Spain, unified by the Cordovan caliphs. That is to say: it was

the result of the vivid affirmation of the functional structure, inherited from the remote past, in the heat of a quarrelsome historical process, or said another way, of the effects caused by the Christian Islamic antibiosis in the temperamental heritage of Northern Spaniards.

It has been said that Peninsular Christianity had renounced the intellectual curiosity of the Isidorian school and the will to know man, nature and life which moved the Hispano-Goths. Against the latter, its vital tension was centered around a desire for the beyond and would have let its desire for knowledge decline, by permitting the dedication of the functional structure to the service of a creed, and that transcendental change would have been the work of the mixing, the graft or the symbiosis of its vital style with the Arabo-Hispanic. But it is a fact that in Al-Ándalus, although people lived under the magic effects of a similar religious dome, philosophy, science and technique flourished. Can there be a greater contradiction?

Cultural movements acquire plenitude after a long genetic process, and because of inertia, which can also be traced in the interplay of the forces of history, they survive the historical circumstances which brought them to life. For that reason, ordinarily, the intellectual crescendo of a people does not coincide with its greatest vital plenitude, and usually, after the historical crisis of a community, its voice still seems to resound as in an echo. After the fall of the Visigothic monarchy, the Hispano-Gothic cultural tradition survived weakly in the North for some time, but the ferocious struggles in which Hispanic Christianity gambled its fate each decade, at times each year, for almost three centuries, were extinguishing the dying old flame.

All of the West was deafened during those centuries by the clamor of war, but as I have said and will repeat frequently in these pages, on the other side of the Pyrenees, usually only the noble minorities were fighting and most of the time, they were fighting in noble struggles. The national and «divine» nature of the war of the Reconquest and the total intervention in it of the popular masses contrast with the synchronic war practices of the Westerners and they also contrast with the fierceness and the cruelty of the struggle between Mussulmans and Christians. The hills of heads which the Islamite victors made in Spain after the battles, and the climbing over them of the Andalusians to praise «Allah, Clement and Merciful», would have horrified feudal Europe. They would have been amazed by the carts filled with such bloody remains going through Al-Ándalus. And they would have been surprised that the inhabitants of the Spanish Christian towns and cities should consider as a precious privilege only having to go to war once a year.

Only the stifling of every cultural movement by the barbarian climate which the barbarian life or death struggle against the powerful Cordovan Caliph created in the kingdom of León, can explain that the seeds of spiritual concern brought there by the Mozarabs of the South in the 9th

century, Mozarabs among whom the old traditions had survived, could not germinate. The human contribution that Catalonia received from the Mozarabs was not as great and the cultural fruits were greater, because European Christianity was behind it, distant and free from the great Hispanic blaze and desirous to learn.

For more than three centuries the Christians of the North of Spain were unable to think about anything other than how to survive the storm. It was that total dedication to the essential problem of living in freedom rather than peaceful contacts with Al-Ándalus, which was the cause of their tremendous crisis.

The decline of the spiritual life of Spanish Christians coincided with the sharp simplification of their economic life. In history, frequently, have been associated synchronically the projections of the spirit towards the satisfaction of the psychic and material necessities of man.

While the economic life of Spanish Christianity declined, in Al-Ándalus the most diverse industries were flourishing, interior commerce and international trading were very active, an urban bourgeoisie and proletariat were appearing, capitalism of some importance was rising and rich economy was triumphing. Well then, the new and evident contrast between the decline and the blossoming of the to Spains, Christian and Islamic, confirms my thesis that the process of the Northern crisis cannot be connected with the peaceful contact of the two human groups. In the North leisure was lacking for the free unfolding of intellectual curiosity and also for the many activities tending to fulfill the desires of daily living. The vertical fall of the longing for knowledge coincided with the extreme simplification of the industrial creations, the mercantile trade and the whole economic life of the kingdom.

If the initiation of the cited double process was not owed to the imitation and acceptance of forms of life of the peninsular Moors, neither did these contribute, in the Christian kingdoms, to the prolongation of the double crisis, of the desire for knowledge and the interest for the productions of human industry, during the centuries that followed the fall of the Caliphate.

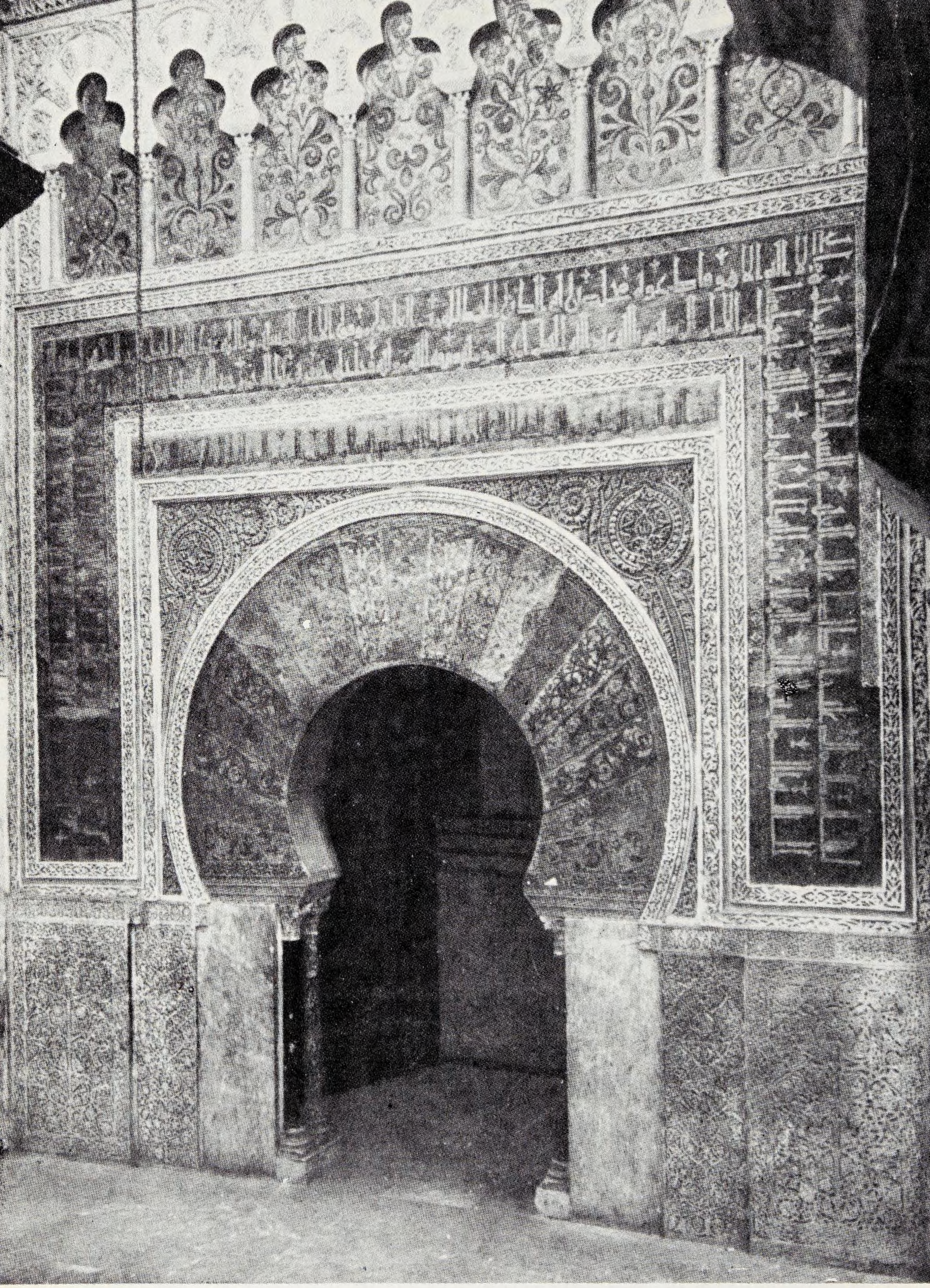
The contradictions which the thesis on the graft or crossing of the vital structures of the Mussulmans and the Christians implies, have not been considered. The latter would have adopted their processes of conscience, the mechanism of their sensibility, their emotive resources and even their psychic projections in their daily life to the Hispano-Arabic modules, but they would not have received the philosophical, scientific, technical or industrial creations, not even the literary creations —lyrical or mystical— of peninsular Mohammedans. It could be admitted that by dint of meditating on the philosophical concepts of their Islamite neighbors, repeating their scientific experiences, applying their techniques, enjoying their lyrical games or surrendering to their mystical flights, the Christians would have

adopted the mental habits of the Moslems. Centuries of intensive and generalized reception, imitation and practice of the philosophical systems, of the scientific investigations, of the progress of technique or of the Hispano-Arabic lyrical or mystical leaps, would have been necessary to reach the adaptation of the discourse, the sensibility and the emotions, in a word: the adaptation of the psychic life of peninsular Christians to that of the Hispano-Mussulmans. It has been recognized that Spanish Christianity was not won over by the spiritual creations of the Moors of Al-Ándalus, and sustained that Castilians, consciously, resisted the imitation of some overflows of the Hispano-Arabic soul for fear that they could weaken their resistanse to the Islamic blows. It is confessed that they cultivated literary genres, epic, drama, and theater, that could not flourish under the vital dome of Islam. It is certain that they could not imitate their industrial techniques nor the process of their economic life either. Therefore, through what ways could the reception of the Hispano-Mussulman mental and emotive customs take place?

Christianity from the other side of the Pyrenees had also suffered a great cultural crisis in the centuries of the first feudal times. But beside and underneath the harsh vital structure of those long centuries, ecclesiastical minorities which did not waste their energies in the struggles of the noblemen, in the silence of their cloisters had sufficient leisure to devote themselves to study and meditation and to confront the mysteries of life and of the world. In the cloisters of Castile and León, attacked and destroyed more than once by the armies of Cordova —recall the murders of the monks of Cardeña and the destructions of Cogolla, Eslonza, Sahagún...— and always infected by the pathological state of the collective psyche, the clerical minorities could not concentrate on anything other than the torturing anxieties of the terrible hours they were living. Evangelical serenity, the spiritual arrows of Saint Paul, the erudite search of the Fathers of the Church into the mysteries of faith, gave way in them to the Apocalypse of Saint John which attracted them towards the gloomy days of the last judgment. The troubled mind of those men who, before the tragic uncertainty about the tomorrow —not at the approach of the year 1000 but since the 9th century—, let themselves be attracted towards the reading, meditation and annotation of the Apocalypse and which later enjoyed copying and spreading commentaries of the mysterious book, could not feel the call of intellectual curiosity, nor listen to the vocational call of the desire for knowledge, nor give in to the investigations of the problems of life and of man.

The inexorable necessity of the free Christians of Northern Spain to devote all their human impetus, all their vital energies to the task of fighting to live and the attraction of the tortured souls of their clerics by the powerful magnet of the mysterious book in which were announced the last stages of the world and of man, explain that the spiritual face of Northern Christianity could not change either, with the incorporation of

33.—*The interior of San Miguel de Escalada (León)*, built during the reign of Alfonso III (-910). It constitutes a beautiful specimen of Mozarabic art brought to León by Christians, influenced by the Hispano-Islamic —still very rooted in the Hispano-pre-Moslem tradition— but who were fleeing from Al-Ándalus because their invincible hostility toward Mussulman ways made them desire to live freely in the North.



34.—*The mihrab of the mosque of Cordova* (year 969), reflects the Byzantine influence. The *basileus* of Constantinople sent to Al-Hakam II an expert on mosaics and 320 quintals of mosaic pieces. Slaves of the caliph learned the new art and began to outdo their master. The new technique reached great heights in Al-Ándalus and evolved with time.

new masses of Mozarabs after the conquests of Coimbra and Toledo, in the second half of the 11th century, although the Hispanic Mozarabs kept their secular cultural traditions, according to the Seudo Isidoriana in the recently conquered Toledo and the information given us in the *Tratado* of Ibn Abdun, about the Mozarabic doctors of Seville before their persecution and exile by the Almoravids in the 12th century.

Once Toledo was conquered, the city of the three religions, became the cultural center of Western Europe. Scholars from countries on the other side of the Pyrenees and beyond the sea rushed to it, pouring into the educated language of the day, all the knowledge of the Mussulmans of the Orient and of the Hispano-Mussulmans. The watering of new philosophical and scientific knowledge made the arid land of Europe fruitful and caused the great cultural movement of the 13th century. Nevertheless, the Castilians in whose land the miracle had taken place, barely took advantage of its marvelous renovating power of the life of the spirit. No one has explained why the Spanish Christians, supposed to be adapted to the singularities of the psychic life of the Hispano-Arabs as a result of a crossing or a symbiosis believed to be four centuries old, could not imitate the philosophical, scientific and technical creations of their Islamic masters.

In another part of this book, I point out that the kings of the dynasty of Navarre, enthroned in León and Castile with Ferdinand I, upon realizing the depth of the moral and cultural crisis into which the clergy and the people of their kingdoms had fallen during the barbarian and harsh 10th century, called the black monks, the Cluniacs, to promote the spiritual and religious reform of their subjects. Their leadership produced mature fruits in peninsular Christianity. The renaissance of the life of the spirit in Christian Spain is evident from the last third of the 11th century. It suffices to look at the charters to observe the contrast between the barbarian language of what was written in the first decades of the same century and the correct Latin of the documents of Castile and León in the 11th century. Historiography verifies the same progress —the so-called Silense imitates Salustio— and there even appear some philosophical figure of the importance of the Arcediano of Segovia, Domingo González.

However, this renaissance could not take off nor survive. The political history of the Christian kingdoms from Zalaca (1086) to Navas (1212) has been neglected. Between the two battles, Spanish Christianity lived another long century of ferocious struggle against Islam, usually in anguished and uneven resistance —it was ruled by five kings rarely friendly— against the attacks of the two consecutive African empires, Almoravid and Almohad. As before the ruin of the Caliphate, the harsh struggle against the Islamites coincided then with obstinate wars among the various Christian kingdoms of Spain and with the long and fierce internal discords that exhausted León and Castile. All the vital energy of peninsular Christianity, especially that of the people from León and Castile, had to go into bloody quarrelsome channels and many times it was not sufficient to

avoid very serious dangers. Portugal withdrew from the old trunk; aristocracy became stonger and sharpened its fangs; the border against the Moors staggered on more than one occasion and the fear of the Mussulman enemy reached such an extreme that Spanish princesses on both sides of the Pyrenees refused to believe in the victory of Navas when they received the exhilarating news of the great Christian triumph.

During that long century, Toledo, where students from all the countries of the West came to learn, became the military outpost of Christianity against Islam. Within a few miles of its fortified baldric, Mussulmans were dominating. It was besieged by Almoravids and Almohads four times. Its natural fortitude saved it, but all the places around were conquered, between the Tagus and the Sierra; it was blockaded three times and taken in the end in the civil wars that parched Castile. Toledo, being the most important city of the monarchy, did not receive municipal organization. Shiny tower of Castile, it was always ready for war; it was governed by one of the most capable military men of the kingdom: by the *Princeps Militiae Toletanae.* While inside the city, Arabic philosophical or scientific works were being translated, the *milicias* were fighting behind the ramparts, struggling in the nearby castles of Mora or Oreja or they were penetrating Moorish lands so that the latter would not enter theirs.

In that Toledo, so burned by the flames of the «divine» war, life must have been harsh and cruel. It is so described by the Hebrew poet and apologist Yehudá Ha-Levi in a letter to a compatriot of Narbonne. The people from Toledo seemed like gigantic harsh men to the great Jewish writer who had taken refuge in Narbonne to escape from the Almoravid persecutions. Men who lived for decades and decades imprisoned within a threatened city in danger, could not be otherwise; men who, according to the *fueros* of 1118 and 1176, could not abandon nor cross the mountains without leaving in their post another warrior who would watch for them, armed, and would fight for them, if the occasion should present itself. The situation at the border was so serious that to man the Castillo de Oreja, within a few miles of Toledo, Alfonso VII offered a pardon and freedom to all criminals of his reign, with the unique exception of the traitors, and granted them twice the penal value that the *hidalgos* enjoyed.

All the cities and towns between the Duero and the Tagus had to dedicate themselves to war, in the same way as Toledo did. The colonization of that wide border zone was initiated at the end of the 11th century and did not end until the following one. The dwellers of the principal places built in them —strongholds and temples— had to fight incessantly to save the kingdom. *The Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* repeatedly relates their deeds against the Almoravids; Sahib al-Sala, the great undertakings of the warriors of Ávila against the Almohads.

We possess a valuable testimony which enables us to know the ideals of life and life itself of the residents of one of the cities of Estremadura.

I am referring to the *Crónica de la población de Ávila.* Gómez Moreno, its editor, considers it to be a work of the middle of the 13th century. In it can be found the tortured image of the integral dedication to war of a Castilian community. For a century and a half the people from Ávila lived fighting against the Moors, their neighbors of the kingdom of León, or among themselves, «when they had no outside enemy», as Pompey had said of the Hispanic people of the beginnings of the Christian era. They were always ready to go to war with their kings, to fight in Andalusia or to enter Gascony and to fight at Bordeaux, as to fight against Don Álvaro Núñez de Lara or at the borders of Aragón. When the sovereigns neglected martial undertakings against the Mussulmans, they attacked the Islamites alone and kept the Almoravids or the Almohads under threat. They ardently seconded their monarchs in their fight againts aristocracy. Nothing could calm their impetus nor that of their neighbors, not even the peaceful intervention of their bishop. The latter tried to avoid once that the militiamen of Ávila and of Béjar and Plasencia would come to arms. He intervened between them when they were already confronting one another ready for battle, but «they told him that if he did not leave they would break his head». His clerics protested that the cathedral was converted into an armed place, but later they assisted in the great days of the war. And the war atmosphere was so tense among them that they even armed part of the Moors who lived in the lands of Ávila, to attack James I of Aragón, against whom Alfonso X was fighting at the time.

We do not have local chronicles illustrating the life of the other cities of Castile or León during the long century between Zalaca and Navas, but the general sources permit us to suppose that they too lived tortured by the satanic impetus of war. What importance could the mysteries of man or of nature have for the people of Segovia, Ávila, Salamanca or Toledo? Of what importance could be the doctrines of Plato or Aristotle, the theories of Algacel or Avicena, or the elucubrations of the Arabic mathematicians, physicists or doctors? Can we imagine them expressing their intimacy in lyrical or mystical overflows? Is it permissible to suppose they were preoccupied by industrial or commercial undertakings?

While they were getting ready for war preparing their arms and training their horses, either invoking God, or Saint Mary or Saint James for help in the war; while they were fighting like fiends against the Mussulmans or among themselves and later talked about their deeds when they returned home; while they were dedicating to war not a surplus of activity but all of their activities, on the other side of the Pyrenees and on this side of the Tagus, lyric poetry, philosophy, science, technique, industry and commerce interested and occupied the leading minorities of the Christian and Islamic peoples and even the masses living in the urban centers.

Islamo-Christian symbiosis? Adaptation of the mental habits in Castile and León to the Hispano-Mussulman processes of conscience? Incapacity

to objectify their thoughts as a result of such an adaptation? No, harsh fruit of the hard life of a people, due to the need they had to fight for their freedom during five centuries, condemned to pour all their energy into singular channels. There was no leisure to think, but only to defend themselves and to attack. During the peace of the 8th century Saint Isidore and his contemporaries and successors were able to project their human energies into rational enterprises. Later... the Christians of the North of Spain had to lead a tortured active life, in which the old functional structure of their ancestors must have maintained itself. Action triumphed over discourse. That triumph was decisive in the forming of the vital style of the Hispanic people; it implied the triumph of the powers of the will over those of the spirit, that of the value at the service of the will over that of knowledge at the service of thought and that of morality over that of philosophy. As a necessary corollary it had the victory of the desire of salvation over intellectual curiosity, because death was awaiting them in ambush in their constant fighting.

Their interest in studies did not fall because infected with the Islamic vital contexture centered on belief, the Christians devoted their whole life to the search for an ultracelestial beyond. The affirmation of the old religious sensibility of the peninsular people and the decline of the new taste for knowledge which they had acquired at the contact with the Greco-Latin civilization, were the outcome of the same and unique process. A people with a tradition different from that of the Northern Spaniard, a people devoted century after century to the pleasing game of the mind and the investigation of the problems of man and of nature, a people in whom reasoning intellect would have triumphed over vital impetus, would have managed with difficulty to resist the great swell of the implacable struggle against Islam. If they had succeded in surviving and safeguarding their freedom, perhaps they would have managed to maintain their ancestral inclination to knowledge and reasoning in a larval state, always ready to revive and to be reborn after the long anguishing hours of the struggle once they had recovered sufficient leisure to satisfy again their old intellectual curiosity.

The absence of that fruitful tradition in the Spanish peoples of Cantabria, who isolated from those who at least had potentially kept the spiritual heritage of the ancient world, had to resist against Islam in the *Finis Terrae* of that ancient world, with their backs to the sea, alone and putting in the gamble all of their overflowing vitality in order not to crack or succumb, conditioned the psychic future of the peninsular people. It rendered impossible the rebirth of what had never been and the rising of a new spiritual desire, of a live current of attention for the scrutinizing of the mysteries of life and the realizations of technology. It could not even attract them to the meditation of the problems of the beyond. They believed in the truths that religious tradition put within the reach of their minds, gave them their passionate and simple ascent and went on their

ways, imploring celestial assistance to survive in the world below and, should they fall into the daily ambush of fate, to reach eternal salvation. Naturally, the divine charater of the war against the Mussulmans accentuated the weight of belief over life, traditional in the Spaniards. And so was completed the great historical process which caused the continual preference of the desire for salvation rather than the pleasures of intellectual curiosity.

In the social and political life, which cannot be neglected with a proud gesture, that harsh struggle for freedom during five centuries had as a result the constitutional singularities which made of León and Castile a barren island of free men in the feudal ocean of the European West. Those popular masses and the *hidalgos,* people too, lived in the margin of the intellectual preoccupations and forgetful of the educated language of the West.

Because the people were everything in Castile, Alfonso X launched his great educational enterprise and succeeded in imposing the Romance language as the cultural language before it become that way in the rest of Europe. To facilitate the awakening of the intellectual curiosity in Castile and León, it was necessary to offer the fruits of the two civilizations of the Christian West and of the Islamic Orient.

Someone has attributed the great cultural deed of Alfonso to the contempt of the Jews for the religious language of Christianity and to the submission of Alfonso X to the orders of his Hebrew collaborators.

The triumph of the Romance culture in Castile was not the work of the Hebrews but the consequence of the peculiar social, economic and political constitution of the kingdom and of the clear-sightedness of Ferdinan III —he had some didactic treatises translated from Arabic to Castilian: *Flores de filosofía* and the *Libro de los doce sabios*—, of Alfonso X and of the Christian advisers of both.

The great cultural revolution of Alfonso was synchronic and parallel with a great attempt at economic reform. The dedication to the satanic enterprise of war, not of superfluous activity, but of the whole activity of Castilians, as I have said, had caused both the crisis of their intellectual and their material lives. As eloquent as the parallel between the meager desire for knowledge of peninsular Christians and the taste for studying of their brothers on the other side of the Pyrenees, would be the parallel between the miserable contemporary economy of Spanish Christianity and the regenerated economy of Western Europe.

There were two atempts in the direction of modernism, two attempts of cultural and economic reforms —I will deal with them later— connected with the same constitutional process that must not be neglected. Both gave important results in reference to the cultural and economic reactivation of the kingdom. But the weight of the past and the channels of life of the people were too deep to enable the vital structure of the

people from León and Castile to change rapidly at the end of the 13th century.

The gigantic leap from the Tagus to Cádiz and from Toledo to Carthagene, which occupied all the national energies for nearly half a century, and the subsequent necessary defense of new frontiers, against the general rebellion of the Moors who had remained within them and against the ferocious attacks of the Africans, maintained alive the blaze of the «divine» war until tthe middle of the 14th century. Referring to the conquering enterprises of his father, the Learned King declared that «the great captures» of the last times had paralyzed the civil life of the kingdom. The rebellion of the Moors of Andalusia and Murcia was extremely serious, prepared and supported by the Banu Al-Ahmares of Granada; the royal family was on the verge of falling into the hands of the rebels and Alfonso X had to ask the help of his father-in-law, James I of Aragón. The Moroccan «Beni Amer», ordinarily allied with the Sultans of Granada, razed the valley of the Guadalquivir, placed Seville and Cordova, in danger —we have a picturesque description of the anguishing hours lived in the last city—, conquered quite a few places —some quite North—, went to Mancha, succeeded in deffeating and killing the archbishop Don Sancho and the one in charge of the border, the most power magnate of the kingdom, Don Nuño de Lara, and continued to attack with fury and success the borders of Castile during many decades. The war with Granada cost the lives of the guardians of Alfonso XI, Princes Don Juan and Don Pedro. The fight for the rule of the ports of the Strait was difficult and costly, with successes —Tarifa: Sancho IV, and Gibraltar: Ferdinan IV— and defeats —Algeciras: Alfonso X and Ferdinand IV, and Gibraltar: Alfonso X. The latter continued the Reconquest with enthusiasm, had to fight in Salado (1340) with the help of his father-in-law, the king of Portugal and sustained two long and terrible sieges: of Algeciras and of Gibraltar (1350); the first of which constituted an undertaking of international dimension, in which not only participated, as in the case of the most famous expeditions of the Reconquest, all the forces of León and Castile, but also many crusaders from Spain and from Europe.

The overflowing activism which as a result of the long struggle against Islam the peninsular people suffered was not, however, satisfied with those battles on the border zone, and along with launching the Catalans into the great Mediterranean adventure which took them to Athens, it ignited long and terrible civil struggles in Castile and Aragón. When the traditional bellicose enterprise against the Mussulman enemy fell into lethargy for more than a century —I have written, fell into lethargy, and not was over, because there were frequent barbarian border raids whose bloody history of two centuries should some day be written, and because the campaigns against Granada were not rare during the rule of the Trastamaras—, the old impetus which moved and tortured the Spaniards, since centuries, pushed them into frequent wars among themselves. Particularly

long and obstinate were those of Peter I of Castile and Peter IV of Aragón and those of Henry II and John I against the Portuguess. Among other dynastic strifes one should recall that of the bastard Count of Trastamara against the Cruel King, that of bastard Count of Noreña against John I of Castile and that of the Prince of Viana against John II of Aragón. Discords among the noblemen and factions filled the long reigns of John II and of Henry IV (1406 to 1474) and destroyed the urban centers. The revolution of Catalonia lasted 20 years. The old impetus also led into the bloody persecution of the Jews and the fierce enmity against the converts or *marranos*.

The anguishing hours of the dramatic resistance againts the Islamites had passed and peninsular people began to have some time to devote to purposes of culture and economic tasks. But it was not easy that, within the climate of violence in which passed the 14th and 15th centuries, the formula of balance between spirit, emotions and instincts of the Spanish Christians, result of the monochord-like millenary Hispanic history, should be altered. The powers of the will continued to triumph over those of reasoning intellect, and although the interest in questions of knowledge and those of material life increased, the disorbed ego of peninsular people could not easily dehumanize itself into enterprises of reason

Gil de Zamora in his *Libellus de preconiis Hispaniae* (1278) tried to educate prince Don Sancho, giving him great examples to imitate because «magis movent exempla quam verba, facta quam dicta, experimenta quam ostentamenta, exempla Alexandri pugnantis quam Aristotelis disputantis». In this preference of examples to words, facts to sayings, experiences to teaching, and the deeds of Alexander to the lessons of Aristotle, to instruct the one called to rule a kingdom, discloses a Castilian man of letters of the 13th century, the psychic projection of his people and all the people of Spain.

For the Spaniards, theory without work was a body without a soul. «Tongue without hands, how dare you speak?», Pero Bermúdez had said to one of the cowardly sons-in-law of the Cid in the *Cortes* of Toledo, upon hearing his allegations. In the Council of Basel, Count of Cifuentes, ambassador of Castile, as he saw one day the ambassador of England occupy the seat, which in his judgment corresponded to his king's, approached him, «and placing his hands on him, with great audacity snatched him and threw him out of the place». When the president of the assembly asked him why he had dared to do what he did, the Count of Cifuentes responded: «Whe reason is defective, the hands must not fail the heart.»

Two Castilians, on solemn occasions, thus invoked the hands as guarantee of reason. The hands, the instrument most flexible and marvelous at the disposal of man to convert vital energy into action! The words of Pero Bermúdez and Count of Cifuentes were backed by their hands, by their hands which guaranteed the statutes of their reason. Their reason? The spiritual force of man through which he grasps and explains the sur-

rounding reality, projects in ideas the data of sensibility, rules the emotions and curbs the instincts, and in battle with life, rules and guides it, or aspires to rule and guide it at the same time as it receives impacts from it and is integrated in it? No, the hands of Pero Bermúdez and Count of Cifuentes guaranteed and defended the reason or justice of their causes, their rights subjectively magnified by pride, in the final analysis the moral projection of an act of the will.

«Mother —Pármeno said to Celestina—, I did not want you to advise me with the idea of pleasing me as those who, under the pretense of being affectionate with me, blinded my reason.»

To these words, the old procuress answers with a disturbing and dramatic question: «What is reason, you fool?»

The same question is asked today by a modern philosophical school which shoots arrows from the fortified tower of exalted human vitality. What is reason?, would have asked with Celestina the bold and vehement Spaniards of the days of Pliny, the Basques against the Goths of Toledo, the Asturians of the dawn of the Reconquest in a cruel battle against Cordova, the Castilians of the time of the counts, forced to fight on three different fronts to reach free life, the Cid's warriors launched by fate to heroic adventures through the valleys and sierras of Levant, the *caballeros* of Ávila who dared to confront the Almoravid armies and the Almohad hordes in Andalusian lands, and hordes of Spaniards of all conditions forced for centuries to invest in demonic bellicose channels, not their extra activity, but their whole activity.

What is reason?, would have asked Álvar Fáñez de Minaya defending Toledo, Munio Alonso after defeating and killing the valis of Cordova and Seville, Garci Pérez de Vargas in the siege of that city, Garci Gómez Carrillo allowing himself to be torn up not to surrender Jerez, Antonio Pérez de Guzmán witnessing the death of his son to keep Tarifa... And Don Sancho the Fearless ordering the execution of 400 residents of Talavera, Don Juan Manuel fiercely destroying the Castilian fields, Peter I ordering the death of the closest members of his family, and dozens and dozens of old servants, Henry II in Montiel before the corpse of his brother, Ferrán Martínez arousing the rabble to attack the Andalusian Jews and thousands of Spaniards impelled by the most unbridled vitality to the most heroic or to the most barbarian deeds. Even Don Pero Niño, great seaman and great captain, although his chronicler Gutierre Díaz de Gámez, Galician and therefore more given to the reasonning attitude, maintained in *El Victorial*, that the perfect knight had to be «man of reason».

For having asking scornfully, as Celestina asked Pármeno, what is reason?, differently from the other European people, more governed by it, Spaniards have made their history without reasoning and without calculating before and after 711. Because they neither calculated nor

reasoned the Asturians and the Cantabrians resisted against the Romans, the Goths and the Arabs, and the Castilians did not succumb in their obstinate fights against the Islamites. Because they neither reasoned nor calculated, Spaniards conquered America in the 16th century. Without calculating nor reasoning they fought furiously for the Catholic unity of Europe in the days of the Counter-Reformation and rose against Napoleon in the beginning of the 19th century. Because they neither reasoned nor calculated, they have neatly killed each other on many occasions, the last one a quarter of a century ago.

«Tongue without hands, how dare you speak?» «When reason is defective, the hands must not fail the heart.» «What is reason, you fool?» Always the disorbed explosive ego of the medieval Spaniards flowing into acts of the will, always giving itself to activism, at times, frantic, with contempt for the pure enterprises of the mind. In that climate ruled by willing instead of reasoning, the thinking was legitimated as a guide to doing. For that reason, during the 13th and 14th centuries, there was an abundance of treatises of political and juridical science, regulators of honest desire and just government and in economic life, over the tasks of industry, quiet, slow, triumphed the more audacious ventures of trading, even, naturally, those of maritime and international trade. Due to this desire for action the treatise writers of political and juridical science not only formulated wise norms of life, but at times, they lived as intensely as Don Juan Manuel or Chancellor Ayala, or the seamen of the national merchant fleet at times ventured to fight with the war fleets of the competitive countries.

The attitude of peninsular people toward science and technology was not the result of the incapacity to objectify their thoughts by the symbiosis of the Hispanic vital style with the Arabo-Oriental forms of life; it was not the outcome of the adaptation by the Christians of their functional structure to that of the Islamites, but it was the consequence of a patho-logical state of mind, a true collective psychosis of action, fruit of their century old and anguished struggle against the Moors.

The Oriental did not dehumanize, he did not objectify his thought, because for him, the supreme value of life was the annihilation of his will in that of the Supreme Being and the true non being to which life leads. The Spaniards, on the contrary, lived with such violence, exaltation and intensity that, at times —as we will see shortly—, he confronted God and was guilty of sacrilegious profanations or uttered horrifying blasphemies —a prelate of León, after breaking a holy host with a grandee, in sign of peace, had him killed by his servants. And not even death itself was limited in this unbridled desire for action —«It matters to live life in such a way that there be life left in death», says the motto of a Castilian shield. In those imperious energetic discharges, in that frantic impetus for action which, naturally, ended up in alternate stages of tremendous tiredness, somnolence, quietism, in that impetus, affirmation of the first

primitive impetus of peninsular people through the war against the Moors, is the key to the weakness and crisis of intellectual curiosity, the weakness and crisis of the will to know of the Spaniards.

The Spaniard had to live with all his being, not like the Mussulmans of Al-Ándalus —we only know of one who live thus, the mystic permeated with Hispanicism, Ibn 'Arabi—, but because he needed to live this way to be able to survive.

Used to divine war, the Spaniard alone got used to facing men and God, men inasmuch as they were companions of arms or enemies; God —with a God made man and with the men raised to God, the saints— who could assist him in battle. The world and things could not therefore attract his attention.

3. Saint James, Spain's making instead of Spain, work of Saint James

It is not possible to approach inquisitively the past of Spain without dedicating attention to the cult of Saint James which fills an unavoidable page of Spanish history. In pilgrim clothes or a rider on his white horse, Saint James has walked through our past and has left indelible traces in it. For some centuries, he constituted the steel spring of our resistance against the Moors. He served to unite the Peninsula with Western Christianity through many centuries. He has been the celestial captain of the Hispanic knights during the long series of our divine wars, in the most remote parts of the world A great debt indeed do Spain and the Spaniards owe the Apostle *Miles Christi!* Will the liminal affirmation of these words about what Spain and the Spaniards have against St. James sound like blasphemous sarcasm?

The Spaniards have had a clear awareness of the gravitation of the cult of St. James in their history and have managed their pens around the many problems caused by this cult, with almost the same ardor as the Apostle managed his sword in support of his wordly vassals of Spain. Nevertheless, they have not fulfilled their duties as such towards their Lord above with the same zeal that St. James used in fulfilling his with his protégés on earth, because many, many times the Spaniards have fought against the Apostle more than he has fought for them. Fought? Perhaps it is not accurate to speak of fights; inaccurate and unfair. because St. James never fought, naturally, materially on our side, neither have we really fought against him. Perhaps it is also erroneous and unjust to compare the traditional generosity of the Apostle towards the Spaniards with the hagglings of the Spaniards with the Apostle. When discussing or denying the reality of his coming and being buried among us, and discussing or denying his prodigious help in battles, we have all built a most valuable monument to the memory of the Son of Thunder:

we have rendered him the great homage which human passion always renders, in not letting celestial beings, men, ideas or ideals die in scornful forgetfulness. While one discusses about a creature of the ultraterrestrial world or of this poor earthly world or about and ideal or an idea, these creatures, these ideas or these ideals are still alive in the emotions and in the thoughts of men. The beings of the historical or celestial other world die, their deeds or the projections of their minds perish and the ideas recede or vanish as wandering little clouds, when in the end they cease to receive human honors or human criticism. Silence and forgetful peace bury in the definitive non being those who enjoy or suffer them. Discussion keeps the attention alive and prolongs life. The polemic caused by St. James, still, is for that reason an undeniable sign that he continues to live among Spaniards.

That polemic, initiated more than five centuries ago, is still inconclusive. People from the most opposed and hostile beliefs have participated in it because it encompasses problems purely historical and very complex emotional problems. In the last decades, the St. James cult in Spain, besides works of less importance, has caused two very erudite and valuable studies: that of Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra and Uría about the pilgrimages to Compostela, and another about the total efficacy of the devotion to St. James in the forming of the historical personality of Spain If the game did not take place among Spaniards, one could be surprised that the great thrust in defense of the prodigious action of the cult to the Apostle in the maturing of what is Hispanic was given by someone who does not believe in the divine forces or at least not in those of Christianity. I am referring, obviously, to the author of *España en su historia*, who if he has tried to explain the origin of Hispanic devotion to St. James by unreasonable ways, has attributed to him a medullar function in Spanish history. He has squandered torrents of erudition, sharpness and rhetoric in that design. Squandered? Yes, because he has not succeeded in coming out gracefully of his determination.

He devotes a great effort to explain the birth of the St. James cult in the Peninsula. He takes the thread of the skein from very far. The myth of Dioscuri would have been interwoven already in the Gospels with the tradition of the two brothers, Apostles, John and James, «Sons of Thunder». In Spain would have been read an apocryphal Gospel which considered Jesus the twin of one of his apostles. Very early in Galicia there would have been a confusion between the two Jameses, the son of Zebedee and the one who was considered the brother of the Lord. It would have come to the belief that the one venerated in Compostela was the twin brother of Jesus. In Galicia one would have rendered homage to the brothers Dioscuri, who at times would have appeared in combate. And the devotion to St. James as a co-divinity and as *Miles Christi* would have been born as a prolongation of the Dioscuri myth.

His scorn for scientific requirements of historical methodology, his contempt for chronology and the flaws of his erudite formation made him fail in his determination.

He has not succeeded in demonstrating the interference in the Gospel of the two sons of Jupiter with the two sons of Zebedee. But what is real or groundless in his supposition does not matter regarding the problem of the Dioscuri origin of the cult to St. James.

It is certain that the Dioscuri cult was not spread very much in Spain There is no knowledge of any temple consecrated to the twin sons of Jupiter. Among the 7.000 —barely— Hispano-Latin inscriptions which have come to us among which almost a thousand and a half are dedicated to honor the various indigenous or Greco-Roman divinities, only three are dedicated to Pollux in Baetica and one of them to the two divine brothers in Tarragona. As neither the inscriptions, nor the coins, nor the texts offer any indication that the Dioscuri had been venerated in Galicia during the Roman time, and Saint Martin of Dumio does not mention Castor and Pollux among the divinities which the Galician peasants adored in his days, we can ascertain that the sons of Jupiter did not receive worship in the region where later was born the cult to St. James.

We can also reject the faith that is attributed to the Spaniards in the co-divinity of the Apostle buried in Compostela. In the *De ortu et obitu Patrum,* it is not James, but Thomas who is considered the twin brother of the Lord and the great Spanish Heresiarch Priscillian identified with Thomas, not James, but Judas. It is not a fact, therefore, that in Roman and Visigothic Spain there was a belief in the intimate fraternity of Jesus and the future *Miles Christi.* Did such a belief ever appear in Hispanic lands?

The confusion between the two Jameses, the Great and the *frater Domini,* occurred very early in the Orient. There appears in the *Martirologio Jeronimiano* of the 6th century, not known in the Northeast of Spain until much after the start of the cult to St. James. There is not a single proof, nor a single indication that that confusion had found echo in the Galicia of the 8th and 9th centuries, which saw the beginning of that cult. Not one of the oldest chroniclers, nor a single Galician document, from Asturias or León prior to the 11th century makes mention of it. Someone has alleged in favor of the reality of such a confusion two passages of Ibn Idārī (13th century) and Al-Mayyari (17th century), the two derived from Ibn Hayyan (died in 1076); a text of *Historia Compostelana,* written between the years 1118 and 1121; a sermon included in the *Códice Calixtino,* posterior to 1130, and some Florentine paintings of the 14th century. All the documents from the 9th to the 10th century in which a reference is made to the saint venerated in Compostela make him the brother of John, as was in reality James the Great. Naturally, we cannot scorn the testimonies closer to the first decades of the cult to follow later or invalid ones. One of them is of Andalusian origin, inspired not in the

tradition of Northern Christianity, but in versions gathered from the Mozarabs and is two centuries after the origin of the Northern devotion to St. James. Others were written more than 300 years later and do not give credit to the affirmation questioned here. Only the author of *España en su historia* can dare allege Italian plates to prove how the Galicians thought half a millennium before!

Between the start of the cult to St. James and the St James, celestial rider intervening in the fights, there are nearly three centuries. The *Jacobus miles Christi* is a very posterior invention realized at the earliest at the end of the 11th century and even perhaps at the start of the 12th. Neither the charters, nor the annals, nor the Christian chronicles anterior to the year 1000, nor the Mussulman historians or compilers of the same time and even of posterior times allude to the war interventions of St. James; and the pseudo Silense, to whom we owe the first testimony about the knight Apostle, wrote at the earliest in 1118. No one has offered nor will any Islamic testimony or Christian testimony of an earlier date. The allegation of the *Privilegio de los Votos* is antiscientific, already out-moded deceit in the 12th century, and of the *Vida de San Millán,* written by Berceo in the middle of the 13th century, in proof of the faith in a warrior Apostle during the 9th century. The account of the miraculous battle of Clavijo is a clumsy falsification of the late 12th century. Therefore, there is no possible connection between the legendary apparitions of the Dioscuri in lake Regillus and the appearance of the faith in a fighting St. James 1.500 years later.

Notwithstanding the studies of Monsignor Duchesne and of García Villada, and all the others interested in the topic, it is honestly necessary to admit that we do not know anything certain about the origin of the cult to St. James in Compostela. But the uncertainty which reigns about the initial fact of this cult rather spurs than stops the believer in his investigation. It has been said that miracles are believed in or not, but that they are not examined rationally. He who writes so does not believe in any religion. The Almighty is so continuously intervening in this poor earthly life, that what we call a miracle in the end is nothing but the outcome of one more of his permanent interventions, a strange interference which attracts the attention of man in a singular way, because it seems to break the very laws which govern us by the will of God. But if faith is a marvelous gift of the divinity, the latter does not suspend in the believers the exercise of reasoning but instead moves them to come to It by the way of ratiocination; before the miracle, it incites them to contrast its reality in order to affirm their confidence in Its supreme reality. For that reason, it has precisely been Catholics of very strong faith, including priests and religious, who, with the greatest critical rigor, have confronted and continue to confront the liminal problem of the St. James cult.

Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel, after qualifying the rejected thesis as gro-

tesque, has come up with a conjecture infinitely more likely though also groundless. A few years back an inscription of the first half of the 7th century in which is recalled the consecration of the church of Saint Mary was found in Mérida. It says that under the altar slab of the same were kept the relics of various saints, among whom those of the two sons of Zebedee, James the Great and Saint John the Evangelist. When the Mussulmans invaded Portugal, the clergy from Mérida had escaped to Galicia with such relics and the clerics of Saint Mary would have deposited them in a church built in Compostela in honor of the Mother of God. Towards the middle of the 7th century there began to circulate through the West some brief biographies of the apostles translated from a Greek original. In the latter, Spain is mentioned speaking of Saint Paul, but according to the Latin translation, Spain would have been evangelized by St. James. In 686 St. Julian of Toledo who knew the *Breviarum Apostolorum* with its Western retouches, rejected the tradition of the St. James apostolate in the Peninsula. In 776 Beato of Liébana accepted it in his *Comentario sobre el Apocalipsis.* The same Beato would have composed a liturgical hymn dedicated to king Mauregato between 783 and 788, in which is said of St. James: «Oh, apostle very worthy and very holy, refulgent and golden head of Spain, powerful defender and very special patron!» Beato is supposed to have initiated, among the Christians of the North of Spain, the faith in the evangelization of Spain by St. James and therefore, his celestial patronage. St. James would have been entrusted with the Northern Christianity in the difficult hours that followed. The relic of the Apostle brought from Mérida to the new church of St. Mary of Compostela would have been the object of a singular veneration, because it belonged to the divine patron. National fervor along with popular fantasy would have converted, with time, the holy relic into the whole body of the Holy Disciple of Christ. The cult to him would have replaced that to the Virgin and the anguish and piety of the Northern Christians would have altered the peaceful apostolic patronage into the equine and martial protection of St. James.

The ingenious theory of Pérez de Urbel meets with insoluble difficulties that invalidate it, in part. It is certain that people from Mérida escaped to Galicia, but the information of *Ajbar Machmua* does not authorize to think that there were clerics among the fugitives, and the distinction made between the property of the fugitives and that of the clergy rather contradicts the reality of such an emigration Under no circumstances could that flight have taken place through the Guadiana and the sea, since the river went down to lands in the power of the Islamite invaders, and, therefore, it cannot be supposed that the legendary *Translatio* of the holy body of the Apostle alludes to that supposed river and ocean flight of the clerics of Mérida.

Portela Pazos has fought other affirmations of Fray Justo. From the 63 relics of Compostela only 7 coincide with those of Mérida more known

among Christians. There are lacking in Santiago the unique rare ones that were kept in Mérida. Those of Compostela could have come from the Oviedo deposit. All the Galician documents of the 9th century concretely point out the veneration of a holy body.

Yes, a minute relic of the Apostle would not have moved Bishop of Iria. Teodomiro to be buried next to it —his sepulchral tombstone has just been found— nor would it have decided the kings to establish the religious center of their kingdom in Compostela. The pontifical documents of the past century record the finding under the altar of St. James the remains of three skeletons. Careful excavations have been carried out in the basilica. From the reports of Chamoso Lamas, we find the existence, on the place, of a *civitas* of imperial time and the presence on its ruins of a paleo-Christian necropolis at the foot of an important Roman sepulcher. This proves that before the Moslem invasion a great personality was already venerated there. In one of the skeletons found in the apostolic tomb there were clear signs that it had belonged to someone who had been decapitated, as were St. James in Jerusalem and Priscillian in Treves. It is a fact that the body of the heresiarch was taken to Spain and there venerated by his faithful followers. Would he have been buried in Compostela? There is nothing to guarantee or contradict this.

The proof of Fray Justo that Beato of Liébana was the author of the hymn dedicated to Mauregato in which St. James is made the refulgent head of Spain is convincing. Shall we owe, moreover, the initiation of the St. James cult to the famous and vehement monk of Liébana?

All that has been alleged and continues to be alleged in support of the evangelization of Spain by St. James and about the move to Galicia of the remains of the Apostle lacks scientific credit. The St. James apostolate in the Peninsula was not accepted by the peninsular people until the days of Beato of Liébana. The latter was more than sufficiently bold and passionate to consider good the traditions that St. Isidore and St. Julian either had not known or had rejected and that the late Visigothic church had ignored, since in an antiphonal of 672, which served as model to the great *Antifonario de León* of the 10th century, the feast of St. James the Great did not appear, a silence incompatible with the faith in his preaching among us. If Spaniards had believed in it before the 8th century the Apostle would have undoubtedly been celebrated by the Hispanic church and his feast would figure in our primitive liturgy.

Menéndez Pelayo, very devoted to his compatriot of the 8th century, Beato, considered thus his *Tratado apologético:* «Barbarian book... where the sentences are of iron... Book which is a true theological clamor, worthy of a Cantabrian... not born in the pomps of Seville or Toledo, but in rough, wild and fierce land... to be heard by men... accustomed to continuous devastation and fight.» Almann has written about the same treatise: «There is no moderation in this pamphlet... the archbishop is brutally treated... The presentation of Elipando's doctrine is tendencious.

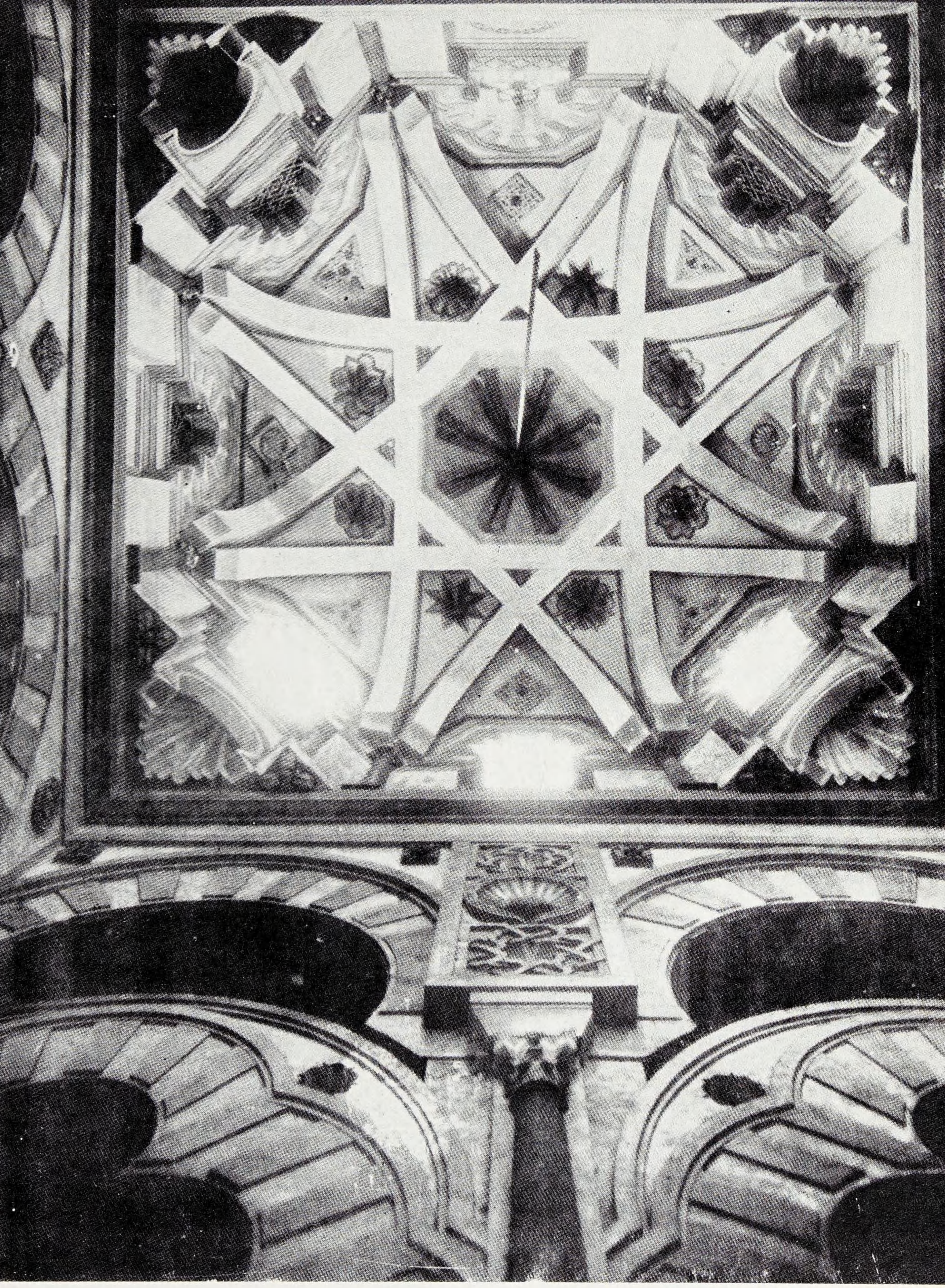
Thus it was easy to refute the prelate.» Abadal points out about Beato: his audacity, erudition, passion, his polemical preparation and he writes: «As a bird of prey, with well-aimed vision and a fulminating wingspread, he landed on the unfortunate sentence of Elipando, against whom he was writing.» That man, who accepted the tradition of the St. James apostolate in Spain and sang to St. James, by his polemic against the Archbishop of Toledo —polemic which went beyond Spain and put him in contact with the very Alcuino— later acquired great authority in the kingdom of Oviedo, and thanks to this *Comentario sobre el Apocalipsis de San Juan* he attained lasting credit in the Asturian church. That man who was rough, vehement, determined and listened to, could have initiated the decisive turn toward the exalted devotion of St. James in Spain.

I have written could. Was he the one? Chronologically the new attitude of Beato of Liébana in regard the Hispanic patronage of St. James and the discovery of the apostolic sepulcher in *Campus Stellae,* are so close —Alcuino wrote to Beato around 799 and the finding of the tomb of the Apostle is usually dated around 814—, that it is not surprising to find them related. If the miracle took place —nothing guarantees the authenticity of the magic *Translatio* of the apostolic corpse to Galicia, but nothing forces its denial, since in history many events no less illogical and unlikely have occurred— the preparation of the spiritual climate in which it would take place, will have to be attributed to Beato. He who does not believe in the prodigy will also have to see in the exaltations of the monk of Liébana the propitious way for the invention=finding of the sepulcher of St. James.

Invention=finding? The Latin verb *invenire* has the double meaning to find, to encounter and to invent, to imagine. We can attribute the same double meaning to the discovery of St. James' sepulcher which was going to galvanize the resistance of the Spanish Western Christianity in the difficult hours presided by Alfonso II, the Chaste (791-842); terrible hours which I have mentioned in my study *Asturias resiste.*

It has been denied that there was intentional fraud in the invention —finding or invention— of the apostolic tomb; it is supposed that it was done without «any rational calculation», «as the spontaneous development of very old beliefs». But such affirmation have been contradicted by comparing the origin of the cult to St. James with two obvious historical frauds: with the legend of Bernardo de Carpio, conceived at the end of the 12th century as a reaction against French arrogance, which in the epic gestes presented Charlemagne as a liberator of Spain, and with the legend of King Arthur, invented a little before to give prestige to the Norman dynasty of England against the kings of France who were taking pride in their ancestor, the first emperor of the West.

The invention of St. James' sepulcher and the origin of the Spanish devotion of Compostela would have risen in the most ingenuous way and



35.—*Cupola of the lateral chapel of the mihrab of the mosque of Cordova.* What has been seen in it and in various similar ones is the start of a process that, through the most evolutionized of some Toledan mosques and of the arches of Romano-Hispanic and *Mudejar* churches and of the West of France —worked under the towers at first-brought even the arches of Gothic architecture of Gothic cathedrals.

36.—*Ivory jar from Almuguira,* dated in 968 *(Museum of the Louvre, Paris).* It is adorned with human figures. The Spanish Mussulmans reproduced them despite the Koran, because with their pre-Moslem temperamental contexture, they conserved many ancestral uses, and practices among which are: the taste for wine, which they drank openly and some poetic forms related to popular Hispano-Latin lyric poetry.

37.—*Interior* of a Toledan mosque of the 10th century, converted into a church —*(El Cristo de la Luz)*— by the conquerors of the city. That conversion was for the Christians the first task in winning a city from the enemy. And as later they raised new temples over the sites of the old mosques —the cathedrals of Toledo and Seville, for example— very few of those constructed in Al-Ándalus have survived until today. *(Toledo.)*

38.—*From a small ivory chest* dated in 1004 *(Leire-Pamplona),* classical example of this type of boxes and also with human figures. The Spanish Islamites did not prescind from them. In 884, Mussulman seamen placed an image of the Virgin over a door of Pechiria because there was a similar one over a door of the Cordovan city walls. And in the 11th century, they continued to adorn the hot springs of Cordova with Roman statues in which Ibn Hazm used to bathe.

least marked with political intention. There are no indications that that invention had as its end to make of St. James an Anti-Mohammed. Within the Christian tradition, one can explain the petition for help to an apostle of the Lord. Already during the Christian-Roman Empire, celestial forces were made to intervene in some battles. In his *Historia Francorum*, Gregory of Tours referred to some miraculous war interventions of Saint Martin of Tours. The Hispano-Gothic chroniclers incorporated the miracle to their accounts as a historical event and as an efficacious fact. Alfonso III presented Pelayo fighting in the Cave of Saint Mary confident in the divine help of Christ, and in fact receiving it. The very bishops of Compostela in war peril during the 10th century invoked Christ.

People lived under the dome of an ingenuous and exalted faith —the Apocalypse of Saint John had come to be a book widely read and commented upon— and in an atmosphere of dreams and prodigies —they were referring to those accompanying and facilitating the inital expeditions of the Reconquest in Covadonga and in Cosgaya and which had surrounded the holy death of Alfonso I. The official historiography of Oviedo of the 9th century discloses how three very firm ideas had been received by the leading minorities of the Christian kingdom: the culpability of the Hispano-Goths before God; the punitive abandonment of the Hispanic people before the Mussulmans, by Christ, in punishment for their serious sins; only divine mercy could put an end to the anguishing situation of peninsular Christianity. A cleric from Toledo, at the service of Alfonso III, even wrote a prophetic chronicle to announce the near end of the great tribulation.

It is not surprising that in that climate of faith, marvel, anguish and hope, if in fact the miraculous discovery of the Apostolic tomb did not take place, the casual finding of an old paleo-Christian sepulcher, perhaps venerated in the country at some other time —James'? Priscillian's? Neither one of the two?— the fantasy of some cleric influenced by the ideas of the famous Beato de Liébana, perhaps still alive, would run wild; some cleric devoted to St James, reader of the *Comentario sobre el Apocalipsis de San Juan* and of the hymn of the days of Mauregato in which the Apostle was invoked as the refulgent head of Spain. Later, the finding=invention of St. James' sepulcher would have been ingenuously presented as the tangible manifestation of divine mercy, as the proof that God had forgiven the sins of the Spaniards, whose punishment had occasioned the loss of Spain, and as a clear testimony that filled with pity for the afflicted Spanish Christianity, he had delegated his Apostle to protect it from now on as its celestial patron, in the same way as the earthy lords defended and protected their protégés. The vassal meaning of medieval Hispanic religiosity —with which I will deal later— would have facilitated the forming of that singular concept of the cult to St. James.

The triumph and diffusion of that cult coincided precisely with the reign of Alfonso III (866-910), during which took place a great effort of

historiography to announce the end of the great penance, at the same time as the kingdom reached a really extraordinary extension, difficult to guess a few decades before, extension which could be connected with the celestial «seigneurial» protection of the Apostle St. James.

Early the celestial assistance of the Apostle would be invoked in battles; he would be attributed some great victories against the Mussulmans —the *Cronicón iriense* documents the invocation of the apostolic patronage in Simancas (939) by Ramiro II—; he would be besieged with petitions in the anguishing moments of the second half of the 10th century; he would be attributed the end of the tragic hours at the beginning of the following century; little by little the help of St. James would become personalized in the equine and martial legend, through popular fantasy, moved to an ingenuous antropomorphic and realistic explanation of the miraculous apostolic assistance with the impulses of the old tendency of Western man to humanize myths. The people to whom the celestial help of St. James was mentioned would not succeed in explaining it through subtle theological interpretations, they would end up imagining it as the fruit of the authentic fight of the Apostle in its ranks, as a divine champion —fighting as celestial chiefs they also imagined the very learned Saint Isidore or the ascete Saint Millán—, and would get to the point of supposing him fighting on a spirited charger, as the earthly champions used to fight. The assiduous reading of the *Apocalypse* of Saint John could also have contributed to this human representation of the apostolic assistance —as Larrea believes. The commentaries of the *Apocalypse* by Beato were the most widely read book in Christian Spain from the 9th to the 11th century. In the *Apocalypse* the Divine Word appears as a celestial rider on a white horse. Frequently they saw that rider reproduced in the miniatures of the many copies of the quoted commentaries which existed. It cannot be surprising that the popular fantasy would take its inspiration there to imagine the legend of *Miles Christi,* at the end of the 11th century, and to create, later, the literary and artistic iconography of the St. James myth.

I cannot, obviously, prove algebraically this explanation of the finding=invention of St. James' tomb and of the development of the cult and legend of Compostela. But it is presided by logic, it develops within the historical atmosphere of the time in which the great Hispanic process was initiated and counts with the slow progress of the centuries during which the primitive germ matured and was transformed.

Someone has ventured to make this amazing affirmation: «The authenticity of St. James' sepulcher is neither greater nor lesser than that of the statue of liberty in the port of New York!» That is too much; the parallel does not make sense. What can be said, as I stated in 1918 before the students of Madrid and as I have said many times later, is something different. The reality of the presence of St. James' body in Compostela would not have produced results of greater historical significance than those produced by the strong, clear, profound and exalted

faith that Spaniards, and Europeans had during many centuries, in the mysterious arrival of the Apostle's remains in Galician lands. Faith moves mountains. It matters little that the Compostela sepulcher may or may not be the Apostle's sepulcher. If, indeed, the remains of St. James had been lying there and Christianity had ignored it, the historical fecundity of so great a relic would have been nil. The peninsular people believed and Christianity believed and the wind of faith pushed the sails of the little boat of the West and the authentic miracle took place. But, let us be careful, the miracle did not reach the profile that someone has wanted to give it.

The *invention* of the sepulcher of St. James of Compostela produced two early results: it caused the confidence of the kings, grandees, clerics and the people in divine help and increased the pride of all in the singular privilege that the presence in Galicia of an apostolic tomb meant and which was excelled only by the tombs in Rome. St. James' protection seemed evident during long decades. The Christian armies had great successes, the borders of the kingdom went from the mountains to the Duero, Cordova fell powerless, and when the new caliph resumed the offensive, Ramiro II succeeded in defeating him in the double battle of Simancas and Alhándega (949). The faith in the celestial help was so intense that Ramiro, seeing himself forced to face the immense army of 'Abd al-Rahman III by the river Pisuerga, offered the Apostle the national vow that clerical interests and legendary flowerings later transformed in what has come to the very 20th century. The intention was not to create a Christian magic to face the Islamic magic which filled the Moslems with fervor. There simply was a logical *crescendo* of the confidence in St. James' assistance which seemed evident and verifiable.

That faith infected the Christians on the other side of the Pyrenees. The victory of Simancas was exalted even in Germany: Luitprando from Frankfort, the Anónimo de San Gall and the analyst Saxo mentioned it. Naturally, it produced among us the enrichment and the power of the See of Compostela, increasing its reputation and its honor; and outside of Spain, an emotional current which began to attract hordes of men towards the sepulcher of the Apostle. In Al-Ándalus this double promotion of prestige of St. James' sanctuary was not ignored. To humiliate the hope that the faith in St. James caused among all the Christians in the world and especially among the Spanish Christians —only the Mozarabs denied it, according to Pérez de Urbel—, in 997 Almanzor carried out the campaign which led him victorious to Compostela itself and which permitted him to raze the city and the temple of the Apostle. At the end of a few years, Almanzor died and his descendants ceased to rule Al-Ándalus, the latter lost its offensive power with the fractioning of the caliphate and the Northern Christians were breathing freely again. It was logical that popular fantasy should attribute to St. James' vengeance, that happy and unforeseeable change. And in the end, the terrible blow from

the great Islamic chief, instead of extinguishing, contributed to exalt confidence in the ultraterrestrial patronage of St. James.

Proud to possess the sacred relics of an apostle of Christ, the bishops of Compostela tried in the 10th century to emulate the pontiffs of Rome. The apostolic rank of the tomb of Compostela contributed in part, perhaps, to the adulatory entitling of the kings of León by their notaries, entitling from which was born the vague and imperial idea of León. The kings of León made fabulous donations to the temple of Saint James, all the more abundant as the depression in which the kingdom was falling was greater as it went into the second half of the 10th century. The power and the wealth of the prelates constantly increased, they got to be the most powerful lords of the kingdom. *Regiam potentiam a regibus habebant.* Only they were exempt —I demonstrated it a long time ago— from the two duties that weighed upon all the vassals of the monarch: from assistance to the royal court and from participation in the royal war tax, that is to say from serving in court and war. They were among the first and the few who obtained the privilege of coining money, and later of coining it in gold. I studied these questions in my doctoral dissertation about their royal power and the jurisdictional lordships in 1914.

Compostela very soon became the major emotional and spiritual attraction of all Christianity. From the 10th century on, pilgrims from all countries came there. Kings and magnates, prelates and friars, troubadours and merchants, saints and rogues came to Compostela. The city was enlarged architecturally. The clay temple, built on the Apostle's sepulcher by Alfonso II, was replaced by a rich marble church dedicated by Alfonso III and in the days of Gelmírez was built the magnificent cathedral which has come to us as a Romanic jewel in half Renaissance, half baroque style. Compostela grew as a great touristic city. It became the most important urban nucleus of the kingdom, with the only exception of Toledo. From it arose an embryo of bourgeoisie which lived from the pilgrimages and exploited the pilgrims at its convenience. Innkeepers, wax chandlers, clothiers, money changers, sellers of trinkets... became rich and prospered there. Silver and gold were flowing through its streets.

However, these and the other information and details we could add to complete this simple historical sketch do not make St. James the axle and the nerve of Spanish history nor attribute to him the great miracle of having made Spain and the Spaniards as they were. In attracting crowds of people from the other side of the Pyrenees to that *Finis Hispaniae,* St. James became a magic magnet to maintain Spain within Western culture and to fructify there the Hispanic spiritual and vital essences. Nevertheless, it is necessary to throw a lot of water into the wine of the decisive action which have been attributed to the St. James cult in the formation of what is Hispanic.

St. James was not the only celestial patron invoked in the anguishing

hours of battle. Fighting took place under the protection of the name of Our Lord and invoking Saint Millán. We could record a multitude of testimonies about the faith in the efficacy of the Mariam protection in the war against the Moors. López Ortiz pointed out many years ago how Saint Isidore was converted into a divine captain against the Islamites; Lucas de Tuy states that during the siege of Mérida he appeared in Zamora and announced that the would fight next to Alfonso IX (+1230). St. James did not receive more numerous donations than Saint Mary, Saint Millán and many other patrons of the other world.

St. James was venerated and invoked but to judge of the authentic vital attitude of the Spaniards towards him, it is important to refer to many historical data-not forgotten by all. From them, the limitation of the faith in St. James in Hispanic lands seems evident, and the frequent lack of respect towards him and also the crisis of devotion to him with the passing of time, which does not go well with his being considered as the axle of Spanish religiosity.

In the text of the *Antifonario of León,* probably dating to the first half of the 10th century, the feastday of James the Great is not included. This silence coincides with a passage from the Bible of León of 910 where it is said of the Apostle: *Aput Hierosilimam, humatus jacet*: he lies buried in Jerusalem. That coincidence has rightly enabled Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel to write: «in the León of the 10th century, there was a certain hostility against the traditions of St. James, as there was later, in the ecclesiastical milieu of Toledo in the 12th and 13th centuries.»

Gelmírez, the founder of the bishopric of Compostela and the most intelligent and audacious of the Santiago prelates, had obtained the promise of the concession of the privilege to coin money from Alfonso VI. However, such a concession broke the royal monopoly and the king, with a thousand pretexts, refused to give the document about the concession, even after the disaster of Uclés (1107) which had cost the life of his only son. It was necessary that the bishop of the apostolic see should struggle threateningly with Alfonso, already old and sick, to get the opportune document. The bourgeois of Compostela dared years later to burn the tower of the Church of St. James, to seize the very Gelmírez, its lord, who did not resign himself to grant them the municipal liberties they had claimed. The noblemen of Galicia did not show great respect for the prelate who governed the apostolic see, they mocked and took him prisoner. The great bishop of Compostela could not answer the pontifical call for fear of being captured by order of Alfonso the Fighter; and the clergymen whom he sent with his authority —the authority of the church of Santiago— had to disguise themselves as beggars to be able to cross Spain and get to France. Later, Alfonso VII, the Emperor, neatly plundered twice the treasure of the Apostle in order to fill the empty chests of the royal treasury, and Gelmírez, with much effort, managed to obtain, in

compensation, the title of chancellor of the kingdom. Again in 1136, the bourgeois rose against Gelmírez, attacked the apostolic church and when the prelate took refuge and hid under the altar, they stoned him, breaking the canopy which was above the sacred relics of the Apostle. Alfonso the Learned deprived the Archbishop of Compostela of his earthly domain and outraged him. Peter the Cruel went further, he ordered the murder of the prelate at the door of the very city of the Apostle. The bourgeois of Compostela rose again against the apostolic see, invaded St. James' temple, locked up the canons of Compostela and condemned them to death by starvation. In 1446, when the baron of Rosmithal arrived in Compostela, the noble Galician Bernal Yáñez of Moscos had the bishop imprisoned and the church of the Apostle, converted into a fortress, was defended by the mother of the captive prelate.

Marvelous Hispanic bisector between the anguished invocation of the divinity in the hours of peril and the forgetfulness and even the scoff for the ultracelestial forces once the threat is over or because of rages or earthly desires! Strange concept of the relation of man with the Iberian god! How can one connect that Spanish religiosity with the Islamic one, anchored in the very root of man and totally involving the person? What emir, caliph or sultan would have done anything similar to what the cited kings did? What Mohammedan people would have dared burn a mosque not stained by heretical practices?

When the cities between the Duero and Tagus, from the end of the 11th century on, were being repopulated, the oldest and most important churches in them were not consecrated to the Apostle. It happens in Salamanca, Ávila Segovia, Soria and in all the other cities of the same region. The Romanic temples built there were dedicated to Saint Martin, Saint John, Saint Mark, Saint Mary of Vega... (Salamanca); to Saint Vincent, Saint Peter, Saint Andrew, Saint Nicholas, Saint Isidore... (Ávila); to Saint John of the Horses, Saint Millán, Saint Lawrence, Saint Stephen, Saint Martin, Saint Nicholas... (Segovia); Saint John of the Duero, Saint Dominic, Saint Michael, Saint Peter... (Soria) and so in all of them. The churches consecrated to Saint James, among the hundreds built in the *mudéjar* style —in Toledo, Talavera..., and in the Gothic style, in Castile the New, Estremadura and Andalusia, from the beginning of the 12th century, were the exception. None of them appeared among the most important of the dozens of temples in those areas dedicated to the most various names of Christian saints. In all of Spain, there are 63 urban centers named «Saint James» —including villages and neighborhoods— as against 91 denominated «Saint Vincent», and of the first group the majority is North of the Duero and especially in Galicia.

Through the minstrel of the Cid, we know that Alfonso VI usually invoked not Saint James, but Saint Isidore and swore by him: «If Saint Isidore protects me», he exclaims addressing Minaya; «By Saint Isidore»,

he says to Rodrigo upon his arrival in Toledo, «I swear by Saint Isidore», he declares when threatening those endangering the peace of the courts of Toledo.

Hilda Grassotti has just observed that the kings, during the 12th and 13th centuries, in their long series of donations to the church of the Apostle, justified their gifts by the good and faithful services received from the treasury of the militiamen from Compostela without ever alluding to the war intervention of Saint James, not even when referring to the battle of Mérida.

Because the sepulcher of the Apostle is enclosed in lands of the kingdom of León, in conflict at the time with the kingdom of Castile, there is no information that Saint James was invoked in the great battle of the Navas of Tolosa, freed under the name of the Mother of God. The royal sign of Ferdinand III was greeted in Cordova, Seville and in all the places conquered by him with the shout of «God helps». Alfonso X did not write the phrase of devotion to Saint James in his testament as has been said; he only remembers the Apostle after invoking Saint Mary, Saint Clement in whose feastday he had been born and Saint Alphonse after whom he was named. While he ordered different and generous legacies to various temples of his kingdom, he did not leave one maravedí to Saint James'. Alfonso XI was not crowned before the tomb of Saint James, but in Burgos and he did not knight the principal noblemen of his kingdom in Compostela. In the times of Henry II (1373), the city and domain of Ávila refused to pay the tribute of Saint James and his attorneys took the matter to the courts. We could go on quoting new proofs of the crisis suffered by the devotion to Saint James in Spain during the medieval fall.

The fervor for Saint James and the invocation of his celestial patronage increased in the 16th century on the occasion of the three new divine wars which the Spaniards sustained: against the idolatrous Indians, African and Turkish Islamites and European heretics. Once again, the Apostle was besieged with repeated petitions for the Spanish fighters, especially in America where they fought with superhuman fearlessness but also with ardent faith in the help of the powers of the beyond. The conquerors did not lack images of the celestial rider and everywhere they dedicated cities to him, built churches and consecrated altars to him. Along with the Hispanic vital contexture, the Indians received Saint James *Miles Christi* from their dominators. But not even then in this new stage of divine wars, did the Apostle become the axle of Spanish life.

That series of facts —which are not history but an indication of it— enables us to deny «the vital connection between León and Castile and the Apostle».

I cannot attribute the call for the Cluniacs by the Hispanic kings to the desire to exploit the pilgrimages to Saint James. The spreading

throughout Europe of the order of Cluny was a very complicated process, connected with the enlivening of religious life of the time and the black monks went as far as Poland. They came to Spain called by Sancho III of Navarre, who had nothing to do with the sacred relic of Compostela, but whose monarchy had two fronts, from its origin on horseback, like the Basques, over the Pyrenees, always looking with both faces to Spain and France. Sancho III, who did not feel with fervor the peninsular reconquering tradition and who let himself be attracted by the forms of life beyond the Pyrenees, called them in. Sancho III did not support a «divine» war in Spain but a «feudal» policy and he adopted institutions, artistic and linguistic forms of life from the other side of the mountains.

It was his dynasty, through the accident of fate ruling forthwith in León and Castile, which took the Cluniacs to the kingdom of the Apostle. The new kings of Navarre and heirs of the Europeanizing tendency of Sancho the Great, were able to appreciate the depth of the moral and cultural crisis in which the clergy of their new kingdoms had fallen during the cruel and harsh 10th century; my reading of hundreds of charters of the era Asturias-León leaves me no doubt about it; during many decades no one in León was capable of writing a Latin verse nor of composing a beautiful inscription and the proofs of the immorality of the clergy and lay people are abundant. They were able to verify the differences which separated the monks from Galicia, León and Castile from the Cluniacs of beyond the Pyrenees, settled already in some monasteries of the states of Sancho III. The black monks were called to the kingdom of the Apostle to promote the religious and cultural reform of a people who had lived for three centuries in isolation from European Christianity, at the extreme West of Europe and overwhelmed by the misfortunes of a barbarian and total war. The new kings summoned them for that purpose and not to organize pilgrimages to Saint James. If the latter increased in the decades following the Cluniac colonization, that increase was the natural consequence of the close ties between the clergy on this and that side of the Pyrenees —Vázquez de Parga has just proven that the *Códice Calixtino* was not a Cluniac work— and of the arrival to the kingdoms of León and Castile of great masses of settlers from the other side of the Pyrenees, generically called «Franks» in Spain, although they were not always. They came to populate the lands, always thirsty for men, of the plateau of the Duero and in the great new area from between the Duero and the Tagus, won for Christianity after the conquest of Toledo in 1085 and which had to be colonized rapidly. Many of these «Franks» settled along the way to Santiago, far from the border and where they could expect easy profits from the current of pilgrims travelling to Compostela, as many immigrants in the towns of America settle even today in ports and cities. Many too went to populate the lands recently conquered from the Moors, and lived even in the most advanced stronghold of the kingdom of Castile: the very city of Toledo.

If for emotional reasons —among which the holy relic played no part— the monks of Cluny were summoned to Spain and they were entrusted with the reform of the religious and spiritual life of the clergy and the people, economic causes —ambition for wealth, hopes for progress, desire for lands— attracted hordes of immigrants to the Peninsula. Vacuums are not possible in history, and in virtue of laws similar to the physical laws, there have always been human currents towards depopulated areas, rich in possibilities, promising splendid futures, from the old lands laden with a past, where life does not present perspectives of quick venturesome changes.

The ultramontane immigrants: clerics, monks, warriors, artisans or peasants, did not arrive in Spain to «unite the virtues fallen from the heavens with the existence of every day». They crossed the Pyrenees as the new immigrants have crossed the ocean in new times: to spread culture and to make fortune and begin a second life in the virgin lands. The same thing would have happened without Saint James. In the 13th century, when Mancha, Estremadura and Andalusia were won, very far from the way of Compostela, the same migratory process was repeated. From France and Italy came new human hordes to the region recently occupied and to fill the clearings which the peninsular people left in their old lands of the North when they emigrated filled with hope towards the bright and rich South.

The politics of the new dynasty from Navarre, of Ferdinand I and Alfonso VI above all, in causing the intensive colonization of the national church by the ultramontane clergy, transformed, yes, the traditional projection of the Saint James cult in Spanish life. The clergy behaved in León and Castile as in occupied territory. The scope of their ambitions was never reached. The «Frank» clerics reached the majority of the episcopal sees and the richest and most powerful abbeys of the kingdom. Nothing satisfied their greed for power and wealth. Less overwhelmed than the Hispanic clerics by the fear for the earthly punishment of the divinity which in the war against the Moors granted victories and defeats according to them; more accustomed than the peninsular clerics to deceits with political aims —let us recall the thaumaturgical powers attributed to the kings of France or England by their national churches—, they happily went along the way of usurpation and abuse. Without much scrupulosity the foreign clergy and with them the native clergy which they had formed, falsified as many documents as could facilitate the acquisition of fantastic and never known privileges or rights, or the extension of the limits of their bishoprics or jurisdictions and the affirmation of their most outrageous pretensions. The 12th century in León and Castile is the century of the ecclesiastical litigations and of the intrigues, interpolations and diplomatic frauds. In the majority of the cathedral churches and in some abbeys, after their colonization by the Frank clerics numerous frauds were commited. The forgers of Compostela were better than all of them,

because they not only retouched, interpolated, adulterated and falsified old documents unscrupulously, but they even dared to exploit *pro domo sua* the glory of the sepulcher of the Apostle. It was they who transformed the ancient devotion to Saint James based on the ardent but simple faith of the Spaniards, into the celestial patronage of the Apostle. It was they who imagined the great mythomachy which attempted to rule the political life of the kingdom and to exploit its riches from behind the sepulcher of Saint James and which attempted to mold, according to norms against the national tradition, the psyche and the institutional life of the people of Castile and León.

It has been demonstrated that they did not succeed and that people from Gailica, León and Castile did not let themselves be deceived nor dominated by the ingenious farce. They continued to invoke the Apostle in their divine wars, obviously, but without Saint James being the *Deus ex machina* of Spanish life.

It has been affirmed that the sacred relic guided the course of national politics, that for the kings *non erat potestas nisi a Jacobo* and that in him they founded «the strength, the prestige and the hope of the kingdom». Such asseverations will never be demonstrated. Only a man with an overflowing fantasy has been able to affirm that «the refulgent sword of the apostle disintegrated the notion of hierarchy», «because the king and the last servant sustained their merit less in themselves than in the astral and divine power which encompassed them both». He has been able to write: «It did not deal with doing the tasks of this world better or worse, but to believe and hope in something which was floating above the visible world,» «Kings, clerics, and people did not think they had to do something by themselves while they trusted in the invincible sword of the patron of Spain.» From such hypotheses, he has been able to deduce: «the weakness of social discipline», to explain thus that the royal authority only in rare moments managed to dominate the confusion of opposed ambitions, because the fundamentals of the royal power came from heaven and the royalty did not obtain full authority if it was not enclosed in a divine halo. And he has been able to conclude: «The unique feudalism of León and Castile was perhaps that of the powerful monasteries of Cluny and Cister.»

Anyone who knows the social and institutional history of the peninsular people from the 10th to the 13th century will wonder about such statements. I am invoking the testimonies of the Spanish law historians: Galo Sánchez, Torres López, Valdeavellano, López Ortiz, García Gallo, etc. Reality was very different and does not offer the least support to these strange theories. The notion of hierarchy never disappeared in León or Castile. «God helps those who help themselves» was the motto of the people of León and Castile. Social discipline was never weak in the two societies. The fundamentals of royal authority were rooted in the earthly tradition, and even in the conquered lands which the royal patrimony

was restoring and upon which rested the military and fiscal strength of the monarchs.

The royal power of León and Castile did not depend upon the protection of the ultraearthly powers in such a way that the kings ceased to receive the sacred anointing in the 12th century, while all the other sovereigns of the West continued to be anointed for hundreds of years. Royalty was much stronger in Castile and León than in any European country in the political balance of the kingdom. Only rarely —in periods of minorities or regencies, of dynastic crises or serious external defeats— did it feel powerless against the opposed ambitions of its subjects. The kings on the other side of the Pyrenees, for centuries, had placed their greatest ambition in exercising over the nobility the authority that the monarchy had in León and Castile, even, naturally, as I can support with many texts, over the archbishops of Santiago The feudal organization in Castile and León in the Cluniac and Cistercian days —or better said the vassal-benefice organization— was expressed in juridical formulas going back to the Hispano-Visigothic period which had nothing to do with those two religious orders. Not even the history of the final centuries of the Middle Ages support the supposed connections between Saint James and the institutions of León and Castile.

These other statements are too categorical: «The belief in the 'ex machina' virtue of the Apostle allowed Castile and León to exist.» «To Saint James is owed the slow and tortuous effort of the Reconquest and the lasting grandeur of all that was created in the Iberian Peninsula.» «From him proceeds the valuable reaction of those who felt that living thus was not living.» Never will anyone be able to prove such gratuitous asseverations.

Because Catalonia was not crossed by the way of Saint James «the circumstances which determined the independence of Portugal could not occur there». Although Catalonia had been crossed early —it was later— by one of the roads to Santiago, it would not have reached its historical personality without the conjunction of his birth as a projection of the Carolingian empire and its location next to the Mediterranean; and the independence of Portugal, very far from the great James road, had nothing to do with the Apostle. The Galician connections with Saint James «explain the prodigious Galician lyric poetry, the absence of epic poetry and drama in Galicia —it is easy to affirm but impossible to demonstrate it— and the rare ability of its people for political intrigue», in reality, the outcome of more than three millenniums of history, during which the inhabitants of the *Finis Terrae* had to confront with cleverness and subtlety many successive waves of dominators. «The belief in Saint James separated Spain from Christianity...» That is enough.

Later I shall deal with various essences and various different courses of the peninsular people and with the Spanish medieval religiosity and

tolerance. Let it be said here that, naturally, Saint James did not accomplish as many miracles as the contradicted essay writer has attributed to him. As a Catholic, I could believe in the efficacy of the Apostle's intervention in the dark hours of peninsular Christianity, because I believe in the possibilities of Providence entering, at times, into human destiny. But placed in the field of the discussed thought, I do not hesitate to affirm that the historical Saint James was much more a creature of Spain than Spain of Saint James. The account that the Apostle could present to my homeland would be much more limited and much greater than the disorbed one opposed here. Much more limited because his magic action would be very far from reaching the disproportionate dimensions mentioned and voided; and much greater if in truth he moved Our Lord to assist the Christian Spaniards in some urgent perils, fortifying their impetus and their heroic resistance through the firm faith in his celestial support. What matters is neither to exaggerate nor to diminish the possible influence of the cult to Saint James in the making of what is Spanish.

The Christians of the mountains of Galicia, Asturias and Castile would never have left them if they had limited themselves to «trust in the astral and divine power» and to hope everything from something mysterious which floated above the visible world They advanced and reconquered Spain «with bare energy and heroic exaltation». The daily need to increase that energy and heroism, to exalt the old Hispanic characteristics contributed to dig the channel of life of what is peninsular. The cult to Saint James was a consequence and not a cause of the vital ideas which presided the Hispanic Middle Ages. Because the war against the Moors was a «divine» war —they did not fight by order of God as in Al-Ándalus, but they fought for God as for the freedom of the nation—, the celestial protector of the Christians, Apostle of the Lord, played an important part in the Spanish historical tragedy. The struggle was not «divine» because the assistance of the Apostle was invoked. Therefore, the devotion to Saint James, Saint Millán, Saint Isidore, Saint George, Saint Mary acquired in the Peninsula a dimension without any comparison with the dimension acquired outside of Spain. Because the war was «divine» and not because of the assurance of the celestial patronage, did prelates and clerics participate in sieges and battles. Because the «divine» character of the war between Moors and Christians was understood, Almanzor not only destroyed the sanctuary of Compostela, but that of Sahagún, the center of the religiosity of León, that of Saint Millán, protector of the harsh and hated Castile, and many others. I do not know if the Christians started to invoke Saint James to imitate the cry of «Mohammed» of the Moors or vice versa. In order to decide I would have to investigate the dates when the two exclamations appeared; I have not found the Islamic shout verified in the oldest Hispano-Mussulman sources.

The faith in Saint James undoubtedly increased the ancestral impetus

of those peoples of Cantabria who had furiously fought against Rome, who had later resisted the Goths and who later had heroically fought against the Mussulmans. And by the way of Saint James ideas came and went, linguistic and artistic institutions and forms which must be studied to determine the exact terms of the problem of Saint James in Spanish history.

Undoubtedly the cult to Saint James was a powerful force galvanizing the resistance of the Christianity of the Hispanic Northwest opposite Islam from the 9th to the 12th century; it is also a fact that the pilgrimages to Compostela served as a marvelous bond between Spain and Europe from the 10th to the 13th century. Magnificent fruits of the fantasy and faith of a people who, placed in danger of death, doubled their energy in the certainty that the divine help would not fail them. The miracle was possible because, from the most distant past, the belief in the continuous action of the mysterious forces of the beyond had reached a great impact in their daily lives. Without that historical tradition it would have been difficult for the hope in the help of the Apostle of the Lord to be able to influence as it did in the heroic resistance of the peninsular Northwest. I will not be the one to deny that such an influence in turn contributed to revitalize the old Iberian faith in the intimate bond of man with celestial powers, but without a weakening of the impetus. They were pleading for divine assistance, but they lived and fought with overpowering vital dynamism; their hopes in the efficacy of their petitions did not decrease their earnestness in action. For that reason, they ended up by placing action at the service of their faith and not faith at the service of their action at the start of Modern Times.

4. Tolerance and Passion

The great masters Menéndez Pelayo and Menéndez Pidal, in passing, had alluded to medieval Spanish tolerance. I was immediately attracted by the topic. The Spanish historical and political life which was mine, often moved me to investigate the orderly co-living of peoples of different religious creeds on Spanish soil, through the Middle Ages. I dealt with this in 1932 in a lecture at the University of Valladolid. I have stressed the theme in studying in a specific way the «Religious sensibility of the Castilian people in the Middle Ages» and in other academic dissertations. In the end I published various essays on the first epigraph when I found a moving analytical text which shed a new light on the problem.

One has not seen with clarity the origins, development and the intimate essence of medieval Spanish tolerance. The theme has great historical importance. Without knowing the zigzagging process of our religious tolerance, it is impossible to grasp the historical enigma of Spain. I confess my doubts and my different opinions about it. In dozens of lectures and in essays I have sung the marvelous integral co-living of Christians, Moors

and Jews throughout the Middle Ages. I have rectified and completed my vision about such an arduous question.

I do not consider our medieval tolerance comparable to modern European tolerance, but I believe it is useless to stop here to inquire into the differences that separate them, because what would have been amazing would have been that Spaniards of the early Middle Ages would have arrived at conceiving the very new idea of tolerance which enlightened European consciences after a long and painful spiritual and vital gestation. The milieu in which peninsular people found themselves submerged during the Middle Ages was so different from the one which has marked modern Europeans that it is not possible to compare the human sensibility of the former and of the latter before the religious or ideological heterogeneity of the compatriots.

What is important to understand what is Hispanic is to point out the contrast which naturally must have separated two kinds of tolerance several centuries of history apart. It is interesting to know the genesis, the essence, the limits and the crisis which the Spaniards of the Middle Ages enjoyed or suffered —I do not hesitate in the choice of the verb, but there are many men in the world who still execrate the free co-living of people with different creeds or ideas—.

The Koran has been called a monument to tolerance because it is inspired from Jewish and Christian doctrines. I cannot admit such a statement and I doubt that anyone can. The fusion of different theories by a thinker does not enable us to call his work tolerant. In the Koran, there are many contradictory theses, but one cannot doubt that Mohammed incited to the propagation of Islamism by the sword. By denying it, one forgets that the same Mohammed propagated his faith in Arabia, with the sword, and that the «holy war» is an essential duty of the Moslems. To curb the unchaining of violence by that incitement and before the impossibility of obtaining the forced conversion of the conquered people, the theoretics of Islam mellowed its bellicose propagation of the Mohammedan religion. However, in the formulation of such curbing the old thesis of the diffusion of Islamism by force, was implicit. Jesus would never have asked: «Will you force men to be believers?», because he never proposed anything other than the preaching and teaching of his words of peace and love.

Such were also the doctrines of the Apostles and of the Fathers of the Chuhch during long centuries. Before the Islamites got to Spain, Saint Isidore had condemned the forced conversion of the Jews by Sisebuto, and had declared that the only way to proclaim Christ was through the truth.

Alfonso the Learned could not have taken his inspiration from the Koran to declare in the *Partidas* (Laws of Castile) that faith had to be propagated «through good words and adequate preaching». It is important

to compare Alfonso' words with the numerous testimonies which disclose how the Spanish Mussulmans understood the bellicose precepts of the Prophet. Ibn Hayyan, for example, says that Ibn Muawiyya, of the royal family of Al-Ándalus, when in 901 he arrived before Zamora leading a powerful army, sent a letter to Alfonso III inviting him and his people to accept Islamism and giving them the choice between Islam and death. Such was the usual way of the benign intimations to conversion in the course of the holy war against the enemies of the faith. That parallel, justly commented upon, does not allow the conclusion that the king of Castile based his doctrine on tolerance on the Koran.

There are many events revealing the practice of tolerance by peninsular Christians, much before the date alleged in proof of its triumph in the medieval Spanish Christian society.

We must not forget:

a) The frequent marriages which united the first royal dynasty of Navarre, the Arista, with the descendants of the Banu Qasi', renegade Christians of the valley of the Ebro, from the end of the 8th century on. Would such family unions between Mussulmans and Christians have been possible outside of the Peninsula?

b) Alfonso III sent his son Ordoño II, before 881 to be educated in the Moorish court of Saragossa. No European monarch, until very recent times, has repeated the gesture of entrusting the cultural formation of his favorite son to people of another religious creed.

c) The equality of the penal value of the Jews and Christian in the *Fuero* of Castrojeriz of 974. That comparison was exceptional in the contemporary legislation of the other side of the Pyrenees.

d) The precept of the laws of León of 1020 proposing the formation of arbitral commissions of two Christians and two Jews to solve the property problems which might arise in the city razed by Almanzor. Not even today, after the Second World War, has such participation in the juridical solution of the problems caused by the destruction of any town of Europe, been conceded to the Hebrews.

e) The proposal of the *Fuero* of Nájera (1076) granting Jews the same status as the *infanzon*, that is to say, noblemen. In what other country of the West did the Hebrews get a juridical status comparable to the privileges of the nobility?

f) The absolute respect of Alfonso VI for the religious practices of his Islamic subjects of Toledo. This clearly contrast with the intolerance of Queen Constance and her ultrapyrenean compatriots —Archbishop Don Bernard, and the other Frenchmen of his retinue— who took advantage of an absence of the «king of the three religions» to plunder the Mussulmans of his Moorish mosque.

g) The juridical equality of Christians and Jews in many municipal *Fueros* granted by Alfonso VI and by Alfonso VIII. Where in Western

Europe did Jewish and Christian judges sit together in judgement during the 12th century as was happening in Cuenca and other Castilian cities?

h) The defense by the knights of Toledo, sword in hand and lance in socket, of the Jewish neighbors of Toledo, whom the ultrapyrenean barbarian crusaders who had come to the expedition of the Navas, attempted to put to the sword. Burning with intolerance and accustomed to the cruel persecution of the Hebrews in their respective countries, they would have succeeded in exterminating the Jews of the city on the Tagus, if the very *hidalgos* of the same had not prevented them from it.

i) The heroism of the Kings of Castile and Aragón in refusing to consent to the killing of the Moors of Calatrava, demanded by the ultramontane crusaders, thirsty for Saracen blood. Alfonso VIII and Peter II preferred to see the 70.000 warriors from over the Pyrenees —who enraged, abandoned the crusade— leave than to authorize such a barbarian crime.

That series of events —events are not History, but without knowing them exhaustively, History is built on sand— bring to the beginning of the 9th century the start of the politics of tolerance of the peninsular Christian princes. Hispano-Christian tolerance was already almost five centuries old when Alfonso the Learned wrote in the *Partidas* (Laws) (VII.24.6): «No force nor reward must be applied in any way to any Jew to make him become Christian, but instead, good examples, and with the words of Sacred Scriptures, and with praise must the Christians convert them to the faith of our Lord, Jesus Christ; as he does not want it to be done by reward». And also (VII.25.2): «By good works and adequate preaching the Christians must try to convert the Moors to make them believe in our Faith and bring them to it, not by force nor reward; if it were the will of our Lord to bring them to it, and to make them believe by force, he would have forced them, having all the necessary power to do so; but he does not seek the service of men through fear, but that of those who serve willingly, and without reward».

It was already an old tale when Raymond Lully, in the *Libro del gentil y los tres sabios,* had a Christian, a Moor and a Jew amiably discuss their beliefs, and when Don Juan Manuel wrote: «There is wat between the Christians and the Moors, and there will be until the Christians recover the lands from the Moors, when according to their laws and sects there should not be any war because Jesus Christ never ordered killing nor forcing anyone to adopt his law, as he did not want forced service, but the one who serves willingly» (*Libro de los Estados*).

This long string of facts helps to see clearly into the origins and the nature of the politics of tolerance of the Christian kings of medieval Spain. To solve both questions it is necessary to find out the extent and the limitations —temporal and personal— of tolerance in Mussulman Spain and the differences which in it separated the state theory, from the authentic

39.—The enthronement in León and Castile of a dynasty originating from the two faced Navarre, which looked at Spain and France, introduced in the Castile-León kingdom many practices of foreign ports that contributed to its Europeanization. One of the first recent ideas accepted was the cult of images. *The crucifix of Ferdinand I* and Doña Sancha (1035-1065) initiates in León and Castile the series of Christs that we sculpt, carve, and paint. *Archeological Museum (Madrid).*

40.—*Royal Pantheon of Saint Isidore of León* (11th century). On its arches, scenes of the life of the people. What was popular gave themes to the Romanesque León-style painting that set the course for Castilian epic poetry. Because their condition of being an island of free men in feudal Europe, the people had not been inert in the life of León and Castile. And if it attracted the attention of painters, poets looked for its applause.

41.—Entrance of Our Lord into Jerusalem. *Ivory relief of the small chest of Saint Millán of Cogolla (National Archeological Museum, Madrid).* Carved in the 11th century, it constitutes one of the first medieval Hispanic sculptural works. We can imagine Berceo praying before it and the devout people described in his *Milagros* on their knees and venerating it.

42.—The history of Spanish medieval life is sculptured in the capital of its churches and palaces. The most varied scenes and the most diverse human types are reproduced in them. Only, nevertheless, on very rare occasions does a nude appear in them. It was excluded by our traditional moral rigidity that buried its roots in primitive Spain. The one that we find on that *capital of the Romanesque cathedral of Jaca (Huesca),* of the second half of the 11th century, constitutes, therefore, an exception.

feeling of the people before people of another religious creed and before the dissidents in their own creed.

Mussulman Spain did not enjoy the total tolerance which has been attributed to it. Asín wrote: «It is known that the accusation of the public sinner and of the infidel is, in the Mussulman religion, a precept which obligates every man, even the simple faithful who is not considered an authority. Inquisition, therefore, is a popular institution in Islam, which functions constantly subordinated to the ordinary tribunals for the solving of the case, but independent of them in its functions of investigation and accusation». I can refer many cases of religious persecution in Al-Ándalus from the 9th to the 14th century. Al-Hakam I (796-822) put to the sword the major part of the population of Algeciras for its adhesion to the «jarichi» heresy. The Alfaquis asked the death penalty for a brother of the well known historian and jurist Ibn Habib (790-854) because he had said: «What I suffer in this illness is such that... even if I killed Abu Bakr and Umar (the first two Caliphs), I would not be satisfied.» The Tribunal of the Inquisition condemned to death the nephew of a favorite of 'Abd al-Rahman II (822-852) for having pronounced an irreverent phrase —he referred to Allah as a shoemaker— on a rainy day. The same emir, in 851, had a Spanish teacher of Levant crucified because he had begun to preach in public a doctrine based on the allegorical interpretation of the Koran. Between 850 and 859 the Mozarabs of Cordova suffered 50 capital executions —among them that of the Primate of the Hispanic church—, many corporal punishments and long prison terms. The Andalusian Alfaquis brutally rejected all religious theory trying to explain or reason about the dogma. Collections of traditions of the Prophet as orthodox as that of Ibn Abi Xaina or books as innocuous as the manual of biblical and Islamic history of Ibn Qutaiba were condemned by them. They got to suspect people given to sciences who had to hide their interest until well into the 10th century, according to Asín. They fiercely persecuted those who dared to stray one iota from the official creed. Baqi Ibn Majlad was persecuted because he introduced the book of Xafei, founder of the school named after him. At the death of Jalil al-Gafla, a Cordovan who had learned, in Bagdad, the allegorical interpretation of the sacred book with «motazil» teachers, had a crowd of Alfaquis mob his house and burn his books. The first Andalusian philosopher, Ibn Masarra, pointed to as heretic by popular judgement, had to go into exile before the hostile atmosphere became too thick and when he returned, under the rule of 'Abd al-Rahman III (912-961), he had to take great care to conceal his heterodoxy under the veil of rigid asceticism.

Al-Hakam II (961-976) loosened the reins and during his reign science and philosophy prospered freely in Al-Ándalus. However, during his final illness he changed his mind and at his death the old intolerance started anew. In the days of Almanzor various young literary men were incarcerated as infidels and only the benovolent intervention of a Sevillian Alfaqui

saved one, accused of heresy, from death. To satisfy the theologians and the masses, the same Almanzor had the majority of the books of the great library of Al-Hakam II burned, so that they could not lead to impiety those who would read them. Philosophers and scientists had to avoid official persecution and popular espionage. Those who were not careful, Asín writes, paid a high price for their boldness. 'Abd al-Rahman, famous geometer, known as the Spanish Euclid and author of a renowned abstract of the eight books of the *Organon* of Aristotle, had to go into exile from Cordova and take refuge in the Orient. Sa'id al-Himar of Saragossa, author of a book of music and of an introduction to philosophy, entitled *Árbol de la Ciencia,* was incarcerated as an atheist, and when after humiliations and protests of orthodoxy he obtained his freedom, he had to seek refuge in Sicily against the intolerance of his country. Denunciations and canonical suits were carried out en masse: a great Cordovan wise man, Ibn Al-Ifilili, a very erudite literary man, theologian and philosopher, was denounced as the head of a group of independent poets and thinkers, accused of atheism; to it belonged besides Sa'id, from Saragossa, already mentioned, three others who had the same fate: Kasim of the royal family of the Ommiads; Muhamad, poet of Pechina, and Ibn al-Jatib, also a renowned poet. Only the master managed to avoid the persecution at the beginning by hiding, but soon he paid his philosophical sins with a long prison term. Kasim was about to be condemned to death, in spite of being from royal origin, and if all of them saved their lives, it was at the price of prolonged sufferings and deprivations, in prison, and after humbly retracting.

During the time of the Taifas that ferocious intolerance was attenuated, but it did not completely disappear. The great Ibn Hazm had to suffer a lot for parting from the Mālekite orthodoxy and his books were publicly burned in Seville. The Alfaqui Abu Ishaq, with his terrible preachings, unchained the killings of 1066 in which several thousands of Jews from Granada perished.

The Almoravids restored and even increased the traditional intolerance; they decreed the extermination of the Spanish Mussulman philosophers; recall the sacrifice of the scholars of Talamanca. By order of ibn Taxufin Al-Gazzali's books were burned in Cordova. The new sultan 'Ali ibn Yusuf persecuted the Sufis; some of their masters managed to hide; the great mystic from Almería Abu-l-Abbas Ibn Al-Arif and his disciple, Ibn Barrayan, from Seville, were deported to and died in Morocco. They put an end to Spanish Mozarabs: in Al-Ándalus, they prohibited the Christian cult, destroyed their churches, and erased every trace of the old images still kept publicly till then and they exiled to Africa those who had remained faithful to Christ. They also harassed Hebrews to the point of forcing them to emigrate to Christian lands. The Almohads, later, gave them to choose between Islam and death, and considered as heretics all the Mussulmans who did not subscribe to the official cult. In the course of the

last centuries of the Reconquest, many Christian captives were condemned to death for having refused to apostatize or simply for having refused to eat meat on Friday.

Therefore, the State was never tolerant in Al-Ándalus with the infidels nor with the heretics; its tolerance with the Christians suffered the great crisis of the middle of the 9th century —during which almost as many Mozarabs died as Protestants in Spain during the days of Philip II—; beginning with the African invasions, Christians and Jews were persecuted with fury and the Hispano-Mussulman people and their Alfaquis always gave clear signs of fanatic intolerance.

The parallel between the theory and the practice of tolerance in the two Spains, Christian and Islamite, enables us to reach important conclusions. Tolerance occurred synchronically in Al-Ándalus and in the Christian kingdoms. Although the Koran did not suggest benevolence of the Mussulmans towards «the people of the book» —Jews and Christians— who accepted the rule of Islam, the handful of Islamic conquerors of Spain would have had to resign to co-live peacefully with the millions of Spaniards whom they could not convert nor exterminate overnight. An important faction of peninsular people —the *vitizianos*— had helped them in the invasion or had obtained from them profitable stipulations in which respect for the Christian cult was included, and they owed too much to the Jews, their guides and assistants during the conquest to have been able to adopt a policy different from the one they followed.

For various reasons, but also because of the law of life —forced as the Mussulmans of Al-Ándalus, by the necessity to co-live with people of different faith and not as result of imitation or adoption of Islamic norms—, the Christian princes of the North of Spain had to practice tolerance too, not because of a Moslem invention nor a posterior symbiosis of Hispanic and Arabic forms of life, but because the presence and intermingling of three peoples with different religious creeds in the Peninsula forced them to respect one another, the two States, Christian and Islamic, were tolerant with the three religions of their subjects and of their enemies.

Let us be careful: I have written, not lightly, «the two States» and not the two peoples, because, tolerance, in Al-Ándalus as well as in Christian lands did exist in the minorities that rules the State and not among the masses governed by them. Castro has not grasped that fundamental difference. Nevertheless the facts attest it in a categorical way.

Many testimonies have been alleged in proof of the intolerance of the Hispano-Mussulman people, always ready to heed the exalted sermons of the intransigent Alfaquis. One should add: the hurricane of fanatic fervor of the neo-Mussulmans of Cordova which contributed decisively to cause the «*Revolution of the Arrabal*»; the disloyal accusations of the colleagues and friends of Perfecto, the first Mozarabic martyr of Cordova; the frequent denunciations of inquisitorial nature of intimate irreverent con-

versations and the favor which the theologians' campaigns met with the people, first against the thinkers suspected of heresy and then against the impiety and tolerance of the Taifas. That popular intolerance even won the heart of intellectuals. It is verified by the jokes of some poets against the ceremonies of the Catholic cult —see Pérez de Urbel's book on Saint Eulogio—, the terrible insults of the same Ibn Hazm against the most venerated Christian traditions and the fierce judgment against the clergy and the harsh councils against Jews and Christians that can be read in the ordinances of a Sevillian Cadi during the first Almoravid times. Ibn Abdun writes: «We will not consent that... any Jew or Christian wear attire of an honorable person, nor of Alfaqui, nor of reputable man... they will be hated and avoided.» «They will not be greeted with the formula: 'Peace be with you'.» «They will have to bear a sign by which they will be recognized in order to be humiliated.» «No scientific books can be sold either to Jews or Christians», he says later. «The best thing would be —he adds— not to permit any Jewish or Christian doctor to dedicate himself to cure Mussulmans.» The latter could not serve Christians nor Jews, nor ring bells in Al-Ándalus, nor permit Islamic women to enter «the abominable churches». Ibn Abdun ends up by stigmatizing Jews and Christians with the same loathing as lepers.

It is not difficult to observe that, the testimonies alleged by me to prove the tolerance of peninsular Christians from the 9th to the 12th century as well as those gathered to prove the tolerance of their successors in the 13th century and later, refer to the personal tolerance of princes and magnates or to that imposed by them. Against these practices and those precepts, always rose the people. We have early testimonies of their fierce antisemitism, which synchronize with the measures taken by the monarchs in favor of the Jews. The neighbors of Castrojeriz relate their slaughters of Hebrews with enjoyment; they have even left toponymic traces in the nearby place of Matajudíos (killJews). A bit later there were other slaughters in Galicia and Rioja. The persecutions suffered by the Israelites of León were extreme and they ended up leaving the city on the nearby hilltop. Only the desire to avoid such murders explains the equalizing of the penal value for Christians and Jews in the *Fuero* of Castrojeriz and the precept of the *Fuero* of Nájera; a Jew is punished by death as an *infanzón*, according to the same defensive criterion with which the laws of León had equalized the worth of the noblemen and the executioners, public officials of the lowest category very exposed to the popular fury. After the defeat of Uclés the people from Toledo killed the Jews of the city on the eve of the Assumption, the 14th of August of 1108. At the death of Alfonso VI, who had initiated a politics of protection towards the Jews, there were general assaults, thefts and slaughters of the Jews: we have information of those of Castrojeriz, Saldaña, Cea, Carrión and the Valley of Anebra. The antisemitism of the *Poem of the Cid* reflects that of the people for whom it was written. To placate them, Alfonso VII had to

suppress the equality of rights between Christians and Jews in the municipal Statutes and he had to forbid Jews to hold positions of power. He was spurred on by the antijewish apologetics of Saint Martin of León. It is verified in one of the decrees of the Statute of Cuenca where we read: «a woman found with a Moor or a Jew, let them both be burned.» The hostile legend which attributes the defeat of Alarcos to the love of Alfonso VIII for the Jewess of Toledo, also discloses it. It produced the butcheries of Toledo in 1178, those of Astorga, Benavente, Toro, Zamora, Salamanca, Granadilla and Ciudad Rodrigo in 1230, at the death of Alfonso IX of León.

I suspect that if the Toledan knights defended their Jewish neighbors against the cruelty of the ultramontane crusaders, it was out of nationalistic spirit. The same year and army of people from Castile and Aragón plundered and obliterated the *Castrum judeorum,* next to León, with pleasure.

The Learned King write in *Las Partidas,* VII 25.3: «Many men live and die in strange beliefs, who would love to be Christians, if it were not for the disgraces that they see inflicted in words and in deeds upon those who have become Christians, calling them Turncoats, and insulting them in a vile way, abusing them... and therefore, we order that all Christians of our Lord honor, and treat well, all those who from other faiths, might come to our Faith... and we forbid that anyone dare to dishonor them in word, deed, nor do them any harm, in any way at all.» Therefore the people even treated fiercely the Moors and the Jews converted to Christianity.

The popular pressure against Moors and Jews was so great that the same Alfonso X had to restrict the freedom of both in his kingdoms. He forbade them any gesture, word or act that could offend the Christian religion in any way or any act of proselytism; he decreed that no Jews could hold any office that would permit him to «pressure» Christians and if he consented to let Hebrews have synagogues in the cities of his kingdom, he ordered that Moors could not have mosques there.

Later from the 13th century on, through legal ways at times, through violence other times, the people struggled against the favor that kings and magnates showed to the Jews and in the end won over to their politics even the former protectors of their eternal enemies.

Medieval Hispano-Christian tolerance? Yes, tolerance interested or generous, suspicious or warm, vigorous or limited, but tolerance of the princes and of the lay and ecclesiatical aristocracy. Tolerance of the minority that had the historical responsibility of the government of the kingdom and got to understand the goods and the evils that peaceful co-living with Jews and Moors or their fierce persecution could bring for the wealth and the culture of the society which they ruled. Tolerance of the leading classes which were taking advantage of the services of the Hebrew and Mussulman peoples and did not suffer from their rivalry.

Tolerance of the group which, because of the particular direction of the weathercock of its destiny, sacrificed its loyalty to national ideals to its desire for power and wealth or which, for its greater culture, overcame in itself the exalted passions which moved the masses. Flaws of the complex action of so many curbs, these flaws must have been impelled by the functional structure inherited from the pre-Islamic Spaniards.

From pre-history on, two drives always generators of energy, stand out: the *vehementia cordis*, that is to say, passion and the peculiar way of seeing the relations of man with the mysterious powers of the celestial beyond. It has been said that after the depression caused by the rule of Rome, the transfusion of impetuous Germanic blood into the circulatory torrent of the peninsular people and their obligatory existence in historical storms, upon restoring a new style of life, had sharpened the angles of the always sharp Hispanic temperament.

If in the last stages of the Roman rule in Spain, the religious dispute which Priscillian caused was shaken by gigantic waves of passion, there are, proving the high tide of passional intransigence: the cruel antisemitic politics of the Gothic kings and the most vivid clash about unimportant theological questions —both believed in Jesus as the incarnation of the Word, neither was one Adoptionist nor the other Monophysite—, between the Archbishop of Toledo, Elipando and the monk of Liébana, Beato, clash during which the adversaries exchanged terrifying insults. The ancient struggle against the Moors enlivened later the first one of the two forces previously mentioned: the impetus. The «divine» nature of the war against Islam, or the condition of devotional and religious war of the Christian Reconquest, accentuated rather than softened the traditional weight of belief in the Spaniards' lives. So, Spanish Christianity felt tortured by an overflowing vehemence along with a burning fervor.

Well then, the exalted vital passion and the ardent religious enthusiasm do not go well with the practice of tolerance. To triumph over the foolish inclination of man to suppress the adversary, tolerance requires a singular temperamental coldness, coolness in faith or a great reasoning capacity and an integral culture. That is to say, it requires virtues or weaknesses —as one wishes— that the peninsular Christian masses lacked during the long centuries of our Reconquest. Saturated with vehemence and fervor, they could only consider as an unavoidable calamity co-existence with the deicide people and with the followers of the false prophet.

Ever since the Almoravid invaders incorporated Mussulman Spain in their African empire and since peninsular Christianity accentuated its contacts with ultrapyrenean Europe, either from the North or from the South, there only came to Spain hurricanes of cruel religious intolerance and the enmity of the people towards Moors and Jews was firmer each time.

The masses sensed their affinity, imprecise but evident, with the *mudejars*; affinity both racial and temperamental. Even after the stage

in which the strength of the Islamic empires could move them to respect their Mussulman neighbors, they lived in peacewith them, not out of spirit of tolerance, but because they knew they were not gifted for speculation nor for rich business and because they appreciated the usefulness of their honest work. But frequently they vented their rage against the Jews, without any human ties with the Hispano-Christian people, guilty in their eyes of the death of the Savior and among whom there was a proud minority which exploited them by usurious loans and as tax-collectors, as we shall see later.

Medieval Hispano-Christian tolerance? Yes, but tolerance of the minorities, not of the people, moved by passion and inflamed with fervor for the divine war. Popular intolerance grew as the people not finding bellicose or colonizing channels for the venting of their impetus for action, looked to domestic life and clashed with: the aristocracy, lording political power from the Trastamaras, and with Jews in possession of wealth and professions that procured it and protected by the kings and the two nobilities.

Chapter VI

RELIGIOUS SENSIBILITY

The thought and feeling of the Spaniards for the divinity were not the mere emanation nor the mere projection of the thinking and feeling of peninsular Islamites. Neither did the convexity of the religious dome under whose energetic radiations the life of the Hispanic Christianity passed during the Middle Ages adapt itself to the concavity of the religious dome, of vivifying action, under which Mussulmans in Al-Ándalus saw the passing of the centuries. There could have been sporadic contacts and occasional interferences between Christians and Islamites in the very complex scope of their religiosity, as there were in many other aspects of their total existence. However, it seems certain to me that Spanish Christians did not think or feel in harmony with peninsular Mohammedans and that the religious constructions which involved the daily life of both, were very uneven, because of the diversity of the organic structures upon which they were erected.

To state that the two peoples felt the problems of the other world with extreme fervor, that they enjoyed or suffered exalted religious zeal and that every hidden corner of their lives was permeated by passionate religiosity would be saying a lot and at the same time it would be saying very little. In the Middle Ages, the Islamic and Christian worlds, not only in Spain but in all their historical lands, truly lived with their souls reaching out to the fascinating mysteries of the ultraterrestrial beyond. For that reason it is as important to grasp similarities as it is to point out contrasts; similarities and contrasts between the religious sensibility of Christianity ultra and cis-Pyrenean and of peninsular Christianity and the Moors.

The initial platform is assured; the solid basis, the necessary foundation for any study about the analogies and differences between the thought and religious feeling of Spanish Christians and Islamites: the undebatable historical reality of the remoteness of the singular religiosity

of the Spaniards of millenary tradition when the Arabs crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and still extreme and vivifying during the Visigothic monarchy.

Upon that hill was built the great castle of Hispanic religiosity. We still do not know well the relations of the Spaniard with God during the Middle Ages. From what I know of them it seems to me that they were not rigid, rectilinear, inalterable or univocal. Among them were intermingled the most ardent faith and haughty courage, the fear of God and confrontation of the Almighty, the most encompassing devotion and zeal for terrestrial interests, providentialism and doubt about celestial help, confidence in the divine pardon and anguishing despair... They never ceased to change, oscillate, and contradict themselves, because there is nothing lasting here below and every generation has its anxiety. In the continuous succession of steps forward and backward of Western religious history, the *homo hispanus* was outlining his unique way, a way in which, centuries later, we see the unique trajectory more than the zigzagging and the hesitations. Peninsular Christianity marked that route during the long centuries of the Reconquest. The old vital contexture of the primitive Spaniards made that battle possible and it was in it that hispanic religiosity was formed, in the lengthy battle with Islam, from what I believe, because that battle was never a holy war as the one Mohammed prescribed to the Mussulmans.

1. Divine War

Was the Islamic idea of the Mussulman holy war accepted by Spanish Christians? It is necessary to distinguish two facets in that idea: the canonical duty to fight the infidel and the faith in the martyrial death and, therefore, the final salvation of those who died fighting. Those two aspects of the holy war are so interconnected that in reality they cannot be separated. Without the conviction that in fighting one was fulfilling a sacred duty, the conviction of the magic martyrial flight to paradise would never have occurred.

The bellicose concepts of people in constant struggle end up by influencing reciprocally, as well as their strategy, tactics, weapons and war customs. Spanish Arabists admit the direct or indirect Islamic origin of the Military Orders of Chivalry. All the peninsular attempts which preceded its foundation are known: confraternities of the knights of Monreal (1126), Uncastillo (1133), Belchite (1136) and Barbastro (1138). Everyone has always admitted the imitation by the Castilian kings of the Islamic practice to reserve a fifth of the spoils for the Caliph, a practice, in turn, rooted in the old Roman right, although many ignore this.

Many other adoptions or imitations by Spanish Christians of bellicose customs of their Mussulman enemies can be pointed out, customs adopted

or imitated by the latter from some other peoples with whom they had fought: the *tornafuye,* wages to the warriors, firearms, etc., etc. However, it is necessary to note also the opposite imitations and adoptions, realized by Moors of war practices and arms of peninsular Christians, imitations which led in the 13th and 14th centuries to the Castilianization of the kingdom of Granada —García Gómez pointed it out— and to the acceptance by the Islamites of Granada and of Morocco of chivalry ideas about honor, treason, fame and love of the Castilian stamp —Diego Catalán has just observed it. We must carefully consider the important social and political consequences —I shall speak of them at length— which the necessity to increase the cavalry in order to be able to successfully fight against the Mussulman cavalry, caused to the Christian kingdoms of Spain.

It is certain, however, that Spanish Christians never fought against Mohammedans in fulfillment of a religious precept similar to the one which the duty to propagate Islam at sword's point, imposed upon Moslems. It is logical that Mozarabs would become infected by the ideas of the Mussulmans among whom they were living and it is not surprising that Saint Eulogio should show feelings more or less inspired by Islamic concepts about the holy war. However, in the Christianity of the North, transmission was much more difficult.

The idea of martyrial death does not appear in the old chronicles of Asturias and León —of the Albeldense, of Alfonso III, of Sampiro— nor in the Latin history of the kingdoms of León and Castile of the 12th and 13th centuries —the so-called *Historia Silense,* the chronicle of Pelayo of Oviedo, the *Crónica Najerense,* the *Historia Roderici,* the *Historia Compostellana,* the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris,* the *Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla,* the *Chronicon Mundi* of Lucas de Tuy and *De Rebus Hispaniae,* of Ximénez de Rada—, nor in the *Anales* from the 10th to the 13th century, nor in the *Cantar de Mio Cid,* nor in the *Crónica de la población de Avila,* all of them, without exception, deafened by the echoes of the war between the Saracens and the Christians. From two groups of items that some of these sources give us we can deduce that, after many centuries, neither in León nor in Castile, did the people who fought against the Mussulmans believe in martyrial war.

The *Cantar de Mio Cid* presents Rodrigo telling his warriors on the night before their fight against the Moors at Valencia's gates: «Get armed before daylight, Bishop Don Jerome will give us absolution and will offer a mass for us». A little later, he writes:

At half midnight – before the dawn
bishop Don Jerome – sang mass for them;
mass being said – he buried them:
«He who should die here – facing the enemy,
I take his sins – and God opens his soul.»

According to the minstrel of Medinaceli, in order to earn heaven in the fight it was not sufficient to die fighting, it was necessary to go to battle having one's sins forgiven by a representative of the Almighty.

During a campaign of Alfonso VII, the Emperor, through the lands of Jaén, some armies from the border crossed the Guadalquivir to continue their depredations, but there came a crest of the great river which they could not cross again; the Almoravid forces were drawing near and as the Christian army could not help them, their chiefs shouted to them: «Confess your sins to one another, pray, take communion from the holy bread you have with you and God will have pity on your souls». Before that even, recorded in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, can we suppose that in the middle of the 12th century Castilians believed that when they died fighting the Moors they reached the glory of martyrs?

Not much later, Munio Alfonso at the head of the *milicia* of Toledo, Avila and Segovia, was returning from a campaign in Cordovan lands when he saw the Almoravid emirs of Cordova and Seville coming to attack them. The Christians fortified themselves in Mota de Montiel, they knelt, prayed and their chief exhorted them to fight: «See to it —he told them— that not one of you die treacherously, for it is better that we should all die in one place than scattered here and there». He reminded them of the victories they had won on other occasions with divine help: «It is as easy for God —he exclaimed— to make many perish in the hands of a few as a few in the hands of many». «May the will of heaven be done!», he concluded; they all received communion, went to fight and with the help of God they succeeded in conquering and killing «Abenceta» and «Azuell». There could not have been a better occasion for a Castilian chief to animate his armies with the promise of a martyr's death and yet, not one hint of it came to the lips of the glorious «Prince of the *milicia* of Toledo».

Decades later «there were many Knights of Avila... and they went to Seville. Aveyaco passed then from the other side of the sea... and came after them... and Aveyaco reached them and could not endure them, and there were some hills there, and they defended themselves until nightfall, and Aveyaco surrounded those hills around and watched over them all night, so that they all were concerned about dying there... And the next day they heard mass, did penance and armed themselves and mounted their horses, and Sancho Ximeno who was a good hunter, observed the birds and understood from them that the Moors would be defeated, and they killed many of them and had great profits». The knights from Avila, my ancestors, surrounded by the Almohad armies and in danger of death, instead of thinking that God would take them to heaven if they died, piously got ready for battle, as always, and after consulting the birds about their near future, confidently they went to fight. Confident, not in the martyr's prize that would have awaited them if they had been touched

by the Islamic ideas about the holy war, but in the help of the Almighty and in the good fortune that the signs offered them. The *Crónica de la población de Avila,* relates those events, in which is seen the habitual chivalrous mixture of piety and magic, chronicle written at the beginning of the reign of the Learned King.

When the detailed accounts of some great battle have come to us, they mention that on the night before the encounter, the whole Christian army confessed its sins, and received the body of the Lord to prepare for the fight and death. People from Castile, Aragón and Navarre did that on the eve of the expedition of the Navas (1212), according to the *Crónica de los reyes de Castilla,* Ximénez de Rada in his *De rebus Hispaniae* and Alfonso the Learned in the *Crónica General.*

They believed so little in the martyrial sanctification of their death in battle against the Moors, that Alfonso XI, the morning before the expedition of Salado, knelt before the Archbishop of Toledo, Don Gil de Albornoz, publicly promised to refrain from sin and to amend his life; that is, he promised to part from Doña Leonor de Guzmán, his lover The prelate referred it to the Pope and to the bishop of Frascati, and today we know the sovereign's prayer, thanks to the text published by Diego Catalán.

In a passage of the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* where death in the hands of the Moors of *Princeps Militiae Toletanae,* is narrated, Munio Alfonso, the chronicler —of the second half of the 12th century— reports that God let him die in battle in order to punish the great sin he had committed in killing his daughter whom he had found in bed with a youth. To the warriors of the border of Castile who were fighting constantly against the Moors, the great Munio Alfonso was not rewarded with a martyr's death by the Almighty; to them, to fall fighting the enemies of their faith was punishment and not a reward from the Almighty. They always considered their great military defeats as punishment: Alfonso III, the Mussulman conquest; Sampiro, the defeat of Valdejunquera; the Pseudo Silense, the terrible disasters of Almanzor's days; the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris,* the failure of Coria and other various defeats; and the *Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla,* the conquering of Alarcos.

Did the idea that death in battle against the Moors sanctified later become generalized? The testimony of Ximénez de Rada, Alfonso the Learned and Don Juan Manuel have been alleged to sustain that the Islamic concept of holy war triumphed among Christians. But instead of citing the authentic words of the Toledan, they have reproduced those of a prepared translation of his *Rerum in Hispania gestarum Chronicon,* and later mutilated the passage in the *Crónica General.*

In the battle of the Navas of Tolosa (1212) there was a difficult moment at the beginning. Ximénez de Rada reports the words which he exchanged with king Alfonso VIII thus: «Aldephonsus nobilis, videns... quosdam plebeia vilitate quid deceat non curare, dixit omnibus audientibus pontifici

Toledano: 'Archiepiscope ego et vos hic moriamur'. Qui respondit ei: 'Nequaquam immo hic praeualebitis inimicis'». And later, he relates that, before the unfavorable progress of the struggle, the king told him: «'Hic Archiepiscope moriamur, tales enim in tali articulo mors non dedecet'. Et ille: 'Si Deo placet corona victoriae, non mors insistat: Sin autem aliter Deo placuerit, vobis commori omnes communiter sumus parati'. In ius autem omnibus (testificor coram Deo) nobilis Rex non mutauit vultum, nec gestum».

The writers of the *Crónica General* limited themselves to translate thus: During the first moment of danger, «the very noble king Don Alfonso said to the archbishop... with everyone hearing him: 'archbishop, you and I die here'. And the archbishop answered him: 'sir, let us have faith in God, and it will be better, for we will be stronger than our enemies and you will overpower them today». When the king wanted to enter into battle, they advised him to keep the regiment of the army: «Then the noble king told the archbishop: 'Archbishop, we die here, for such death suits us and to accept it in such distress by the law of Christ and to die in him'. The Archbishop responded: 'sir, if this pleases God, victory should be ours, and we should win and not die here, but if it should please God otherwise, we are all here to die with you, and I witness this before all and before God».

I do not believe that anyone can see in these dialogues the slightest allusion to a martyr's death of the Christians fighting the Moors. It is very doubtful that the unscrupulous translator —he distorts in such a way the account of the Archbishop that in no way can we suppose the latter translating himself—, would refer to it, since the phrase he puts on the lips of Don Rodrigo: «Sir, if we are to die, we shall all be with you in heaven» can refer to the state of grace in which they were after having confessed their sins and received communion. The same thing can be said of the words that the *Crónica General* attributes to Garci Pérez de Vargas in the lifting of the siege of Martos.

Diego Catalán Menéndez-Pidal pointed out how the reception of the Mohammedan martyrial idea in the *Libro de los Estados* has been deduced from «a fragmentary quote of Don Juan Manuel's reasoning».

It seems difficult to me to reconcile the sharp Islamic thesis which converts in martyrs all those who died in fight against the enemies of Islam, whatever their conduct in war may have been, and only those who died, with the ideas of Don Juan Manuel, for whom only those who were truly penitent were sanctified in the struggle against the Moors; those who suffered miseries, hardships and dangers in war were also sanctified although they may not die fighting, and the sinners could only have hope of pardon if they succumbed in battle and not outside. As Diego Catalán rightfully points out, Saint Ferdinand's grandson was trying to dot the i's before the erroneous faith in a martyr's death of the fighters who fell while

combating the Moors. No, neither Ximénez de Rada, Alfonso the Learned, nor Don Juan Manuel believed in the martyrial death of those who succumbed in their fight against the Mussulmans. Perhaps some less educated Christians did end up believing in it. The grandson of Saint Ferdinand would not have risen against such an error in the *Libro de los Estados,* if it had not appeared among the people of his time. But that faith —the butler of Joinville chronicler of Saint Louis, also believed in a martyr's death— was contradicted —as in France— by the clergy and the noblemen; recall how in the battle of Salado (1340), where Don Juan Manuel was, from the king on down, everyone prepared to die in the grace of God and receiving him in their hearts because they, obviously, did not believe in the fables, perhaps accepted by some people of the borders, in daily conflict with the Mohammedans.

In order for the faith in a martyr's death to have triumphed, it would have been necessary for the educated minorities of the country to accept the basic idea of the holiness of their war against the Moors, that is to say, that they were fighting to fulfill a religious precept, as the Moslems. That idea was never accepted by peninsular Christianity. From the initial days of the Reconquest until its last stages, Christians were aware that they were fighting to recover national lands, which the Islamites held.

The Albeldense wrote: «The Sarracens occupy Spain and take over the Goths' kingdom, which they still partly hold today. Christians fight them day and night, and they have not been able to take all of Spain.» In the 14th century Don Juan Manuel said: «There is war between Christians and Moors and there will continue to be, until Christians have recovered all the lands which the Moors hold.»

The Reconquest of national territory implied war against the enemy of Christ and of his Church and this gave religious tones to the strife. People were fighting continually invoking his divine help and trusting in him.

To obtain divine help, The Almighty was implored before battles. It is narrated in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* referring to the preparation of the *milicia* of Toledo, Ávila and Segovia to confront the Almoravid emirs of Cordova and Seville: «All were kneeling, they were addressing the Lord saying: 'O Jesus of Nazareth crucified for us, who spilled your blood for us, here are the Almoravids and the Islamites of Spain, our enemies and yours, united against us to ruin us, have mercy and save us. O great Virgin among virgins, intercede for us with your son, our Lord Jesus Christ; if he frees us (from the danger), out of all that you gave us and will give us, we will give the tenth part to your church of Toledo. Saint James, Apostle of Christ, defend us in battle so that we may not perish in the tremendous contest —*judicio*— of the Saracens.»

It was not even permissible to take pride in the obtained triumph as God punished such vanity. The author of the *Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla* explains thus the plague which decimated the Christians during Ubeda's siege following the victory of the Navas of Tolosa: «Occulta

quidem sunt iudicia dei. Ffortase aliquid elatonis et superbie contraxerunt xpiani ex uictoria supradicti belli cum soli deo non sibi atribuere debuissent.»

To thank God for the favor received the *Te Deum laudamus* was sung on the very battlefield —by Ximénez de Rada, we know that it was done so after the victory of the Navas of Tolosa—; upon returning from the campaign there were thanksgivings to the Almighty in the main church of the city from which the army had left, and our Lord was praised in words like the ones which Alfonso VII pronounced in Toledo upon knowing Munio Alfonso's victory and that of the militiamen over the «kings» of Cordova and Seville: «Benedictus sit Dominus Deus omnium creator, terribilis et fortis, iustus, omnipotens et aeternus, qui vos liberavit de gladio istorum regum.»

Mussulmans were enemies of Christ and theirs —let us recall the prayer of the militiamen of Toledo, Ávila and Segovia before the strife against the emirs of Seville and Cordova: *O Ihesu Nazarene... ecce Moabites et Agareni, inimici tui et nostri.* It was only possible to win with the help of God, who gave victories and defeats according to his will, in reward or punishment. It was necessary to implore him, *flexibus genibus,* before fighting, and also to implore Mary to whom was attributed the obtained booty —let us recall the offering to the Virgin of the tithe *ex omnibus quae nobis dedisti aut dederis,* and to Saint James, *Miles Christi.* If the war against the Moors was not a holy war comparable to that which obligated the Mohammedans, Don Alonso of Carthagene called it a «divine» war.

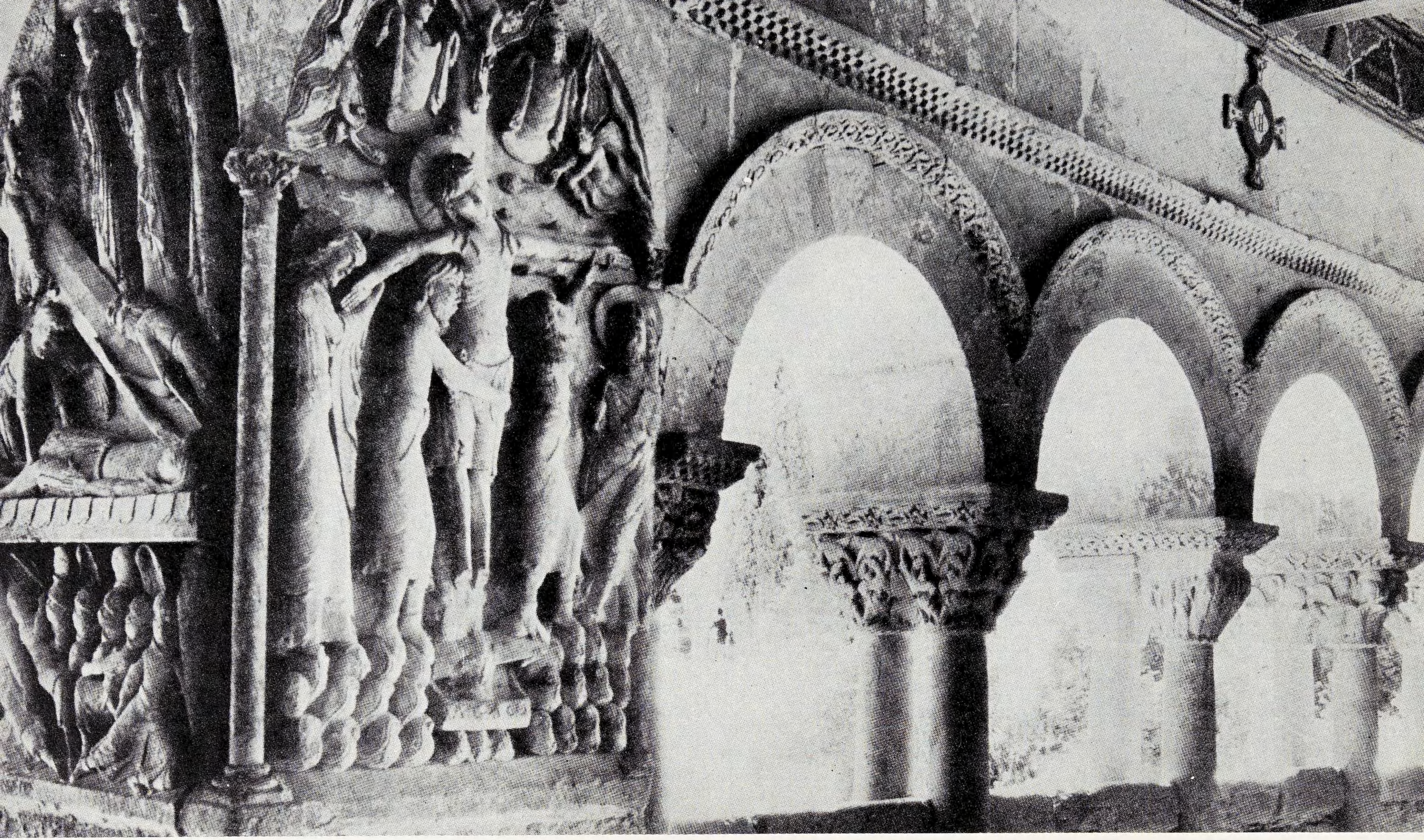
The adjective seems specific and accurate. Neither a holy war as Moslems still understand it, nor a crusade as Western Christianity understood it from the 11th to the 13th century, because it was not carried out in fulfillment of a canonical precept, as the holy Islamic war, nor did it have religious goals as with with the crusades. There was no war because God ordered it, not even for his greater honor and glory. The extension of a religious creed at sword's point was not sought, nor the simple battle against people of a different faith. It was a divine war, because it cannot, nevertheless, be compared with the other struggles in Europe during the Middle Ages.

For centuries, the struggle against Spanish Islamites was not the undertaking of lordly minorities as was, at the time, the majority of the wars in Western Europe, but it was a national task in which the masses participated. The fight was not for dynactic interests, desires or regional ambitions or for familiar hatreds or furies as occurred on the other side of the Pyrenees, but for the freedom of the kingdom and of the Church.

They did not fight out of divine command, but they battled as much for the Almighty as for the Reconquest and for freedom of national territory. Christian warriors were not fighting in fulfillment of a religious precept, nor confident in a martyr's death, but they fought against the enemies of their God. To defend their freedom and their lives and those of their wives

43.—The frontier struggle decisively influenced the social and political organization of León and Castile and in the forming of its vital contexture. In the frontiers arose communities of free men who articulated themselves early in open *concejos*, quickly ruled by riders or villein knights. We contemplate Sepúlveda, one of the first Castilian towns populated South of the Duero. Count Sancho Garcés and later Alfonso VI (1070) organized its municipality.
Partial view of Sepúlveda (Segovia).

44.—«*The Army of the Lord.*» It was reproduced by the miniaturists who illustrated the *Comentarios al Apocalipsis de San Juan,* of Beato of Liébana. In those miniatures, of the most copied and most read book in León and Castile, the people, that is to say, the clerics who participated in its psychology, could find plastic elements for the humanization of the myth of the Apostle Saint James —*Miles Christi* (Beato of Osma in 1036). *Miniature of the Beato of Liébana.*



45.—*Cloister beneath the monastery of Silos (Burgos)*, built between 1035 and 1100 by a genial artist of Spanish origin and temperament with a narrative impetus obsolete in Romanesque, who liked to translate on stone the story of the Christian epopee, possessed a perfect dramatic sense, knew how to give emotional life to its panels and also demonstrated his Hispanicism by means of techniques which go back to primitive Hispanic sculpture.

46.—*Chalice of the Infanta Doña Urraca,* Lady of Zamora and sister of Alfonso VI who conquered Toledo (1085) and opened his kingdoms to the cultural and political winds of beyond the Pyrenees. That chalice was used in masses offered according to the Roman rite that substituted the Hispanic one by orders of Alfonso: and by chance, by some of the Cluniac monks to whom the latter handed over sees and convents. *Colegiata of Saint Isidore of León.*

and sons, as much as to safeguard the free practice of their religion in their churches and homes. As much to regain the old Hispanic land, conquered centuries before by pagan Saracens, as to bring the faith in Christ to the extreme borders of unredeemed homeland.

The divine war constituted a historical force of enormous importance in the making of medieval Spanish religious sensibility, and in the end, in the making of pure *españolía,* a strength which an authentic acceptance of the Islamic idea of holy war would never have offered them. The different intensity and duration of the divinal character of their bellicose undertakings contributed even to differentiating and coloring the various regions of Spain. Because Galicia was removed from it from the end of the 9th century, and because Catalonia, beginning with the 11th century, first carried on the divine war along with many human fights on the other side of the Pyrenees and since the Sicilian Vespers, it poured all its activism into enterprises of ciscelestial projection, nevertheless the radical Hispanicism of Catalonia and Galicia, they did not have the same religious sensibility as in the center of Spain. We will see how the divine character of the struggle influenced in a decisive way the crystallization of the Hispanic form of life.

2. Fear of God

That «divine» war could be undertaken because Northern Spaniards felt firm in the energetic Christian concept of the Divinity, raised above the fear of God and the confidence in His permanent help. The divine character of the fight, then, guaranteed those two roots of peninsular religiosity. For the Christians of Cantabria and Asturias and those of the frontier provinces of Spain —Galicia and Basque country— God was with them every moment of their lives, directing, animating, supporting and impelling them.

It is important to point out the error committed in declaring as singularities of Islam, doctrines which appear before Christianity. That thesis induces the attribution to Islamic influences, Christian attitudes of peninsular people connected with the religious tradition of Christianity. Not only for Mussulmans «is God the maker of the most minute things that we do or that take place», as Castro wishes. Jesus declared that the Almighty looked after the lilies of the field (Saint Matthew, VI, 26, and Saint Luke, XV, 24). Saint Paul told the people of Athens that the unknown God was giving «life to all and breath and everything», «in Him we live and move and have our being», he added. In his Epistle to Timothy, the same Saint Paul wrote that God gave dignity to all things. In the one to the Philippians he declares: «God works in you through his good will not only your willing but also the doing.» In the one he sent to the Corinthians he observes God's care even for vile things. That doctrine of eternal creation was gathered and developed by the Fathers of the Church and happily

spread to popular religiosity: Christians have always believed that «a leaf of a tree does not move without the will of the Lord». Before Islam, as well as in Islam, in Christianity, what is greatest and smallest is sustained by the Almighty.

In the first half of the 13th century, Berceo placed this prayer on the lips of Saint Dominic of Silos:

You govern the beasts, tamed and untamed
You give food to the small and big birds
Thanks to you the grains grow, you make the grains grow,
You feed the earthworms that are underground.

That faith in the decisive action of the will of God continuously triumphed throughout the long medieval history of peninsular Christianity. Its unfortunate struggle with Islam rooted this belief in the minorities and the masses of the various Spanish Christian kingdoms. God changed the luck in war and the course of the lives of men, according to inscrutable but definitive judgments. On his just decisions depended the thread of destiny at all times.

Someone has denied that secondary causes counted in Islam because Allah, in his eternal creation, was the primary cause of everything. It suffices to read any Hispano-Arabic chronicle to realize how erroneous it is to think that Spanish Mussulmans were imbued with that idea.

If Christians attributed triumphs or defeats to the favor or anger of God, Moslems of Al-Ándalus reported many times, with pleasure, the strategic or tactical manoeuvres which brought them victory, and they frequently explained their defeats by human treasons or errors. In the pages of their chronicles and histories are recorded, with purely Western accent, dynastic crises, political races, advances, falls... Mussulman historians and chroniclers disclose the rational calculations and the emotions and passions of men —boldness, ambitions, weaknesses, heroism, desires, fears, loves, rages— and the error, ability, or fortune which determined the fate of the community and of individuals.

Christians fought continually invoking celestial help and confident in it: «Spes nostra Xpistus est», the Chronicler king, Alfonso III had his grandfather say in Covadonga. The author of *Crónica profética* wrote: «Protegente diuina clementia inimicorum terminus quoddidie defecit et eclesie Domini in majus et melius crescit.» Ramiro II won the battle of Simancas «Adjuvante Deo», according to the *Anales Castellanos I^os^*. We read in *Historia Silense* that the Christians raise their heads «Dei miserationi» after Almanzor's death freed them from his terrible sword. The Cid was victorious over the Almoravids in Cuarte «Divina opitulante clementia», according to *Historia Roderici.* The Almohads were defeated at Navas «Uirtute domini nostri Ihesu Christi», according to the *Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla.*

Not only do the religious authors of the chronicles attribute Christian victories to the help of the Most High. Minstrels and lay chroniclers thought the same. Many times the minstrel of the Cid discloses his faith in the divine help. After the capture of Alcocer, upon sending Alvar Fáñez to Castile, he has the Cid declare: «God was with us – and we won the fight.» Later he writes:

The Creator helped him – the Lord who is in heaven
And with all this – he took Murviedo;
There the Cid saw – that God was helping him.

When he relates the dialogue between Rodrigo and Jimena after the great victory before the towers of Valencia, he had the Campeador say: «God and all His saints willed this.»

In the chivalrous *Crónica de la repoblación de Ávila,* we read, for example:

> «When the prince of believers came to encircle Talavera and went from there to Escalona, King Alfonso who was in the camp over Bayuela, sent Don Yagüe, chief of Ávila and ten knights with him so that they would go and spy on the Moors. When they were near the gates of the Walls, Don Yagüe, the chief, left the company and went up to the lookout, and upon arriving there he was faced by twelve Moorish knights and they began to wound him and he, to defend himself, as best he could, and at that point his other companions arrived and God helped them in such a way that they killed seven Moors and make the other five prisoners. They went to tell King Alfonso, and in the end Don Yagüe, the chief, escaped with nine wounds.»

It is proven that Christians considered their great military defeats as punishments from the Most High One, the defeat of Valdejunquera, the disasters of Almanzor's days, the humiliating expedition of Alarcos were attributed to the divine anger according to Sampiro, the Pseudo Silense and the *Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla.* When there was a change in fortune through luck, the unexpected change was on account of Providence; they considered the shepherd, or «rabbit keeper» as a messenger of God because, on the anguishing eves of the battle of the Navas of Tolosa, he pointed out to Christians the way through which they should climb the mountain without being disturbed by the Almohad army. They even imputed to God's ire their internal quarrels and the initial acts upon which depended the causes of their troubles; the author of the *Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla* considered celestial punishment for the sins of the community, the division of the kingdom between his sons Sancho and Ferdinand by Alfonso VII.

Although naturally, the Islamites did not doubt Allah's intervention in the course of their lives, it is a fact that Mussulman chroniclers of Andalusia or Morocco, frequently explained their defeats as the result of treasons. To treasons they attributed: the disaster of Zamora (901), Al-Razi; the rout of Simancas (939), the *Ajbar Machmu'a;* the defeat of Santarén (1134), Al-Marraquxi; and the defeat of 'Uqab (the Navas, 1212), the Anonymous one of Copenhagen, that is to say Bayan al-Mugrib, and many other texts.

Frequently too, they attributed the responsibility for their disasters to the cowardice of some Moorish chiefs or of their armies: so they explained: Sahib al-Sala, the failure of the sultan Abu Ya'qub before Huete; and Ibn 'Iḏārī, the conquest of Silves by Alfonso Enríquez, that of Almenara by Alfonso VII and many other Almohad defeats.

At times, they attributed their being overcome to diseases or natural accidents. On some occasions they stopped to report anecdotes which, either did not rhyme with a great religious fervor, or disclosed their faith in the authentic action of human errors and of human abilities in the course of war and life.

In the worst moments of the expedition of Zalaca, Al-Mu'tamid wrote those two verses addressed to one of his sons, sick in Seville: «O Abu Haxim, les tranchants des sabres m'ont tailladé! Et pourtant j'ai su résister cet enfer ardent!» – «Je me rappelle ta chère petite personne parmi ces tourbillons de poussiere et c'est ce souvenir qui m'empêche de fuir.» Al-Himyari who records this item —compare the thought of Al-Mu'tamid in Zalaca with that of Alfonso VIII in the Navas— outlines an entirely Western accoun of the battle.

Ibn Alkama, in relating the Cid's victory before the walls of Valencia, does the same. Allah plays no part in the combat whose process is explained rationally. He relates later that Yusuf ibn Taxufin became upset with the chief of the defeated army, his own nephew, because he attributed the defeat to his lack of energy and to his hurried withdrawal of the battlefield. «Le neveu du monarque —the Hispano-Mussulman Chronicler adds— voyant son oncle persister dans sa rancune contre lui et les généraux qui l'accompagnaient chercha à se concilier sa bienveillance et attribua son échec à la Providence et à un arrêt prédestiné de Dieu.» The commentaries about making Allah responsible for the defeat and Ibn Alkama's lack of faith, are not necessary.

To celebrate the Alhomad victory over the militiamen of Ávila, an adulatory poetic tournament took place in Seville before the Almohad Caliph. According to Sahib al-Sala, one of the orators «attributed the great victory and the great news to the Chief Abu Hafs, since to his presence was due the rout of the infidels and thanks to his plans, God exalted his religion.» Again, commentaries are not necessary.

On a day of «unfortunate stars» the Almohads fought in the Navas according to the «official communiqué» of the disaster, copied by Ibn

'Idārī in *Al-Bayan al-Mugrib*. In the same way as Yusuf ibn Taxufin's nephew, after being defeated by the Cid, Ibn 'Ayyas imputed that of 'Uqab to the will of the Clement and Merciful One.

However, not one disaster was attributed by Islamic historians to Allah's anger because of men's sins.

It would be very easy for me to allege numerous narrative testimonies and documents to prove that Spanish Christians seemed to continually trust in the divine will and seemed to attribute to it decisive actions in their lives all the time; it would not be difficult to gather new testimonies to prove how the Islamites of Al-Ándalus discovered, at each step of the way, their confidence in their own efforts and their own conduct. The latter were Spanish by race and, therefore, Western by temperament, and consequently, they were softening the religious theoretics of Islam and were reasoning as other Western men. There were Christians in such anguishing situations that, in spite of their being Western, could only trust in celestial forces to be able to come out of their conflicts. That anxiety caused in them a very vivid fear of God.

The two frauds which attributed curative powers to the Capetians kings and to the Norman sovereigns of England, with political aims, led some to state: «France and England initiated their lives anchored in human interests.» The conclusion is disproportionate and inaccurate is the contrast which on that basis is established between what is Hispanic and what is Western on the other side of the Pyrenees. By giving thaumaturgical powers to monarchs on both sides of the Channel, someone has admitted that «a heavenly injection was given to purely human realities». The same divine injection —to continue the daring metaphor— was received by peninsular Christianity, with the intervention of Mary, James or any other celestial patron in the harsh battle against the Moors. The defense of the kingdom was no less political or human matter as the securing the Capetian or Norman dynasties.

The differences between the attitudes towards the divinity on both sides of the Pyrenees are rooted in the distinct life style of the two historical communities and in their different political and social constitution. The Spaniards neatly distinguished the human from the divine, they believed with profound and firm faith; they considered themselves always under the eyes of Providence and always confided in celestial help. With Saint Paul they thought that God gave life and breath to all things and that they lived and moved according to the divine will and they also admitted, naturally, the reality of miracles. Precisely because of the dramatic quality of their lives, in which, frequently their destinies were gambled in the cruel struggle against the Mussulmans, they held a clear idea of their smallness before God's omnipotence and felt pure and fearful respect for the majesty of the Most High who granted victories or defeats in reward or punishment for the princes' conducts, or in reward or punishment for

the virtues or the sins of the various estates of the monarchy. Naturally, because of their anguished fear of God, they would never have dared to invent the imposture of the thaumaturgical powers of a sinner, even though the salvation of the kingdom in a critical hour might have depended upon such a farce. After that, divine vengeance could punish the sacrilege, in the unfortunate game of the continuous war against the Moors.

Castilians are realistic —the why and how of it has been explained. To them, the king was a man, and a man burdened by vices and sins like any neighbor's son. They followed and served him because he was the son, and the grandson of many sovereigns who had been building the kingdom in the severe struggle against the Saracens and because it was necessary to obey a chief articulating resistance and attack in order to survive. But the king did not live on the mysterious summit of an inaccessible majesty, but in intimate and frequent contact with all. For that reason, they could not incarnate miraculous virtues in that nomadic captain, always roaming through his kingdom, participating in its conflicts and who, from time to time, had to run and escape with them, overcome by the powerful Islamic armies.

The king himself felt his smallness before the divinity and the firmness of his position in the kingdom. The power of the Castilian kings was infinitely superior to that of the Capetian sovereigns in France and of the Norman princes of England. Feudal organizations imprisoned the former and reduced royal authority to a minimum; although the power of the kings of England was superior, they did not find themselves in a very comfortable position in a country won by the sword. On both sides of the Channel, the sovereigns needed a heavenly injection, in order to maintain their precarious position, while the Castilian monarchs South of the Pyrenees did not need it to secure their position before the people. The conviction of the security and firmness of their royal power —they renounced the sacred anointing which surrounded their power by a divine halo, in the middle of the 12th century—, and the certainty of their smallness and insignificance before the majesty of God, at the same time made the ultra-Pyrenean frauds unnecessary and made the kings feel repulsion towards farces, sacrilegious to them.

As Frenchmen at the end of the 10th century or Normans at the second half of the 11th century, Castilians placed warmth and even passion in the defense of their earthly interests. Saint Ferdinand himself defended the crown rights with such obstinacy with the Diocese of Osma, that it caused an angry papal intervention. However, due to the misfortune of its uneasy destiny, neither could the Spanish Christian people, permeated with realism and faith, admit an imposture similar to the one designed to help the two royalties beyond the Pyrenees and beyond the Channel, nor the Castilian royalty, always thanks to the divine mercy, could usurp an attribute of the divinity: its miraculous power. On both sides of the Pyrenees, they believed in miracles, which seems to have been forgotten

in speaking only of the Hispanic faith in celestial marvels. In the Peninsula, because divine help was always needed to save human interests —the free life of the community was frequently endangered— God was too feared to conceive a farce similar to the one invented in France and later imitated in England. No, it is not permissible to contrast the supposed devotion of the people on the other side of the Pyrenees for ciscelestial interests with the hypothetical contempt, for them, by the Christians of Spain. On the contrary, it would be fitting to conclude that the latter were the ones who differentiated human from the divine interests with more clarity and who, with more passion and anguish attacked the defense of the former. So much so that they anchored their lives on the pedestal of manhood, until they got to be before all, complete men.

They believed in the miraculous continuous intervention of the Almighty in the life of the community and of individuals. They feared God intensely. They attempted to obtain his favors by means of offerings and promises. But their manhood led them to trust in his celestial help without neglecting their own earthly efforts. It led them to confront him in words and even in deeds and to confront his representatives with frequency, and at times it led them even to sacrilege and blasphemy.

3. Between heaven and earth

The «divine» nature of the war against Islam, along with the ancestral Hispanic passion —recently reactivated by the youthful Gothic cruelty— explain in a precise and coherent way the singularities of the religious concepts of the Spaniards. Every prolonged external conflict engenders true pathological states in the souls of the peoples who suffer them. When such a war is combined with a battle for a faith or an ideal, its projections in the popular psyche are multiplied in such a way that they get to cause real cases of collective hysteria. The dramatic nature of the results of a long external struggle, national and religious at the same time, can lead to the creation of a functional structure, with more or less lasting traits, when a historical community receives its permanent impact, community, by temperamental tradition propitious to the most violent exaltations and passions. European history, including that which we have all lived, justifies these affirmations.

No great effort is necessary to imagine the course which the long centuries of the Reconquest imposed on religious history. Until the fall of the Caliphate the fight was harsh and brutal. When the Cordovan government occasionally collapsed into impotence and could not pursue its violent attacks against Christian lands, frequently Christians attacked the Islamites of the border, and if the initiative of war escaped the Moslems, Christians passed from anguished defensive to audacious offensive, and the battle continued. Ever since the securing of the Ommiad dynasty in Cor-

dova, the Asturias-León kingdom, embryo of Spain, and especially Castile, did not know one decade of peace. The fight brought upon Christians, havoc, fierce evils and shameful humiliations.

The Ishmaelites —the Christians called them so— entered the country by fire and sword. Churches and monasteries were levelled and religious communities put to the sword. If the inhabitants of the cities or towns fell prisoners, they were sold as slaves in the Andalusian markets. Even counts and bishops died in captivity in Cordovan dungeons. Several sovereings or León and Navarre had to send their sisters and their daughters to the harem of the hated Almanzor. Harsh times! And so it was for three centuries! Three centuries of irritating national and religious war, of cruel devotional and popular strife! Three centuries! Long and anguishing epoch of external and «divine» struggle! How can one doubt that afterwards the Spanish common soul should remain marked forever?

The society and kingdom of Asturias and León were born, formed and increased in a ferocious struggle with people of different faiths. Life was centered around faith and the desire for salvation was above all desires; belief became saturated with bellicose essences; a vassal concept of the relation of man with God took root; extroverted activism triumphed over intimate fervor in religious practices; dissidences and polemics about the doctrine for which they fought and died ceased; the Pope was obeyed through a discipline of a military type; the clergy acquired enormous political and economic strength —it used «the staff or the crossbow» equally—; Islamites and Jews were unwillingly tolerated and were attacked with rage, and the singular projection of the singular national religiosity made itself felt in the dictionary.

They lived in an atmosphere of burning fervor, everything was hoped for and feared from heaven, and not only thinking about the afterworld where glory or hell were the greatest hope or the greatest anxiety, everything was hoped for or feared from heaven also in this vale of tears in which daily existence transpired. They feared the divine ire which dealt them draughts and thunderstorms, famines and plagues, the internal strives that devastated the land and even more the terrible Saracen flood. They hoped for very fruitful crops, full barns, stuffed cattle, good health, serene peace and victory over the Islamites. Everything was hanging by the thin thread of the Almighty's ire or grace. It was necessary to win his will through ritualistic prayers, pious practices, ecclesiastical foundations or constructions or through donations to religious institutions. They had to avoid divine anger by avoiding sin which brought it down on each and every one of them. If they fell into temptation because the flesh is weak and because of invincible enemies, ambition, pride, envy, anger, and in the end they sinned, they were forced to humbly beg His pardon by way of harsh penances or difficult pilgrimages and above all, by offerings and gifts to the Church.

There were all kinds of legends of miracles and prodigies: a mountain had crashed upon the Mussulmans fleeing from Covadonga, in Cosgaya, in Liébana; the palatines watching over the body of Alfonso I heard an angelic voice announcing his glorious passage; some mysterious lights in a closed valley of Galicia disclosed Saint James' sepulcher; divine will enabled the chest with the relics to arrive at the coasts of Asturias; angels in the form of pilgrims, feigning to be silversmiths offered to make a marvelous cross of Alfonso II; numerous prophetic omens predicted the proximate end of Mussulman power in the Peninsula during the reign of Alfonso III; a fierce bull left its horns in the hands of a bishop of Compostela injustly punished by Bermudo II; Alvito, the bishop of León, received in Seville a triple warning by Saint Isidore, indicating to him where the sepulcher was.

The Church needed the State —and I do not use that word metaphorically, there was an authentic state organization in the kingdoms of Asturias-León and León-Castile— and the State also needed the Church. The latter knew that its fate was united to that of the king who made the Reconquest progress and who disposed of great expanses of lands and of a firm authority —the *iussio regis* binding on everyone. The State needed the Church so that, as the earthly delegate of the Divinity, it could be a propitious vehicle to canalize towards the other world the anxious petitions of help that a warrior people offered to the Almighty every day, and so that in granting the national community and especially the leading minorities, the forgiveness of their sins, it could keep them from the celestial anger and consequently from defeat or any other kind of earthly punishments. Church and State interacted as in no other Western country, as nowhere else, all the people and all the clergy were living in close contact, so much so that the entire kingdom seemed at times like a unique and great monastery and the Church usually did not rise above the vital desires and projections of the masses.

Along with maintaining public peace and the pursuit of war against the Islamites, the restoration and protection of the Church constituted a primordial goal of the State. The advances of the Reconquest were accompanied by the foundation of new episcopal sees and marked by the foundation of new churches and monasteries. Alfonso II created the episcopate of Oviedo in the city which served as the capital of his monarchy; his successors restored the ancient dioceses where they had existed before the Moslem invasion; they transferred others from Iria to Compostela and from Dumio to Mondoñedo and founded some in Valpuesta, León, Velegia, Zamora, Simancas...

Hypertrophying the Hispano-Gothic tradition, the kings created, outlined and suppressed dioceses, they appointed and deposed bishops, they discussed ecclesiastical matters in the meetings in their *palatium* and intervened in such a way in the life of the clergy that they even rushed there

if a monastery declined morally or if some monk escaped from his monastery.

If the State devoted a great part of its activity to the organization and administration of the Church, the Church mingled actively in the public life of the community. Bishops and abbots were summoned to meetings of the *palatium regis,* which with the dynasty from Navarre began to call itself *curia regis*; the governed *mandationes* or counties as *judices* or ruled them as lords; they were surrounded by ancient noblemen who served as *milites,* called vassals on the other side of the Pyrenees; they possessed *inmunitates;* collected taxes; exercised evident personal influence on the kings and the grandees; they mediated in their political and personal quarrels; protected the fallen ones... They not only intervened in the political life of the community —of some it is said: *regiam potentiam a regibus habebant*—, but they went in the army, in the divine war, especially, but also in other military enterprises to which the king summoned them, since because of the *honores,* property of their churches or cloisters, they were bound to come to court and to the ditch —only Gelmírez freed himself from the duty and, nevertheless, it was said of him: *baculus et ballista.* I have examined all these questions in studying the origin of the medieval institutions of León and Castile.

Because of the divine character of the struggle, there was no army of some importance without one or several prelates. Priests always accompanied Christian troops, including the municipal troops that went to run, that is to say, to raid Saracen lands. Many bishops suffered the law of war: Hermogio and Dulcidio fell prisoners in the defeat of Valdejunquera; the bishop of Burgos died in the capture of Cordova by Alfonso VIII; the bishops of Ávila, Segovia and Sigüenza perished in Alarcos. The archbishops of Toledo came to the most outstanding campaigns —the Navas, Salado. More than once, a prelate was in charge of a royal army —the infante-archbishop of Toledo Don Sancho of Aragón fell fighting against the Beni Amer at the front of the troops of his brother-in-law, Alfonso the Learned. On occasions, others undertook, on their own, some campaigns against the Mussulmans —such was the case of Don Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, of whom could have been said: *baculus, calamus et ballista.* And so it was from the 9th to the 15th century during the Reconquest.

In no other Western country were there so many monasteries and churches in such a reduced geographical space —I refer to the works of Barrau-Dihigo and Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel. All the Christian lands became covered with cloisters, temples and chapels. Groups of ascetes united to live a common life, they elected an abbot and promised him obedience while he was worthy of ruling over them, and they signed a monastic pact according to the model designed by Saint Fructuoso de Braga in the 7th century. The king, the grandees, the prelates and even the simple *infanzones* founded and endowed monasteries for monks, sisters,

or both —or collaborated in the foundation or endowment of the same. Entire families dedicated themselves to monastic life in cloisters that they erected on their lands or properties, or they entered monasteries created by others. Hundreds of lay people became oblates in the more or less famous abbeys, to enjoy in the world the graces of religious life —the Count of Castile, García Fernández and the Countess Doña Aba dedicated themselves, for example, to the monastery of Cardeña. There were no rural community forming, however small it might be, without building a church there, immediately. In the important towns, through the centuries were consecrated many temples and even many monasteries.

In the very small royal see of León, there came to be during the 10th century dozens of cloisters and churches, as I pointed out in my *Estampas de la vida en León hace mil años.* A little later, before the 11th century, another dozen temples and convents were built.

Most of the convents of Christian Spain sheltered multitudes of monks: in the monastery of Saint Zacarías in Navarre there were more than 200 monks when Saint Eulogio visited it in 848; in those of Tábara and Moreruela, founded by Saint Froilán, there were respectively 300 and 200; around the year 900 about 100 signed the pact of obedience to the abbot Samarico de Samos; some time in the 9th or 10th century some 300 monks of Cardeña died at Islam's sword; in 969 there were 150 in Arlanza; there were about 200 in Albelda during the life of Vigila; and although we do not have data about the monastic population of convents like Sahagún or Saint Millán de la Cogolla, we can presume that it would reach very large figures. There were many monasteries with 50 religious men or women —together or separately— I have observed in *Cuadernos de Historia de España* the mixed monasteries that were in the kingdom of León. We can, therefore, estimate at dozens of thousands the number of men and women consecrated to the service of the Most High —I believe that García Villada has underestimated the number.

Life was harsh, passions cruel, sensuality overflowing, human existence was worthy very little, freedom even less, and men did not find easy channels to satisfy their eternal ambition for wealth and power. There were frequent plunders and violence, the neighbor's blood flowed easily, the sword did not stop before the death of a brother or a friend, adultery and fornication were daily occurrences and not even the clerics and religious people were free from all these vices. Horrible sins were committed *instinctu diaboli.* But everybody knew that *sicut aqua extinguit ignem, sic eleemosyna extinguit peccatum,* and in order for the water of almsgiving to extinguish the fire of the fault and to obtain the Almighty's grace in the unlucky daily life and in the most unfortunate moments of the war against the Moors, from the king on down, they all made abundant gifts to the Lord, to His Mother and to His Saints all the time. The religious institutions were splendidly endowed by kings and grandees and even the common people gave them part of their goods. Between the 9th

and the 11th century hundreds of churches and convents received thousands of pious donations through the most varied juridical formulas. Those donations were made by all kinds of people, and they encompassed from a county to the most minute parcels of land. Not only did the most famous episcopal sees receive most of them: Compostela, León, Oviedo, Lugo, Astorga... and the most famous monasteries: Samos, Sobrado, Celanova, Sahagún, Cardeña, Saint Millán de la Cogolla... but also the most insignificant monasteries and the least known churches —I read all these concessions in studying the institutions of Asturias and León.

Diseases, punishments from God, occasioned pious emancipations of serfs and pious donations to obtain the pardon of God and health; Gundesindo and Enderquina, a powerful couple related to the royal family, had one of their daughters ill from birth, «et quando vidimus tali visionem —they wrote in 947— que nobis Dominus dedit in nostro peccato, quintamus nostro ganato et nostras villas et ingenuamus nostros serbos ut Dominus sedeat propitius ad peccatis nostris et facimus monasterius in nostras villas que sunt inter Durio et Vouga».

People went through life with their minds on death in preparation for which they were making arrangements: a good part of their property was bequeathed to churches or convents through *donationes mortis causae* o *donationes reservatu usufructu,* by the system of executors or by testaments, *strictu sensu.* Very few died without leaving to some church the fifth part of their possessions, called part of the soul.

If providence gave them time, those who had fought against their own relatives or had seen them die in battle, died an edifying death. The *Historia Silense* describes the death of Ferdinand I, this way: «He summoned bishops, abbots, and religious and as they confirmed the end, he was taken with them to the church, adorned with royal splendor, with the crown placed on his head. Then, kneeling before the altar of Saint John and of the holy bodies of the Blessed Isidore, confessor of the Lord and of Saint Vincent, martyr of Christ, with a clear voice, he said to the Lord: «Yours is the power, yours the glory, Lord; you are above all kings, all the celestial and earthly kingdoms are under your empire, and for that reason, the kingdom that I obtained from you and which I governed during the time it pleased you, I now return it to you: I only beg of you to receive my soul in peace, once it is uprooted from the tempest of this world. Having said this, he took off the cape which wrapped his body, removed the jewelled crown which covered his head, and prostrate on the floor of the church, with tears, he implored the Lord with insistence for the pardon of his faults. Then, having received penance from the bishops, he received the hairshirt instead of the royal suit and ashes instead of the golden crown.»

They barely copied and read anything else but scriptural, patristic, canonical, liturgical works or of ecclesiastical history. I verified that some time ago when I studied *Libros leídos en el reino de León hace mil años.*

Only in monasteries of Anlalusian origin —that of Abeliare, for example— were kept works of erudition and of poetry —religious, obviously— and one *Aeneid* of Virgil. In the infinite anguish of the time the book most reproduced and spread was the *Comentario al Apocalipsis de San Juan* of Beato of Liébana. The Isidorian tradition survived in historiography and outside in different spiritual creations, but it survived because Mozarabic monks who emigrated to the North brought it with them. They continued to draw, for example, some ingenuous and extremely simple maps —Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal has just studied them. But it was above all to illustrate the famous *Comentario al Apocalipsis* cited before. They always appear saturated with religious interest: presided at times by earthly Paradise, they outline apostolic lands and point out the sacred cities.

The holy men were venerated with humble devotion by the kings, the grandees and the people. They heeded their advice, their demands were met, they were sought as mediators in the wars which afflicted Christian princes, and when their virtues were evident, they were soon honored as saints in the cities and monasteries which they had enlightened. It so happened with Saint Vintila (of Orense), Saint Froilán (of León), Saint Genadio (of Astorga), Saint Ciprian (of León), Saint Rosendo (of Celanova), Saint Sisebuto (of Cardeña), Saint García (of Arlanza), Saint Iñigo (of Oña), Saint Dominic (of Silos)... The latter attempted to avoid a clash between Ferdinand I and his brother García of Navarre before the battle of Atapuerca, at the request of the former.

They recollected and honored with consideration the bodies of the martyrs and the pious holy men which popular devotion sanctified. At times, when a truce with the Moors was signed, as a precious peace booty they brought to the royal see the remains of some saints buried of old in cities still Islamite. If a Christian city was in danger of falling into enemy hands, its residents tried to save the relics of its venerated patrons before all else. At the end of the year 883 the presbyter Dulcidio, sent to Cordova by Alfonso III, took to Asturias the bodies of two Mozarabic martyrs: Eulogio, light of the Cordovan Mozarabs, and Leocricia, prepared by him for her martyrial death; the 9th of January, 884 the Great King, his relatives, his court, the clergy and the people of Oviedo came out to receive them at the entrance of Oviedo. In 926, young Pelayo, captive instead of his uncle Hermogio, bishop of Tuy, was losing his life in Cordova because he had not renounced his faith and not consented the heinous desires of 'Abd al-Rahman III; some decades later, in 966, his body was transferred to Christian lands and he was buried with honors in León. The people of León took his remains and those of Saint Froilán, bishop of León, very venerated by the people, to Oviedo, when Almanzor destroyed those lands. Ferdinand I forced the king of Seville, Al-Mu'tadid, to deliver the body of Saint Justa, martyr patron of the city as a precious war tribute, and as the bishop sent for it, did not find it, they brought that of the very erudite Saint Isidore to León.

Because the Andalusian Mussulmans knew that extreme devotion of Christians, sometimes they destroyed with rage the sanctuaries where such relics were kept in the North, sometimes they hypocritically attempted to avail themselves of their consent to let them leave their states. Almanzor systematically fought the most famous monasteries of the Christian kingdoms and he went as far as Compostela to raze the city which kept the most valuable jewel of peninsular Christianity: the Apostle's tomb. When the bishops of Astorga and of León prepared to take the body of Saint Isidore from Seville, Al-Mu'tadid threw an exquisite tapestry over the coffin in which he was taken and among hypocritical sighs he exclaimed: «You go away from here, O Isidore, venerable man, but you know that your cause is mine!»

The people watched over the virtue of the religious communities and at times, punished with assault and death the monasteries of impudent «virgins»: not much before 954 the monastery ruled by abbess Proniflina scandalized León: *exierunt ipsas sorores alias pregnantes, alias adulterio penetrantes* and the people from León invaded the convent and killed *ipsas meretrices.* Sins against chastity were publicly punished: I have gathered numerous documented testimonies of such a persecution in my *Estampas leonesas.*

Juridical acts were guaranteed by curses and invocation of divine punishment: «He who should break that agreement —it was ordinarily said in the charters— may lose his eyesight, suffer the death of Judas the traitor and be absorbed alive by the earth as Datan and Abiron» —in no other country nor at any other time were these two obscure biblical characters so famous. God was made to intervene at each step in these judicial processes resolving in his just judgment the ordeals or vulgar evidence. The expurgatory oath put an end to penal and civil litigations.

In peace and in war, in the country and in the city, in the houses of the magnates and in the *cellas* of the serfs, in the *bustos* of the mountains and in the *castella* of the borders, in the rest of the courts and in the expeditions of the ditches, in the Galicia of the Apostle and harsh Castile, they lived continuously in God and for God even when they appeared to forget the Almighty and to dedicate themselves to the tasks of daily life, to the fight for power or to battle against the Moors.

There occurred a slight secularization of life, until then integrally centered on belief, when the torturing anxieties of Mussulman threat had passed. In the second stage of the Reconquest and Repopulation, the clergy exercised a lesser influence. In the zone between the Duero and the Tagus, won and colonized after the conquest of Toledo in 1085, religious communities did not prosper. The great *concejos* that rose in them were very jealous of their authority and of their lands. Only the cathedral churches acquired dominions and riches.

Gusts or storms of hostility towards ecclesiastical powers blew on the old lands of the kingdom of León and Castile, causing sacrilegious assaults

and excesses, even against the church of the Apostle: Alfonso the Fighter deposed and incarcerated some bishops and abbots; the messengers of the church of Compostela to the Pope had to disguise themselves as beggars to cross the kingdom; the bourgeois of Sahagún attacked the abbot while he was offering mass; those of Compostela burned the temple of the Apostle; the Galician magnates imprisoned Bishop Gelmírez; Alfonso VII demanded more than once great amounts from the apostolic treasure...

The exaltation and impetus of the residents of the border attenuated their devout respect for ecclesiastical hierarchies and they profaned their temples with their horses and trappings of war —so did the Knights of my land in the cathedral-fortress of Ávila—, or they threatened to break the bishops' heads if they mingled in their fierce struggles —so did the militiamen of Plasencia and Béjar with the bishop of Ávila who attempted to avoid the clash between them and the militiamen of the city.

The grandees, under the pretense of protection, were beginning to usurp the entrusted use of the possessions of the church. Even the princes renounced the religious seal which the sacred anointing had, until then, granted to royal authority and they secularized their power upon losing their condition of kings-priests.

Strange coincidence; that crisis of total integration of national life under the dome of belief synchronized with the stage in which the symbiosis of the Hispano-Mussulman religious ideology with the Hispano-Christian one would have been easier. After the conquest of Toledo and Saragossa, new masses of Mozarabs have incorporated themselves in Spanish Christianity and many *mudejars* had begun to live among Christians, and thousands of Arabized Jews had immigrated to the lands between the Duero and the Tagus. That triple incorporation should have accentuated the total articulation of life and faith in Christian Spain, if the singular religious sensibility of peninsular peoples from the North had been fruit of their «co-existence with the magic culture of Islam, based on submission to a belief.»

There is no greater proof against such a thesis. One might even suspect that the co-existence with Mozarabs, *Mudejars* and Arabized Jews had caused opposite consequences from those proposed, if one could not explain some other way the depression suffered by the total union of life and faith in León and Castile after Alfonso VI. It must have been the outcome of the coincidence between the intensive Europeanization of Spain, which began to give mature fruits, and the traditional affirmation of a demonic war dynamism, which in the end was projected to the religious life of peninsular people.

It is evident that the massive immigrations of ultramontane people —princes, knights, monks, bourgeois and peasants— who had flooded Spain in the last third of the 11th century, and the synchronic intensification of pilgrimages to Compostela, determined the adoption in Christian lands of ideas, feelings, practices, institutions, customs, artistic and literary forms,

etc., from the other side of the Pyrenees. With immigrants and pilgrims, new religious concepts, originating from France, which if not rationalistic yet as has been stated, at least having a very different spiritual history, since it had not suffered, as Spanish Christianity, four centuries of national and religious war of liberation, these ideas infiltrated Spanish minds.

The vehement and at times frantic impetuosity, formed in the blaze of the long fight against Mussulmans, must have also influenced the relations with the divinity of shepherds, peasants and warriors who formed the society of Castile-León, at times pushed to the point of torture. That ferocious impetuosity having matured —of old Hispanic root— along with religious fervor and exaltation —also anchored in the functional structure of primitive Spaniards—, those two great moving forces of medieval Spanish life could not grow and develop parallely, without tangentially interfering with frequency. If the hypersensibility of peninsular Christianity for problems of faith stirred the passionate ancestral impulse continually, the latter also had to run across the way which led man to God.

The fermentation of ultrapyrenean ideas and feelings in the exalted minds and hearts of Spanish Christians, along with overflowing impetuosity they suffered or enjoyed, had to produce a change —noted above— in peninsular people's attitude towards things, rites and representatives of the Almighty, and in the end towards God himself. However, the old vital contexture of the Spaniards had its roots too deeply planted in the land watered by blood of the atrocious fights against the enemies of the Christian faith, and neither the winds from Europe, nor the hurricanes born on their own national land could uproot and overturn the old Iberian oak.

4. Vassal religiosity

During the most anguishing moments of the fight against Mussulmans a vassal concept of the relations of man with the divinity had taken root in Hispanic minds. Vain have been the attempts to raise upon the shield the figures of the Apostle James and to present him as the anti-Mohammed, vain have been the attempts to convert the Son of Thunder into the key to Spanish history. The true meaning of the tradition of St. James has not been observed. It was born in centuries of triumph of the *fidelitas* or vassalage in the kingdom of Asturias-León. As I have demonstrated and as no one contests today, at the time men united by means of bonds of seignioralty or patronage. Under the monarchic structure, vassal relations acquired such an importance —the word vassal only triumphed in the Castilian linguistic mode later, but here I use the adjective derived from it, for the clarity of its meaning— that they did not conceive the *miles* without a protecting *senior* —see the statute of Castrojeriz— and even the free peasants sought it.

47.—Walled in Ávila of the knights, surrounded by its Tahalí battlements of 2 ½ kilometers, looking out on the Sierra of Gredos from the Tagus. It is the highest city in Europe and no other has conserved intact a walled inclosure whose construction was begun at the end of the 11th century. Because it was impregnable, under its protection the Children Kings Alfonso VII, Alfonso VIII, and Alfonso XI, freed themselves from nobiliary factions. Its knights not only fought against the Moors; united with those from Segovia, they made Ferdinand III king. *View of Ávila, from «Los Cuatro Postes».*

48.—The art of attack and defense of the Hispanic cities, born of the Reconquest, culminates in the two very strong gates that defended the least steep stretch of the walls of Avila: on the one of Alcázar and on that next to Saint Vincent, from whose Romanesque portico we see them. Through them the militiamen of the municipal council would leave alone or with those from Segovia, Salamanca, Madrid and Toledo, to combat the Almoravids and the Almohads in Andalusia and thus defend Castile, torn in nobiliary struggles. *Gate of San Vicente in the Walls of Ávila.*

That central ideal of ciscelestial human relationship transcended to those of man with divine powers. It was important to have a celestial patron, who, like the lord with the king, could unite us with God, and who could protect us in the life of mystery, like the earthly *dominus* protected us in this world. For that reason the soldiers of the mountains in the North of Spain, placed by the Most High in the difficult peril of permanent harsh battle, elected protectors for their convenience: either among the blessed closest to Our Lord —his holy Mother Mary or his supposed holy brother James— or among the sons of the very land where they had been born and where they lived their difficult hours —Saint Millán, for example.

This triumph of the prefeudal *fidelitas* in the relations of the *milites* and of the *pedites* of Asturias-León with their holy celestial patrons from the 9th to the 11th century cannot be explained through the transmission of the religious ideas of Islam. The careful scrutinizing of contemporary religious life of the Mussulmans of Al-Ándalus or the careful observation of their social or political institutions cannot offer us anything similar.

That idea of protection and service was rooted in the popular feeling of peninsular people and it was going to be fruitful in the ensemble of Hispanic religious concepts. The good cleric from Rioja, Gonzalo de Berceo, offers us numerous testimonies of its triumph in the Castilians' minds. In his *Milagros de Nuestra Señora,* the divine prodigy is often based on a close correlation of vassal service and lordly protection, of vassal service of the sinner or the unfortunate one and of «seigneurial» protection of the Mother of God. For Berceo, she was not gentle for whose who were not among her servants and she became angry and severely punished those who scorned or offended her, but «with her vassals —writes the poet— she is always merciful». She fights the demons, speaks to her Divine Son, changes the laws of nature and saves from disgrace or hell even the great sinners. «He was a vassal and friend of Saint Mary», Berceo has an angel who was fighting to free the soul of a peasant say, when at his death he was prisoner «in the ropes of devils». It was always so, for Berceo and for all the Castilians of his time, service, frienship or vassalage to the Virgin or some saint was always the sure pledge of the sure protection by the celestial patron.

That idea of patronage and of service so rooted in the popular feeling was going to undergo the impacts of energetic discharges of peninsular people, impacts which led them to demand, arrogantly, due protection from the heavenly lord whom they served.

The «divine» nature of the war against the Moors by its problematic happening, gave validity to those celestial patronages. There was no possibility of invoking the help of an archangel or a saint to fight against brothers in Christ, but it was logical to seek it, confidently, in the fight against the infidel Ishmaelites. The latter, worshippers of an eternal and unique God, could not do anything like it. I do not know of any ancient

Hispano - Mussulman text in which the Saracens appear exclaiming «Mohammed» as a war cry. Would not the Moslems of Al-Ándalus have begun to invoke him to imitate the Christians of the North of Spain, whom they may have heard shout «Saint James» upon starting a battle? As a deformation of the war clientele and the James protection the legend of the Apostle *miles Christi* could have been born, the rider on a charger fighting the Saracens at the front of his earthly vassals of León and Castile.

No facet of religious ideology of peninsular people could offer more propitious sides to the attack by the passional impetuosity of the Spaniards than the vassal concept of the relations of man with his heavenly patrons. The idea of service in exchange for protection acutely existed in the theory of peninsular vassalage, which had not yet evolved —nor did it ever evolve— towards the rigid feudal union beyond the Pyrenees, union which became hereditary and was converted into a real relation instead of being based on purely personal ties, as primitive vassalage. Service, but in exchange for protection. If the lord did not fulfil his duties, the *miles* or peninsular vassal could leave and look for another *senior*. Those ideas were taken by the exalted and violent Castilians to the area of the vassal relations with their heavenly patrons. Only so can we explain some events, extraordinary and sacrilegious for those who do not know the folds of medieval Spanish people's souls, but normal and logical considering the vital attitude of the Spaniards before their heavenly patron.

In his *Vida de San Millán,* Berceo, after relating the double promise of the Vows, legendary, to Saint James by Ramiro II and to Saint Millán by Fernán González, relates the marvelous apparition in the battle of the two heavenly patrons of León and Castile and praises thus the miraculous intervention of the divine duo of *seniors* to assist their earthly vassals:

> *They did not want to take their wages.*
> *First, they wanted to deserve them and to work for them.*
> *Such Lords are to be served and honored.*

Saint James and Saint Millán, as any other lord protector, for Berceo and any one from Castile or León of the time, had the duty to *deserve* and labor, in defense of their protégés, for the wages which they received from them Because they did that, they were *lords* worthy to be served. The villein knights or the men of the free towns of Castile and León did not think about their own lords in any other way. For that reason they changed lords —*homines de benefactoría* (men of free towns) could do it up to seven times per day— when they did not feel efficaciously protected by them. «We serve you, heavenly patrons, then you toil and deserve our wages», the men of León and Castile reasoned without scruples. That strange vassal and impious concept of fervent peninsular people, supposed to be dominated by the religious ideas of Islam, led to still

greater extravagance. A poem relates that Christians being hemmed in by the Moors in a castle of Andalusia, they placed the image of the Virgin between the merlons and apostrophized her thus:

If you are the Mother of God
Defend that castle
And us, since we are yours,

and they left her saying: «Careful with what you do.»

In the minds of today's men it is difficult to reconcile the ardent Marian devotion of the Castilians with such a bold way of facing the Mother of God, and it would have been the same for non-Spaniards of the time of Alfonso the Learned or Thomas Aquinus. «We serve you as a Lady, therefore you owe us protection!», Castilians of the 13th century thought quite naturally and with the greatest logic. «There you are, we are yours, get us out of this mess, be careful of what you do!», the warriors of Castile, accustomed to an earthly vassalage —not tending toward feudalism as outside of Spain— shouted at their patroness, the Virgin, without ever thinking of affront or irreverence.

The attitude of those Castilian warriors who, imbued with faith and devotion to Mary, dared, nevertheless, to challenge her without mincing their words, seem disconcerting and strange! It will be difficult for anyone to explain it through coexistence of Spanish Christians with the religious sensibility of Islam. On the other hand it offers us a new proof of the continuous tangency of Hispanic impetuosity and faith, synchronically matured in the heat of the war against the Moors. Purified faith, firm, clear without doubts or nuances and passional, amazing and incredible overflow. In crossing on the way of devotion, their meeting caused the challenge of the heavenly powers.

The examples of such a confrontation of the divinity are abundant. The *Cantigas* (musical poems) have preserved many examples of them. Naturally there were blasphemous gamblers in France —Saint Louis pursued them zealously— and in other Western countries —in Southern Italy, for example—, but one may suspect that they were much more numerous in Hispanic lands. In the *Cantigas* are recorded examples of various punishments of gamblers, jongleurs, knights in Spain... people who had blasphemed out of anger. Because they were losing in the games in use or in the great gamble of life, because luck was against them in spite of the devotion and worship with which they honored the Almighty and their heavenly patrons, peninsular people *insulted* God, Saint Mary or the other saints. This occurred with such frequency that *Las Partidas,* VII, 28, 1-5, and the *Ordenamiento de las Tafurerías,* Law 1, not only threatened with serious penalties the rich men, knights, squires, citizens and peasants incurring the offense of blasphemy —all the social classes blasphemed in the kingdom of Castile—, but they increased the seriousness of the

punishment —noblemen came to lose the lands they held from the king or a lord, and the others were whipped, their lips were burned, their tongues cutout— when they reiterated their offenses.

However, in spite of such prohibitions and punishments and those which John I, Henry IV and the Catholic Kings decreed, gathered in *Ordenanzas Reales,* VIII, 8, 1 and 2, and in the *Nueva* and the *Novísima Recopilación,* VII.5.1-4, the practice of blasphemy was so deeply rooted that it has continued in usage until our days, in spite of the efforts of very holy and very learned men such as Fray Diego de Vitoria —brother of the famous theologian— to combat it.

The *Partidas* penalized with singular harshness those who came to acts «spitting on the Majesty or on the Cross or hitting it with a stone or a knife», and also rigorously those who «with rage should spit against heaven or hitting the doors or walls of the Church».

Beyond the Pyrenees some unfortunate gamblers carried out acts of violence against temples and sacred images, but in the musical poems is recorded a unique case of challenge against heaven in acts as having occurred in the Peninsula. A Catalan gambler

Who because he was losing a lot
Was furious against God

gambling once in front of the church of Saint Mary, as he lost again, wished to avenge himself of God and of his Mother and shot an arrow of his own ballista at them.

I serve, therefore, you owe me protection. You are worth nothing if you do not grant me what I want. Manage as you can. If I fight, I must win; if I gamble, I must win; if I am in trouble, you must get me out. My vassal bond gives me the right to miracles. To miracles? Yes, peninsular people got to the point of considering their heavenly patrons obligated to favor them with miracles, arbitrarily. Alfonso the Learned records near 200 Marian miracles as having occurred in Spain. Spaniards made Mary intervene not only in grave and difficult circumstances but also to obtain minute and common favors: to find lost falcons —the musical poems relate five miracles of that kind—; to find lost jewels or to save flocks from the wolves' gullets; to favor the young one of silkworm or to avoid a vineyard from being hailed; to obtain food —the very Alfonso X relates that he miraculously obtained fish in Seville in order to feed the people who had come to the court—, about bulls, constructions, industries, etc., etc... They believed that the Virgin and the Saints whom they had taken for patrons and whom they served as lords, had the obligation to protect them, and because they believed it firmly, they confronted or insulted them, as the case may be. And it was so forever and ever...

Impetuosity at the service of faith with scorn for earthly interests and with sacrifice of live; and faith: haughty, arrogant and confident in the assistance of heavenly powers to triumph in one or another engagement. Passion strengthening faith and faith enlivening impetuosity. «Divine» enterprises and facing the Almighty for assistance in their ciscelestial adventures. Even to the great and terrible fall when the Omnipotent One seemed to drop them from his hand and they felt they were perishing or they blasphemed the divinity: the two Spains.

How can one connect this vassal devotion with the religious concepts of Islam? The Mussulman implores Allah directly «the Eternal and Unique One» at most through the intermediary of the Prophet; the Spaniard solicits the help of the triune and unique God through his own patron and heavenly *senior*. The Islamite humbly begs the Almighty for a favor that he does not believe he deserves; the peninsular man asks for the reward of his service and devotion and reaches the challenge of the Most High. The Moslem knows of the unavoidability of divine design and he reverently bends before heavenly will; the son of Spain does not resign himself beforehand and he tries to twist divine will by donations, praises or threats, and in the end he gets to the point of irritation against his heavenly patron or against God himself, if he does not obtain the fulfillment of his desire or whim. I do not know of any Hispano-Mussulman arrogantly facing Allah, blaspheming «the Clement and Merciful One», getting irritated if he did not get help in playing dice, stoning a mosque or shooting an arrow towards heaven against the Omnipotent one. Islamic-Christian symbiosis or harsh mingling of Hispanic vehemence and Hispanic religious sensibility? I cannot hesitate in the choice.

5. God, supreme judge

The dramatic struggle against the Moors so filled with dark hours and cruel moments, zigzagging between victories and defeats, always forcing the *homo hispanus* to gamble his fate on the card of an encounter against the Islamites, and so for centuries —the forming centuries of Spain and of what is Hispanic— formed the Spaniard, and especially the Castilian, in a continuous imploring the favor of the Most High, upon whom depended his triumph or his defeat. It has been said that when some text of historiography details the account of a battle or a fight, always, without exception, even if the Christian armies were only made up of popular militiamen, we see the Hispano-Christian warriors getting ready for battle by piously invoking the divinity's assistance. Kneeling on the ground, the very ones who forthwith were to fight with fierce courage, were confessing their sins, receiving the holy bread which the Eucharistic miracle transformed into the Body of Christ, and they prayed to Him, to his Mother and to his saints that they should grant them victory. God was thus

converted, through the fervent fear and the hopeful faith of the Christians, into the supreme judge of their lasting struggle against the Moors.

God rewarded with triumphs and punished with disasters. He had always been rewarding or punishing, even before Christians and Islamites confronted one another. At the beginning of the 7th century, Juan de Bíclaro already presented 300 Goths miraculously overpowering 60.000 Franks through the grace of God, in 589. Clerics and chroniclers could derive their doctrines from the Bible, because century after century the Israelites had interpreted their military successs or failures as favors or penalties received from the Eternal One.

The *Crónica* of Alfonso XI, discovered by Diego Catalán —it ended in 1344— offers still another proof of that faith of the *homo hispanus* in the supreme judicial power of the Most High in the ancient duel of Christianity with Islam. It reports that the regents of Castile were forced by the Pope to break their truces with Granada and to undertake a campaign against Mussulmans. The infantes Don Juan and Don Pedro entered the plain of Granada with a great army and they were overcome and died. The chronicler comments thus upon the disaster: «God had already pronounced his judgment against the Christians, and the wheel of intentions, and it is understood that it was a miracle and justice of God; either because of the Christians' sins, or because of the dead infantes' bad intentions, and it understood that it as a miracle and justice of God; for God, in whom is all power fulfilled, never accepts untruths, and never does justice which is not deserved, and, therefore, he knew what he was doing and he consented.» And he declares that the people attributed the divine punishment to the fact that Don Pedro had broken the promise and word of peace which he had with the king of Granada.

This text has allowed some to suppose that the Castilians were infected with Islamic deism, a deism which first mingled with what Asín called religious indifference, and which then has been made to derive from the deistic mystical exaltation of the Sufis who opened their hearts to love for all men in God.

Long before any one of these two deisms had become naturalized in Al-Ándalus, Christians had converted the Most High into a just judge between them and the Mohammedans, into a just judge who granted victories or disasters according to the conduct of their kings, chiefs and in general of all the people. The first chroniclers of Asturias-León already made the fate of the armies dependent upon divine justice. Very soon that faith acquired juridical resonances.

According to the predominant juridical tradition at the time, God judged civil and penal quarrels which arose among the citizens solving as he felt justly the ordeals or common evidence upon which men made the right or honor in question, depend God was the one who withdrew unharmed the innocent arm that had dared to get into a caldron of boiling water to prove the injustice of the rejected accusation or complaint; he

made the champion of the party assisted by right in the litigation, win in the judicial duels. Without violence the old idea of the God just arbitrator in human judgments projected itself upon the faith in the continuous intervention of the divinity in the national wars and then in the war against the Moors, and both in the end were converted into threats or legal challenges upon which the Almighty passed judgment.

The idea of God as supreme vindicatory judge already appears in the letter addressed to the Cid in 1090 by the Count of Barcelona. He reproaches him his taste for guessing the future through the flight of birds and says to him: «fere omnes genus avium sunt dii tui, quia plus confidis in auguriis eorum quam in Deo. Nos autem credimus et adoramus unum Deum, qui nos de te vindicet et in manibus nostris te tradat.» He invites him to fight with his armed retinues against him and his people in the open. Confident in divine vengeance, he proudly promises himself he will kill or capture him. Rodrigo accepts the challenge in his answer and also recognizes the supreme judicial power of the Most High when he writes: «Te autem superfluis iactando uerbis, me iam victum aut captum aut mortuum in manu tua necnon deducere retulisti: hoc autem in manu Dei est et non in tua.»

The chivalry *Crónica de la población de Ávila* informs us about the faith of the Castilian Knights in the divine intervention in their partisan quarrels in favor of those on the side of justice. Henry I having died and Ferdinand III being proclaimed, the latter and his mother Doña Berenguela had to oppose Count Don Álvaro Manrique de Lara, till then regent of Castile. They managed to defeat and capture him and once arrested, Muño Mateos de Ávila addressed the queen thus: «Lady, Count Don Álvaro rose against you and *God and your good fortune and your right wished that you could capture him*» and he went on by asking that she should not kill him so that he and his descendants could serve in time «if God wished». According to the Castilian knight the author of the *Crónica,* the Most High had given «*good fortune*» to Doña Berenguela —she so qualified her victory in her answer— because right was on her side. For him, God had resolved the fight between the two factions as the trials by fire and water usually did. Can it surprise that that idea of God as a just judge should project itself also to the war against the Moors?

The so-called Silense in reporting the battle of Simancas (939) writes: «The very Abohabia, Mohammedan king, was captured there by our men and taken prisoner to León, because he betrayed King Ramiro, he became a prisoner —*recto juditio Dei*— through the right judgment of God.» At the beginning of the 12th century, people of León believed that God justly punished the treason of a Mussulman chief.

The man from León —at times resident of Toledo— author of the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* went even further: he made Munio Alfonso, *Princeps militae Toletanae,* qualify as judgment the imminent

combat in which the militiamen of Toledo, Ávila and Segovia were going to oppose the emirs of Cordova and Seville; the chronicler presents him addressing Saint James thus: «defende nos in proelio ut non pereamus in tremendo iudicio sarracenorum». In the middle of the 12th century the war against the Mussulmans was already «ordeal from God» for Spanish Christians. If they were guilty —guilty of having broken God's law or another's right— God made them lose in the great legal challenge against the Saracens.

The war against the Moors continued to be a great judicial challenge in the 14th century. The anonymous Alphonsie chronicler speaks of judge, judgment and sentence in reporting the Granada disaster He clearly discloses his concept of the defeat and the death of Don Juan and of Don Pedro as the just divine penalty for a threat. It is fitting to justify his thought in the light of contemporary laws.

The *Ordenamiento* of Álcala, ordered in 1348 by the same king Alfonso XI, for whom the infantes defeated and killed in the Plain of Granada had been regents, considered the breaking of a truce as wrong which could occasion to a misfortune, and a *riepto.* In law XXXII.6 it says: «We order that those who break truces, or pledges, if they are *hidalgos*, or if they have granted it, can be threatened, and finally, fall under the penalty for threats.» And in the law XXXII.7: Every *hidalgo* can challenge in the case of wrong, and dishonor which could be treason, or perfidiousness, done by another *hidalgo.*» For the Castilians of the 14th century, he who broke a truce or a pledge was considered perfidious and treacherous. The supreme judge had punished Christians many times in the national challenge which they maintained against the Saracens. The infante Don Pedro had broken his word, the promised faith, a truce, and commited a wrong —so the Castilian chronicler makes the king of Granada qualify the infante's deed. The *hidalgo* who committed such transgressions against the law of chivalry incurred public shame and gave occasion to be challenged for treason. The chivalrous ideal of honor intervened in the concept of war against the Moors as a great judicial challenge. The chronicler of king Alfonso XI, a man saturated with both ideals, attributed the disaster of Granada to the just judgment of God who sentenced thus a true «ordeal of God» between the Castilian regents and the monarch from Granada.

Between that concept of the divinity as judge of the great judicial challenge into which had been converted the struggle between Christians and Islamites, and the Islamic deism: now mystical exaltation of love, now declining weakness of faith, there is no sure connection. Opposite what Asín called indifference, Castilians believed with such security and certainty that they made of the divine war a trial resolved in justice by the Most High. Opposite Sufi love for all men in God which Ibn Arabí shows, for example, Castilians let themselves be exalted by a point of honor.

It is a Castilian chronicler who places on the lips of the king of Granada a strange response to the statement of the infante Don Pedro in returning the tributes to him. In no Hispano-Mussulman text among the many that I know do I find such a passage that could remotely coincide with the words which the author of the Alphonsie chronicle attributes to the sultan of Granada. «The infante has wronged me, destroyed my lands, he pursued me, killed my Moors, and in spite of all the wrong he did to me, I returned the tributes to him so that he would let me live in peace on my lands, and now he wants to break the promise and agreement that he made with me. I place God in the middle so that he be the judge and render justice and a miracle about this event» On the other hand, they clearly rhyme with the traditional Hispano-Christian concept of the war against the Moors as an «ordeal of God» and have an evident chivalrous sound. Either the chronicler attributed to the king of Granada ideas and words he could never conceive nor pronounce, or the people from Granada were already so imbued with the forms of thought and of Castilian life that their king got to the point of thinking and speaking like a Castilian knight would have done in threatening another for a wrong. Diego Catalán has observed that in the Crónica various ideals and expressions corresponding with those peculiar to the Castilian *hidalgos* are attributed to the Moors of Granada. If the Alphonsie Chronicler did not imagine the words of the sultan of Granada according to his whim, it is, therefore, certain that it was the people of Granada who imitated their neighbors of Castile and not the Christians who followed the Moors.

The idea of God, common father of all men and all nations, is already in the Gospels, in the Acts of the Apostles and in the canonical Epistles. Neither Mussulmans nor Christians thought that God was not the God of all even of those whom Islamites and Christians considered enemies of Allah or Christ. However, naturally, it was in Spain, palisade of the ancient challenge of Christianity with Islam, where had to rise the faith of both champions in the supreme justice of the Eternal one, which above their different creeds, gave triumph to the one who deserved it. Well then, while in the bellicose legal Islamic ideas there was no channel to convert the war between Moors and Christians into a great «ordeal of God» in the strict sense of the term, that transmutation was very easy, as proven, in the Germanic judicial theoretics of Spanish Christians. Will it be permissible to attribute a Castilian origin to this evil called deism which placed God communally above the two religious communities in battle?

Upon such a basis could rise the ideal of a supreme justice which inspired the juridical doctrines of Francisco de Vitoria. For me, these, would be rooted in a very noble Hispano-medieval tradition which in making the Almighty judge of all nations, as he was of all men, equalized the rights of all men and of all nations. But that great idea could only

rise in a people in whose conscience the central idea which inspired the holy Islamic war, making of the Mussulman people the hammer of God, had not taken root.

6. Ritual and gesture

During the long centuries of the early Middle Ages, Western European religiosity had been anchored in gesture, cult and rite more than in the intimate lifting of the soul to God. The spiritual life of each person was made up of a series of ritual exercices established by the Church. Christian Spain was no exception. Its proximity to Islamic and Hebrew Spain perhaps attenuated during some centuries devotion for images, but the gesticulatory theatricals of the rites of the Mosque and the Synagogue could not contribute to alter the religious practices of the Western Church in the Peninsula. The singular aspect of the life style which the rude and prolonged battle against the Mussulmans was forming in the North of Spain was not propitious to change the modules of religiosity of peninsular people.

If, as said, the active life which Spanish Christians had to lead for four centuries had diminished their capacities to dream and their reasoning potential and had affirmed their activism and their centauric impetuosity, it cannot surprise that they did not seek God in themselves by means of a silent and quiet introspection, nor that their relations with the divinity were extroverted, passionate, more projected in actions and gestures than in contemplative prayer, in earnest meditation and in profound and serene theological constructions.

That normal inclination of a Christianity more rooted in the will than in the spirit could not change, because Spaniards had to continue to live actively during the 12th century —in violent battle against the Almoravids and the Almohads— and the 13th century —in conquest and colonizations and the beginning of bloody civil wars.

It has been pointed out that in the 14th century, Hispanic religiosity suffered a turn towards interiorization and quiet meditation, and it is accurate. Perhaps the new Castilian religiosity was less new than has been supposed —for not stopping to study peninsular Franciscanism of the 13th and 14th centuries— and it is certain that it goes back to days prior to Don Pedro the Cruel and Chancellor Pero López de Ayala. Too much value has been given to both as factors of spiritual changes. The cruel hours of the kingdom of Don Pedro, far from directing men towards serene reflection and religious interiorization, pushed all the people of the kingdom into disorbed and frantic action, even those who were then not very prone to energetic overflows as the Jews. To appreciate the religious sensibility of Ayala, it is important to recall that he suffered two long captivities, one very sad and harsh when he was at a mature age; the anxieties so

propitious for self-knowledge must have developed in him a more intimate and ardent vision of man's relations with God and at the same time a more precise intuition of himself and of his peers as autonomous beings in the world and in time.

Neither the understandable personal inclination of Ayala to anguished meditation of the great problem of life which is the union of the sinner with the Almighty, nor the occasional and sporadic inclinations of those who found themselves in similarly dramatic circumstances, suffice to justify the turn of Castilian religious sensibility in the way of emotive introversion, as the fruit of a national spontaneous germination.

The appearance and development of this movement in the West since the 13th century at least has been pointed out synthetically. Spain was not outside of Europe. Sooner or later, spiritual European currents crossed the Pyrenees and triumphed over the extreme Western situation suffered by the Peninsula. The *Historia de la orden de los Jerónimos* of Sigüenza permitted to observe the appearance in Castile of the first manifestations of the new religiosity, emotive, reflexive, lyrical and intimate, during the reign of Alfonso XI (1312-1350).

Some Castilians, ultrasensible to the changes of the times, began to pick up on their antennas the already old waves beyond the Pyrenees. The mystical currents of the Mussulman Sadilis, not foreign to the *mudejars* of New Castile or Andalusia, perhaps also contributed to the awakening of similar tendencies among some Christians, because of their temperamental formulas propitious to solitude and meditation and inclined to communication with the mysterious forces of the beyond. The groups of hermits that appeared scattered in all the lands of the crown of Castile were later connected to a new order, that of the Jeromes. Those new Spanish friars practiced and spread the new religiosity projected towards intimate individual effusion.

Nevertheless, it never triumphed among peninsular people until the 14th and 15th centuries. In no European people, and less in any medieval people, has ever occurred a change in the collective religious sensibility so profound as to lastingly move the masses to center their contacts with the divinity upon lyrical and effusive interiorization, devoid of rites. That kind of religiosity can only be a phenomenon of minorities. The traditional way of feeling and of adoring God of the Spaniards was, moreover, rising with violence on the way towards the coming of an exquisite new religiosity that would delve into the conscience and center the worship on mystical introspection and on sanctification of work. Preventing the sliding of the Hispanic religious sensibility through the new courses that the Jeromes followed, helped, likewise, the double process of growth and of crisis of the new Order, process which has not been genetically explained nor appraised in its serious consequences.

The Jeromes were very favored by the kings of the new bastard dynasty, the Trastamaras, and by the aristocracy which around them, reached

high posts in the kingdom. Every new religious Order, inasmuch as it represented a renovation of the old fervor and discipline, relaxed in the old monks, had attracted the sympathy and generosity of the Spanish kings and grandees in the course of the medieval centuries. The favor obtained by the Jeromes cannot signify, therefore, a strange inclination of Castilian princes and noblemen towards the type of religiosity which they practiced. I suspect that the turn in their favor of the graces of the new kings and of the noblemen of the time, possibly contributed to the attitude adopted in support of Don Peter the Cruel by the old orders of Dominicans and Franciscans and the little people whose spiritual life they directed. If my suspicion is correct —it is necessary to contrast it with the documents of the time— that would explain the fast enrichment of the Jeromes, without supposing it to be a corollary of the fervent adhesion of kings and aristocrats to the new lyrical and emotive Christianity, exalting the work of the new friars.

There has been a detailed report of what we could call the inundation of the Jerome Order by the Jews converted to Christianity in the terrible persecutions of 1391. It has been explained by the coincidence of the spirituality of the Jeromes and the new Christians. The thesis does not seem accurate to me. It hyperbolizes the inclination of the Spanish Jews towards contemplative intimacy. Such was not the tradition of the Synagogue. The great Hispano-Jewish thinker and poet, Yehudá ha-Leví, in his famous apologetic work, has proposed the ascent to the fulfillment of the practices and the rites. Still in the 16th century many converts, sincerely devout in their new faith —Mary Cazalla for example— justified their adhesion of Erasmism of Illuminism because they thought the Catholic ceremonies were pure Judaism.

The «*marranos*» or new Christians came perhaps to the Jerome Order for other reasons. Some of them sincerely looked for a religious community in which to place their anxieties and fervors, others were seeking a sure refuge to escape from suspicions and persecutions. Dominicans and Franciscans had been traditional enemies of their race and allies of the people who had pushed them into conversion to escape the slaughters. Neither could the converts happily come to the cloisters of those who had lit and stirred the flame which was burning them, nor could the Dominicans and the Franciscans open their arms to them without misgivings and without making sure of their sincerity.

The Jeromes did not have any anti-Jewish tradition, they were rich and they were protected by the kings and noblemen, eternal protectors of peninsular hebrews, and they were in a period of ascensional growth, naturally propitious to liberal proselytism. The majority of the new Christians, who, for one reason or another, felt the need to enter a convent, rushed to them.

The converts all lacked the bellicose religious exaltation which moved

the old Christians and they lack their fervor for icons and relics. For that reason and because of the natural reactions of the Jews who had sincerely embraced Christianity, against the practices and rites of the Synagogue which they had deserted, the Jeromes of Hebrew origin undoubtedly contributed to maintain alive the new religiosity of the Jeromes, one century old at the end of the 15th century. However, that inundation of the Jerome Order by the new Christians contributed to making the new emotive, introspective, lyrical religious sensibility centered on meditation and in the work practiced by the Jeromes, suspicious among the popular masses. Due to the simple presence in the cloisters of the new Order of many «*marranos*», always suspicious for the old Christians, and due to the always more frequent discovery of Jeromes of Jewish origin who remained faithful to their old doctrines, making a mockery of the faith they apparently professed and a sacrilegious profanation of the holy host in their impious hands in the act of consecration In spite of the efforts of the Jeromes to free themselves from the disgrace of being infected by Judaism and to close their doors to converts, the people never saw them with understanding. The Spanish masses who for a long time felt repulsion for everything which smelled of Hebraism, in opposition to the type of piety of the Jeromes accused of having many false converts in their fold, maintained themselves in their adhesion to old peninsular religiosity which was extroverted, epic and projected in actions and gestures more than in contemplative prayer and in intimate effusion.

Thus, the seed of the new religious sensibility which in the last decades of the 14th century seemed called to change the panorama of the spiritual life of the peninsular people, remained sterile, in particular the panorama of the old people of Castile and León and of the new people of the Tagus, Guadiana and Guadalquivir. Its fruits remained limited to some very few aristocrats and some groups of new Christians, two minorities with less influence among the people each day. The latter, because of their origin and their doubts and hypocrisy in matters of faith, and the former as a consequence of a process which has not even been suspected: because the anti-nobility ideological winds, triumphant for some time beyond the Pyrenees, were also reaching Spain. Once more the Hispanic vital style was connected, not with grafts from Semitic forms of life, but with the old functional structure of peninsular people, more eager for vehement desire than for serene reasoning as a result of the ancient Christian-Islamic antibiosis.

7. Unity in the faith

Every grave external struggle provokes the spontaneous renunciation of the internal quarrels in the people who suffers it energetically and

decisively; ranks are tightened, discords are forgotten or postponed, opinions are unified and wills in agreement. When war is at the same time ideological and national, the nation which faces it with courage suppresses its dogmatic dissidences and affirms its fervor for the central ideas which it defends at the cost of life. It could not have happened any other way in the Peninsula during the long days of the Reconquest.

Spain had been a country fruitful in heresies. Hispanic Christianity had known many heterodox people in the course of the centuries previous to the Arab invasion. The apostatizing Basilides and Martial, bishops of Astorga and Mérida; the Arians Florencio and Potamio, prelates of Mérida and Lisbon; the gnostics and Manicheans Elpidio and Agape and the great Priscillian and his many partisans, had stirred peninsular Christian masses during the Roman times. The Arians and the Acephalis and some materialist disturbed consciences in Visigothic Spain. After the great crisis of 711, the heresy between Spanish refugees in the Gauls and those who lived under the dominion of Islam flourished. The Spaniard, Claudius, Bishop of Turin, spread iconoclastic doctrines in Italy. Among the Mozarabs, first Severo, Egila and Migerio formulated erroneous theses, then came immediately the staggering Adoptionism of Elipando of Toledo and Felix de Urgel, and later appeared the anti-Trinitarian and judaizing Acephalis and with them the antropomorphists Hosteogis, Romano and Sebastián. Perhaps also rooted in that passionate Hispanic anxiety which caused so much dissidence and so many heresies, were also those which Spanish Islam suffered, described before.

The war of the Reconquest removed such plagues from the Spanish Christian kingdoms. Northern peninsular Christianity did not suffer from one single heresy during the first five centuries of their battle for freedom and faith against the Mussulmans While someone has supposed the Northern Christians forming singular forms of life because of the Arabo-Romanic symbiosis and imagined them adapting the processes of their conscience and the mechanism of their sensibility to the characteristics of the Islamites of the Orient and of Al-Ándalus, the religious and national fight which they sustained with renewed impetuosity, was producing the most closed adhesion to the doctrine of the Church of Christ. The hostile co-existence with Islamic culture from which have been made to derive the vital ideas of Spanish religiosity did not open any door in the walls of the Spaniards' faith. The Mozarabs, on the other hand, suffered from the communication with Mussulmans and Jews and suffered heresies connected to this union. Is it not permissible, therefore, to believe that, as in so many other manifestations in the life of free Christians, the lasting fight was more lasting than the ephemeral contact in the maturing of Northern Spaniards' vital attitude towards the divinity?

That closed and profound unification of belief continued to triumph until the new times. It was barely disturbed by the brief spark of the

Albigensian heresy imported to León by some Frenchmen and soon crushed by violence. Later, with the exception of Catalonia more prone to contagion from beyond the Pyrenees, Christian Spain, at that late date only had fallen into a few personal errors which never reached the masses. At times a theologian, unvoluntarily, slid on dangerous slopes and formulated an erroneous thesis, but his accidental error did not influence the people nor did it have roots nor did it give ripe fruit.

Hispanic Christianity did not know any heretical movement comparable to those caused by John of Janden, Marsilius of Padua, Wycliffe and John of Huss, to only mention only the most famous medieval European heresiarchs. This side of the Pyrenees there was no room for any heterodox spiritual fermentation of great importance. The late heresy of Durango did not go beyond the limits of the far away city of the Basque country and did not extend to the Peninsula.

Great intellects capable of dragging the learned and the masses into error did not go astray, nor were the masses receptive to heresies, nor was the State lukewarm in the repression of heterodox dissidence which could weaken heroic resistance and the audacious attack against the Moors. Beyond the border was the Islamite, the ancient enemy, and Christianity spontaneously closed its ranks. No one doubted, dissented, nor opposed. No one dared to hesitate. Faith firm, clear, fervent, unitarian triumphed without a shadow. If someone slipped and started a flash of heretical contradictions, the focus was rapidly put out with violence, as today defeatist and dissident sparks can be quenched by people in a harsh national battle.

Neither did Spain know anything similar to the rationalist movement, beyond the Pyrenees, which stems from John Scotus' *Divisiones de la Naturaleza,* in the period of Charles the Bald. That intent to build a philosophy of things independent from Christian theology, in spite of its latent pantheism, managed to last in France since the 9th century, was developed by a complete school during the 12th century, is reflected and transformed in the *Roman de la Rose* by Jean de Meung and continues in the critical materialistic spirit of the bourgeoise and the tendency towards the observation of man nature from which modern science was to come.

Where there had not been any room for pure heretical dissidence, which only gave an atmosphere of vivid faith and religious fervor, there could not be room for a philosophy, which if it recognized the existence of a superior spiritual force —conceived as intelligence and will— and if it believed in a God creator of the universe, consecrated the study of nature and criticism of social life as an essential activity of man. Where there was no room for heresy, there could not be room for a doctrine which initiated the secularization of thought and sought truth outside of the essential problems of faith.

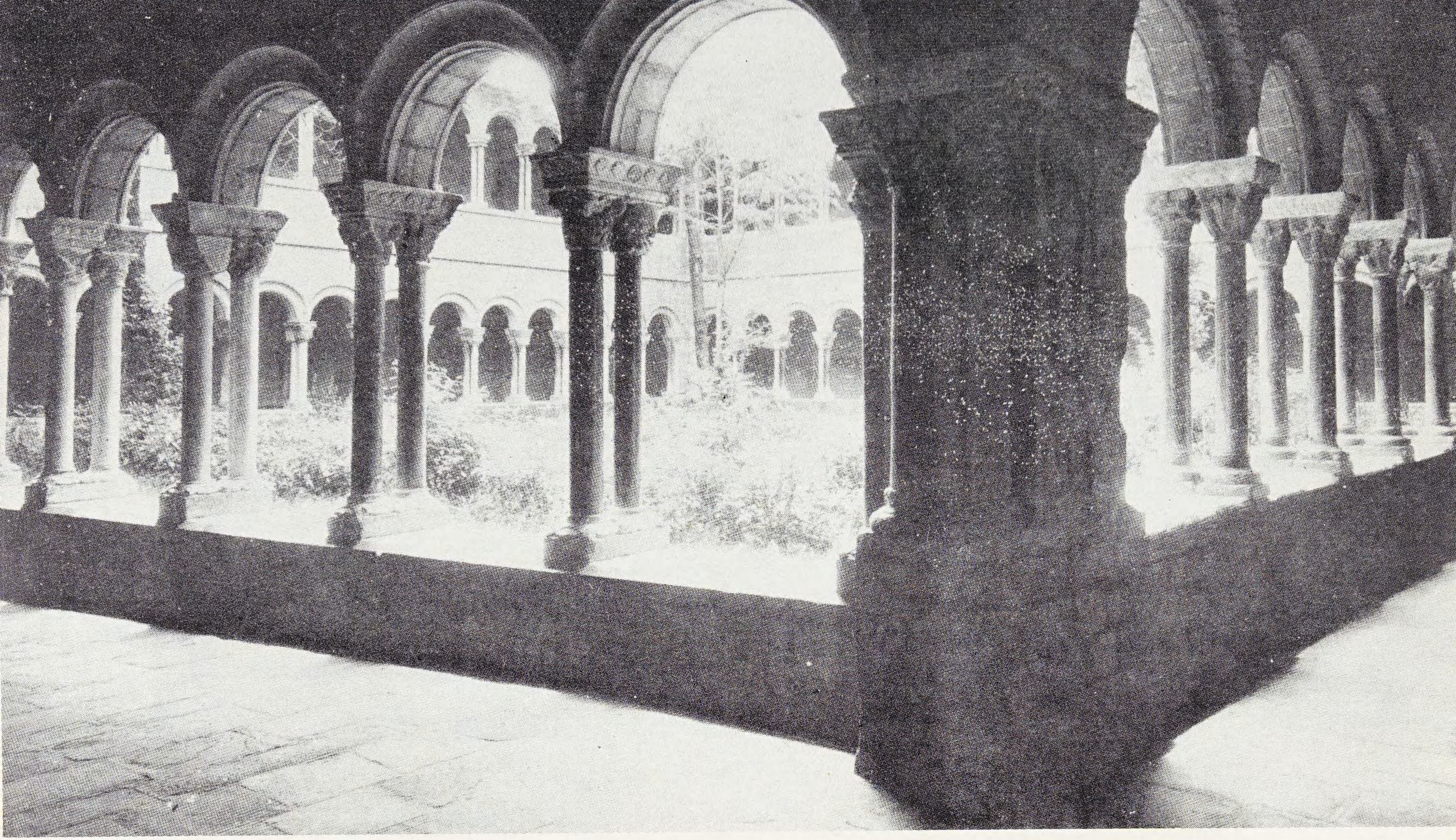
8. Magic and superstition

Within the climate of fervor and of closed and firm faith of peninsular Christianity, some superstitions and in some cities —Toledo especially— magic arts flourished. The forecast of the future through birds' flight was the most common superstition in medieval Spain. The Cid continually practiced it as his enemies accused him: the Count of Barcelona in his letter of challenge and the Moorish poets of Valencia, the authors of the *Historia Roderici* and of the *Cantar de Mío Cid* confirm the reality of such accusations. Ibn Alkama, the historian, says of him: «Il tirait des augures du vol des oiseaux et ajoutait à ces fables d'autres mensonges par quoi il ranimait l'ardeur de ses compagnons. C'est à ce sujet qu'un Valencien a dit: 'Dites à Rodrigue... Les sabres des Sinhacha dans tout les mêlées vont empêcher ses oiseaux d'augurer des véritables événements!'»

Rare was the Christian army or the enterprise realized by Christians which prescinded from such prognostications. Queen Doña Urraca accused her husband Alfonso the Fighter of trusting them. We see due to the trust in them the people repopulating Ávila settling in the city and the knights of Ávila fighting against the Moors. We read in the *Crónica de la población de Ávila:* «In the first settlement came a great number of good men from five cities and from Lara and some from Coualeda, and those of Coualeda and of Lara came ahead and heard their birds at the entrance of the city, and those who knew how to interpret omens understood that it was good to populate there and they populated the city close to the water; those from five cities who came behind them heard the same birds, and Munio Echaminzuide who was with them was a better diviner and he said...» The chivalrous Chronicle from my city speaks all the time of diviners and of omens. It says of the legendary hero of Ávila, Nalvillos, for example: «Enaluiello was a very good augur and the others were guided by him.» Reporting one of the campaigns of the knights of Ávila to Seville, where they were in great danger, after telling how they heard mass and confessed their sins before the fight, he adds: «and Sancho Ximeno, the chief, who was a good augur, looked at the birds and understood from them that the Moors would be defeated.»

Strange mixture of faith in the divine will which gave victories and defeats and disorderly desire to guess the future. In the chiefs from Ávila, in the Cid, who combined the invocation to the Almighty and consultation of the birds, and in many Spaniards before and after.

Along the attempt to discover the mysterious projections of fate, through observing the flight of birds, medieval Spain knew many other superstitions and magic arts. Berceo presents Saint Dominic de Silos preaching against consulting signs —«became God is hidden»— and the unfortunate



49.—In all the beginning Catalan architecture, the Carolingian architectural tradition would have intercrossed with Cordovan ornamental influences. At the beginning of the 12th century, an architect «with a Baroque spirit» might have constructed the new monastery of Ripoll, whose cloister we see. In his masterwork, «La Portada», is demonstrated a great plastic meaning «in which everything is sacrificed to action». A most baroque Mozarabic movement... *española* in Old Catalonia! *Cloister of the Monastery of Ripoll (Gerona).*

50.—Alfonso VII the Emperor (1126-1151). In him culminates and ends the imperial idea of León. The interlace of that idea and of feudal theoretics received from France —he was the son of Raymond of Burgundy— and some political errors committed by him facilitated the independence of Portugal and the union of Aragón with Catalonia. He conquered Almería and occupied Cordova but the Almohads recuperated them quickly and the other towns won by Alfonso during the Almoravid crisis. *Alfonso VII, miniature from «Tomb A» of The Cathedral of Compostela.*

ones because of pains or diseases resorting in vain to enchantments before soliciting the heavenly help via a holy thaumaturge. The *Partidas,* VII.23.1 to 3 —offer us a complete picture of the superstitions in use.

> «Guessing means wanting to take God's power to know the things which are to come. And there are two ways of guessing. The first one, is that which is done through Astronomy, which is one of the seven liberal Arts: it is according to the Statute of the laws and is not forbidden to people who are Teachers, and who really understand it, because the judgments, thoughts which are given through that art, are seen in the natural course of the Planets and of the other stars, and were taken from the books of Ptolemy and from other learned people, who studied that science... The second way of guessing is that of the augurs, sorcerers, and the wizards, who prognosticate from birds, or sneezes, or words (which they call Proverbs), or who cast lots, or see in water, crystal, in mirrors, or swords, or any shining thing; people who make metal things, or any other things; people who guess the future from the head of a dead man, or of an animal, in the palm of a child, or of a virgin.»
>
> «In Latin, they call Necromancy, a strange knowledge to charm the evil spirits, and because great evil comes from the men who dedicate themselves to that, and to those who believe in them, and ask for things, on many occasions they are frightened, as they walk in the night seeking these things in strange places, in such a way that some die, or pretend to be mad, or have lost their memories; for these reasons we forbid that anyone work in those things or use such enmity, because it is something which is against God, and from it evil things come to men. We also forbid that anyone dare to make wax images, or of metal, or to make charms in order to make men fall in love with women, or to change the love which exists between them. We even forbid that anyone dare to make herbs, or drinks to any man or woman, on account of love, because it happens that those drinks occasion death to men who drink them, or they become very ill, or are forever endangered.»
>
> «Those who make charms or other things with a good purpose, such as to cast out demons from men's bodies, or to free those who are married and cannot have sexual intercourse, or to cast away clouds, or hail or mist, in order that the crops be not destroyed, or to kill locusts, and bugs which would damage the wheat or the vineyards, or for any other beneficial reason such as the one mentioned; all the people who help in such ways must not be blamed, but on the contrary they must be rewarded for it.»

The writers of the *Partidas* of Alfonso the Learned believed, therefore, in the dictates of the heavenly bodies and in the good enchantments for useful ends, among which they included —from whom depended the inclusion?— those destined to facilitate coitus in impotent married couples. They prohibited all other magic superstitions and threatened those who practiced them with the death penalty. Such interdictions and punishments disclosed the extent of the evil, and the faith of the king and his collaborators in the astrological predictions and in some wholesome sortileges enable us to imagine how rooted they were in the common people.

It would be erroneous, however, to base on such flourishing the thesis of the Christian-Islamic cultural graft and even less the theory about the adoption of the Islamic vital structure by Hispanic Christianity. The superstitions were millennium old on the shores of the Mediterranean and the magic arts were not less ancient nor less extensive. It suffices to refer to the encyclopedic register made of them by Saint Isidore of Seville. In his *Etimologías,* VII.9, he states in detail how many classical antiquity knew and annotates his reports with quotes from Democritus, Virgil, Varro, Lucan, Prudentius...

The practice of superstitions and magic in the Peninsula is proven at a time prior to the Mussulman conquest. Let us recall the passage of *Historia Augusta* about the extreme ability of the Basque people and of other Spaniards in diviner interpretations of birds' flight. The Council of Iliberis, Canon 6, condemned those who killed by using witchcraft. The young Hispano-Roman, noble and rich, of the second half of the 4th century, that was Priscillian, before his conversion to Christianity, studied magic, as he confessed to the imperial judges who sentenced him. His enemies accused him of having practiced it, in his doctrine there was always an antidemonic preoccupation which discloses, as Ramos Loscertales has sharply observed, his unconscious reaction against the magic frequenting of his youth, and we cannot suppose the Portuguese aristocrat to be an exception in the golden youth and in the popular masses of Spain of his time. Saint Martín de Braga gives testimonies of the continuation of superstitious and magical practices among the peasants of his diocese in the second half of the 5th century. From the Councils III and IV of Toledo (633 and 636) and various precepts of the *Lex Visigothorum* (VI 2. 1-4) it happens that in the 7th century people consulted at times magicians, augurs, soothsayers... including bishops, clerics and judges, and that it was resorted to sortileges to cause various evils. We know from the Albeldense that the practice of magic arts continued in Asturias until Ramiro I (-850) «magicis per ignem finem imposuit», ended up with magicians by fire.

Such superstitions and sortileges on both sides of the Pyrenees —they were naturally practiced also outside of the Peninsula— were curbed by the condemnations of the Church and by the persecution of the princes, perhaps they were not curbed with such rigor in Mussulman Spain. Gerberto, later Pope with the name of Sylvester II, learned them from Span-

iards converted to Islam. The jokes that the poets from Valencia addressed to the Cid because of his custom to consult the future through birds' flight permit us to suspect that the refinement of the sensibility through culture, had made superstitions and magic lose credit among the educated minorities of Al-Ándalus. We ignore to what point the masses remained faithful to them. Among Christians, the efforts of the kings and of the Church to combat them were in vain. It has been said that the Learned King and his collaborators believed in the presages of the stars and in good enchantments. A law of John I in -1387 discloses that even the Castilian clergy had been infected by the evil. In the 15th century, the Marquis of Villena practiced magic in Castile. Around 1430 Rabbi Mosé of Guadalajara attests the existence of augurs among the Castilians of his time. In 1448, Gutierre Díaz de Gámez, in *El Victorial,* censured his contemporaries' taste for superstitions, omens, sortileges and astronomical predictions. Spanish harshness and passion, now allied with the dramatic nature of its dynamic existence, contributed to the survival and diffusion of such practices.

That ancestral harshness and passion and this dramatic nature and that dynamism of life in the fight against the Moors, must have moved them to the eager interrogation of the mystery of tomorrow as a guide for their impetuous actions. They must have moved them at times to seek the help of magic in order to come out victoriously over an adverse destiny, to give free rein to their impulsiveness in their dramatic battling. The reality of the danger threatening the soldier in combat has frequently moved the warrior to consult fate and to try to twist the implacable hostile destiny with an anguish that cannot attack men of peace whose existence elapses into the tediousness of normal happening. Unbridled and harsh passion at times has incited he who enjoys or suffers it to seek even the complicity of the powers of evil in order to triumph in life or to avenge himself against his enemies, with a desire and a fury which cannot move someone less passionate and violent, cold hearted and calculating. The latter knows the clarity which the reasoned analysis of souls and events offers about the future and also the resources which sereneness offers in the turns of life. He knows of the superior efficacy of observations, calculations, reflections, analysis, conjectures and tricks in life as opposed to consulting the mute mystery and the magic help of invisible forces. For that reason, instead of the dangerous path of consulting augurs and counting on diabolical help, he follows the sure way of reason, which does not exclude audacity.

In the harshness, passion, dramatic nature and in the impetuosity which, if not engendered by, were exalted and enlivened among Spanish Christians by their struggle against the Islamites, is the key of the survival among them of the old devotion of peninsular people for augurs and magic arts, in the harshness, passion, drama, impetuosity and in the firm and ingenuous faith of Hispanic Christianity.

However, let us be careful; the crude and clumsy forms of expression, superstitions and magic arts were not the singular flowering of medieval Spanish Christianity; since the vulgar manners of speaking and writing triumphed also outside of the Peninsula. Menéndez Pelayo says rightfully that the Spanish people were less credulous in what is marvelously fantastic for having been the most ardent believers in what is marvelously real, that is to say, in the mysteries of religion. Even the most outstanding literary figures beyond the Pyrenees still believed in the 14th century in stories and fables which never found echo in the pages of their illustrious peninsular contemporaries. It is proven by a parallel between the chronicles of Froissart and of López de Ayala. The former believes in fairies and nymphs and accepts that knights could be converted into bears and that spirits should lodge in pigs. The chancellor only believes in miracles.

The Hispanic magic arts were innocent games in comparison with those occurring in other countries beyond the sea and the Pyrenees during the medieval centuries. It would suffice to mention the case of Gilles de Rais who got to the point of human sacrifices to the devil to obtain gold, science and power. An Italian priest promised him to put him in contact with the devils and an English wizard conjured them. The office of All Saints was sung in honor of the evil spirits and they attempted to satisfy them by offering them the sarcastic jest of a dying image of God: blood, hand, eyes and heart of a human being. The corpse of that great Frenchman of the 15th century who had sacrified 140 children to Satan without losing faith in God, was rescued from the scaffold by maidens of the nobility of the country who washed it —not only the dead in Islamic Spain were washed— and buried him in great splendor.

We can also allege the great plot of the Rome Coliseum directed by a Sicilian priest and in which Benvenuto Cellini, among others, put up with frightful emotion and obtained from the devils the promise, fulfilled by them punctually, that the beautiful Angelica would be delivered to him after a month.

Those two examples prove how the practice of the magic arts had won in the West even the aristocrats and the artists. Burckhardt has already given many testimonies of its great diffusion to the North and South of the Alps and the extent of astrology and the most absurd and ridiculous superstitions and abundant items can be found in the history of the Latin and Germanic peoples, and above all, in Italy.

Passion, harshness, drama and faith. Yes, because anxiety and impetuosity could move the peninsular people in extreme cases to solicit the help of the devil, resorting to the magic arts. But that petition demanded as a prerequisite the belief in Satan, son of darkness, in perpetual battle against the sons of light, that is to say, it required belief in the supreme mysteries of faith.

Faith and passion. Yes, because the eagerness for vengeance, the proud desire for power, the disorderly desire for wealth or the anguished tendency

to unveil the mystery of science, which moved the Spaniards to resort to magic, are in the end legitimate children of the impetuosity which drives men beyond the borders of serene reasoning and normal desire.

The sustained *in crescendo* of the severities of the Counter Reformation little by little banished the magic practices from Spain. If it did not succeed in uprooting the taste for astrological divinations through the so-called judiciary figures —Sancho said once to Don Quijote: «There is no woman, nor page, nor shoemaker who does not presume to be able to turn up a card as if it were the jack»— and did not manage to eradicate the taste for superstition —it has come until now—, it did manage to confine it within the lower social layers. Burckhardt attributes to the firmness of the Spanish captains against magic and astrology the decrease of its use in the Italy dominated by Spain.

9. Devotion to the Papacy

Unity in faith as the result of the long national and religious war against the Islamites and also military obedience to the Papacy and the overflowing success of the clergy. The antibiosis once again, because it will be very difficult to explain those two singular phenomena of our medieval history as the outcome of the supposed mingling Islamic-Christian.

Mussulman Spain had broken every affective bond with the Caliph, the visible head of the community of Islamite believers since the middle of the 8th century. In the 10th century that community had broken into factions in such a way that the sovereigns of Al-Ándalus usurped the Caliphate. The sultans of the Almohad empire later took it over. For that reason there never existed in Hispanic Islam any institution that could compare with the Papacy.

Therefore, the submission of Spanish Christianity to the Pontiff could only be the mature fruit of the antibiosis or fight of peninsular Christians against the Mussulmans. Mature fruit and of importance in our history. That reality had been forgotten, but it is present with precise and clear outlines in the middle of medieval Spanish life.

Hispanic tradition about the relations with Rome of peninsular Christianity was not favorable in the 11th century to the almost military obedience of the princes and the Spanish kingdoms to the Papacy. In the Visigothic monarchy, although the Church did not disregard pontifical authority, it confronted it on more than one occasion and lived so closed in upon itself that the bishop of Rome did not have an efficacious influence on the life of the Hispano-Goths. During the first centuries of the Reconquest, the society from Austurias-León and the Basque Pyrenees remained so isolated from Rome and the Church found itself so intimately

submitted to royal authority that the Popes did not count too much for the free Christianity of Spain.

That factual situation was realized outside of Spain. Menéndez Pidal has recorded in *La España del Cid* the reproach that Arnulfo, Bishop of Orleans, addressed the Pope in 991 for the separation of the Churches of Constantinople and of Alexandria and for the distancing of the Churches of Spain, which did not acknowledge the judgments of Rome.

That tradition was interrupted in the 11th century. The Popes were startled by the title of «bishop of the Apostolic See» used in Compostela and they remembered Spain and excommunicated the prelate of Santiago. The ambitious politics of Alexander II and above all of Gregory VII caused immediately a decisive turn in the weatherwane of the relations of Rome with Spanish Christianity. Since then, the peninsular kings and people bent, obsequious, submissive, docile, humble before the Holy See.

Alexander II obtains that the most recent and weakest of the Spanish kingdoms of then, in Aragón, should submit to him. In 1068 Sancho Ramírez declares himself *miles Sancti Petri* and in 1071 he accepted the substitution of the Hispanic or Mozarabic rite by that of Rome. The Roman Church invented forthwith the plain fraud that Spain had belonged to the patrimony of Saint Peter. A little later Rome even dares to avail itself of those false rights.

Gregory VII intervenes actively and dedidedly in the Peninsula, not only in ecclesiastical matters but also in political affairs. Fita, Menéndez Pidal and Pierre David have studied that intervention. They contrast the violent clash between the Pontificate and the Empire and the reverent resistance of Alfonso VI to the disorbed pontifical claims to the dominion of Spain. His definitive submission to the Papal orders about the acceptance of the Roman rite is evident. Only the people resist, especially the Castilian people. The Papal legates acted in arrogant and energetic ways. Rome dares to intervene in the private life of the king, perhaps to call Alfonso's marriage to Constance, related to the first wife of the monarch, a concubinage. The proud *Imperator totius Hispanie* always gives in. New tributes to Cluny. The traditional orthodox rite of the Fathers of the Spanish Church is substituted by the Roman rite against popular will. Alfonso writes to Saint Hugo, Abbot of Cluny: «De romano autem officio quod iussione tua reccepimus terram nostram admodum desolatam esse.» The humiliating submission to Rome is consummated. Rome succeeds, besides, since then, to reduce to the minimum the ancient intervention of the kings in Church matters.

In contradiction with the Hispanic tradition of more than six centuries, the Papacy begins to weigh considerably in Christian Spain. In the discords following the death of Alfonso VI, it favors the party composed by the French clergy, hovering over the national church of the monarchy for more than two decades. Two peninsular kingdoms, Portugal and Aragón seek the protection of the Pontiff and humbly obey him: Alfonso En-

ríquez recognizes the sovereignty of the Holy See and Peter II of Aragón feoffed his estates to him. Even León and Castile submitted to the dictates of papal policy.

The pontifical legates come and go, at times arrogant, and they continue to interfere in the inner life of the Spanish kigdoms. The Pope annulled a good number of royal marriages upsetting the interests and the loves of the princes and creating grave political conflicts. He intervenes in the quarrels of the peninsular kings: threatens, orders, excommunicates. Innocent III exercised in Spain an influence not much greater than that of Gregory VII. The Spanish sovereigns submit to the Pontiff, they solicit his help and his intervention and communicate their difficulties and successes to him. Through threat of excommunication he obtains that Sancho VII of Navarre assist the kings of Castile and Aragón in the expedition of the Navas. Alfonso VIII informs him of the obtained victory. Peter II of Aragón loses his lands beyond the Pyrenees because the standard of the Church raises a great army against his vassals beyond the seaports. The Papacy continues to constitute a decisive force in peninsular life. Innocent IV dares to dispose of the Portuguese crown by deposing Sancho II and giving it to Alfonso III. Martín IV grants Charles of Valois the investiture of the kingdom of Aragón, out of rage against Peter III who had taken Sicily away from the Anjou, to vindicate the rights of his wife, heiress of the Italian Staufen.

Don Juan Manuel declares that Castile, differently from other Christian kingdoms of Spain and outside Spain, had no juridical bond with the Holy See. His statement is correct, but no country kept such an ardent devotion nor such a submissive obedience to the Pontificate. In Spain, Aragón and Catalonia confronted it about the ultrapyrenean politics and the undertakings in Sicily. The kings sometimes bypassed the pontifical excommunications, but in the end the Hispanic military submission to the Papacy made them give in to the Holy See. Peter III in 1275 before his death and in order to obtain absolution, in his name and in that of his successors, promised to accept what the Church would decide. In 1291 Alfonso III, for the peace of Tarascón, consented to ask forgiveness of the Supreme Pontiff so that he would revoke the donation of his kingdoms to the brother of the king of France, he offered to pay an income to the Pope and committed himself to leave his brother James of Sicily to his fate. When the latter came to reign in Aragón, by the treaty of Anagni in 1292 he converted himself into a captain of the Holy See and ended up by fighting against his mother and his brother Fadrique supported by the loyal Sicilians, in the service of the Holy See.

Medieval history beyond the Pyrenees is filled with quarrels of the Germanic emperors or of the kings of France against the Holy See. All over Europe, the echoes of the disputes between Henry IV and Gregory VII, Frederic II and Innocent III and Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII, resounded. The kings of Spain never caused a similar opposition to the

Papacy. They never confronted him, they never rose against him and they even supported the injustices, the insults and even the abuses of the Popes with meekness. We recall the ill-will with which they treated the Learned King, the respectful hesitations of the latter before them and his final submission to their orders. Rome meddled in the succession of Castile at the death of Alfonso X and Sancho the Fierce did not have a more determined adversary than Martín IV. In the anguishing hours during the minority of Ferdinand, Doña Mary de Molina had to buy at a very high price a pontifical bull to legitimate her son, the king of Castile whom the Holy See considered to be a bastard. The Popes conferred on foreigners many peninsular dignities and ecclesiastical benefits, and not only rivers of gold and silver left Spain according to these concessions, but the Castilians had to defray the expenses of the pontifical embassies and they remitted to Rome the spoliums and the rents due to the vacancies of the bishops and the taxes paid on assuming office. «In conclusion —writes Father Luciano Serrano— all of this constituted a serious bleeding of the national wealth» —with the income of the vacant see of Burgos (10,000 florins of gold) the fiscal indigence of the Papacy was remedied once— and he points out how, even though many Pontiffs promised to renounce such practices, not one of them fulfilled his promise. And so it was always. In Avignon or in Rome: contempts, demands or enmity, and in Castile and in the other kingdoms of Spain in the end: reverence, obedience and devotion to the Vicar of Christ. In kings and in the people, in lay people and clerics.

In the courts of Castile or Aragón we do not find, for example, complaints or protests which can compare with those of the Parliament of England against pontifical politics. The only time that the Castilian courts raised their voices against the Holy See was in 1390, they declared that «among all the Christian kingdoms there was none so offended nor so insulted as was the Kingdom of Castile because of the measures that the Pope decreed». In 1393 they even decreed an embargo on the ecclesiastical benefits possessed by foreigners, but they did not maintain their agreement firmly.

We never find, in Castilian pens, criticism of the Papacy that can recall that of Wycliffe or Savonarola. There are only the reproaches to the Roman clergy from Chancellor Ayala, come from the anxiety and a mind imbued with Western ideas of a man who had travelled much beyond the Pyrenees and who had an exceptional sensibility to grasp European spiritual currents. On the other hand, a Castilian, Cardinal Gil de Albornoz, reconquered the states of the Church in Italy for the Pontiff. The Spanish kings and people were overly worried about the Western schism —to contribute to its solution they abandoned the Spanish Pope, Pedro de Luna, Benedict XIII, to whom they owed much. They only intervened in the Council of Basel when the Pontiff declared it legitimate. Castile protested energetically against the conciliar agreement deposing Eugene IV.

It was necessary that the imperial action of Spain in Italy and its struggles to obtain the Catholic reform of Christianity should clash with the cunning resistance or the open enmity of the Papacy, for a temporal harsh hostility in many Spaniards to triumph against the Holy See. It appears clearly in the Valdés, in Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and in Francesillo de Zúñiga who launch veiled or very direct diatribes, and at times more than diatribes, threats against the Pontiff. It appears in reproaches as pious as they are harsh in Luis Vives. It explodes in writings filled with ferocious antipapalism as that of Francisco Vargas. It even reaches very high ecclesiastical dignitaries and very famous theologians, zealous defenders of the most pure Catholic orthodoxy. Fray Juan of Toledo in a writing destined to Charles V, wrote fierce words against the Supreme Pontiff Paul III and advised the Emperor to deprive him of his temporal dominions. «The estate of the Church —he says— is more yours than his... use on that occasion the iron, not the psalm... Your Majesty will say that it is a serious matter to deprive the Pope of his temporal estate, but it is much worse to fear that he whom all of Christianity follows, in order to increase the flesh should forget the things of the spirit; he and hence he changes the world around and destroys the house of God in order to build his own »

The great Melchor Cano in an opinion signed in 1555 wrote against Paul IV: «... it is just that if Our Holy Father with anger does violence to His children, Your Majesty, who is the greatest and protector of the small ones, should disarm Him, and if it were necessary, tie His hands.»

This flood of hostility against the Holy See documented by Sánchez Montes, passed quickly; after the victory of the Duke of Alba over Paul IV, when the politics of Philip II began to give fruit. Although Spain clashed more than once with the Pontiffs and those were often hostile and unjust with Spain, the traditional Hispanic military obedience to the Papacy tied the hands, silenced the tongues and curtailed the pens of the Spaniards and moved them to humble themselves before the supreme power of the Popes, whatever the conduct of the latter towards them.

10. Anticlericalism

However, the Pope, representative of Christ was far away and the clergy was right there and in the midst of peninsular people and he was there with his defects and vices and with his great wealth and his great power. In all of Europe the Church accumulated an immense territorial fortune and enormous power, during the Middle Ages, but in no country of Europe did its wealth and its power weigh so much as in the Peninsula in the balance of the lordly and political forces of the community. No lay magnate before the 13th century obtained in Spain a patrimony and an influence comparable to those obtained, not just by the prelates

of Compostela —*regiam potentiam a regibus habebant*—, but those possessed by other bishops and abbots of the kingdom. No lay lord Castile or León obtained the privilege of coining money that the archbishops of Santiago and the abbots of Sahagún obtained. The chancelleries of the kingdoms of Castile and León were exercised for a long time by the prelates of Compostela and Toledo. During the late Middle Ages, those two archepiscopal sees and those of Seville, Saragossa or Lisbon and the Jurisdiction of the military Orders possessed such riches and such power that the kings tried to make such dignities befall their legitimate or bastard sons or their brothers or brothers-in-law: Ferdinand III destined his son, the infante Don Philip for the bishopric of Seville, the infante Don Sancho of Aragón, brother-in-law of the Learned King, was archbishop of Toledo and Alfonso XI had his bastard Don Fabrique appointed Grand Master of Santiago. They reached such power and wealth that many noble families of the kingdoms of Spain were unable to occupy a first rank position, except when one of their members managed to fill one of the great archbishoprics during a few years; it so happened with the Albornoz, the Tenorios, the Lunas, and the Fonsecas...

More than thirty years ago, in my *Estampas de la vida en León*, I reported many documented proofs of the infamies of peninsular clergy a millennium ago. The repeated threats of the laws, along with the literary and diplomatic testimonies prove that the customs of the clerics, monks and religious did not better with time. It is probable that their vices were even greater in all the other countries of medieval Europe than in Spain, and it is certain that they were not lesser. At least in the compilations where the Marian miracles are recorded included in the musical poems, they related as occurring outside of the Peninsula the almost totality of the prodigies realized by the Virgin in reference to the frivolity of the clerics or the monks. But as the religious fervor of the masses was more ardent and firmer in the Peninsula —all the miracles attributed to the Mother of God in punishment of the lack of faith of the people referred to in the musical poems take place beyond the Pyrenees— the weaknesses of the Hispanic clergy obtained a strange resonance —the people from León attacked a monastery of impudic adulterous nuns who had become mothers— and for that reason they were considered in an extraordinarily depreciative way among Spanish Christians.

The Pope, representative of Christ, was far away and the clergy was there and in the midst of peninsular people, with its virtues and vices, its great wealth and great power; it was causing the criticism and the satire of the people and tempting the greed and the ambition of the kings and noblemen. Therefore, even though in an attenuated way, Spanish Christians suffered from the epidemic of anticlericalism which affected Western Christianity in the final centuries of the Middle Ages. They were likewise flooded by the tide of the struggle between civil and ecclesiastical power, which before had also overflowed in the countries beyond the Pyrenees.

It has been said that the Hispanic clergy of the early Middle Ages depended politically on the royalty, as much or more than in Visigothic times and as much or more than in the feudal kingdoms of the West. Kings created, outlined and suppressed dioceses, they named and deposed bishops, they dealt with ecclesiastical matters in the meetings of their Palaces, they summoned councils, reorganized sees and convents and in such a way ruled the life of the whole Church that people even resorted to them if some monk fled from the monastery where he dwelt. I have said it before and I have proven it more than a quarter of a century ago with many testimonies.

We do not have data about the authentic attitude of the lay people towards the clergy of that time. We can suspect from some texts, that along their faith without weakness nor doubts and their ardent devotion, perhaps the grandees initiated a tutelary and defensive attitude with the clergy being always richer and more powerful. Monasteries privately founded and the private property of the temples which were not without communication with the people and which were exploited by lay people as part of their family patrimony, gave the nobility considerable intervention in the life of the clergy. But the growing enrichment of the Church and its continued acquisition of the privilege of immunity for its lands, that is to say, jurisdictional lordship over them, forced the lay aristocracy to confront many times, usually unsuccessfully quite a few bishops and abbots and moved them to denounce, and to resist on some occasions, the manoeuvers of abbots and bishops to take over, *invictissime* o *verbis blandientibus et seditionibus melifluis,* individuals' property. There were also magnates and even infantes who went from resistance to offensive and who began to take lands and men away from the Church. Some thirty years ago, I documented this indication of the struggle between the two nobilities. To put an end to the struggle between his sister Doña Urraca and the Church of León, Alfonso VI decreed in 1089 that the royal patrimony could not pass in the hands of noblemen or of the clergy, nor could the property of the former be acquired by the latter, nor could what belonged to the Church fall into the hands of the nobility.

The acceptance of the Cluniac reform South of the Pyrenees and the energetic Gregorian politics obtained for the Church an embryo of autonomy in peninsular kingdoms. Bishops came to be elected by the people and the clergy of their dioceses, the royal curia did not meddle in ecclesiastical matters, but they were solved in councils in which royal and lay intervention rapidly decreased, and the life of the Church was becoming more and more juridically emancipated from the tutelage of the kings and noblemen.

I have not written «juridically» lightly. The 12th century witnesses that initial separation of the two civil and ecclesiastical powers in the Spanish Christian kingdoms, also knew the decline, reported before, in the devotion and obedience of the Spanish Christian society to the Church, crisis trans-

lated into a confrontation, frequently violent, of the clergy by the lay people. We recall Alfonso the Fighter deposing and incarcerating bishops and abbots, the bourgeois of Sahagún attacking the abbot while he was offering mass, those of Compostela burning the tower of the Church of the Apostle, the Galician grandees taking Gelmírez prisoner, Alfonso VII neatly plundering the treasure of Santiago more than once, noblemen invading and taking charge of the property of sees and convents, from Ávila putting their animals in the cathedral, the militiamen of Béjar and Plasensia threatening to break the head of the bishop of Ávila, the people from Salamanca expelling the canons from the city in 1185, Alfonso IX ruling in favor of the nobility the use of the ecclesiastical prestimonies or fiefs, the sculptors who carved some temples —I am thinking of the beautiful cornice of the Romanic Church of Saint Vincent of Ávila— representing friars or clerics in lewd scenes in which clearly appears the anticlerical satire of the late Middle Ages.

Faith without lukewarmness nor hesitations, ardent devotion, military submission to the Papacy... But those peninsular Christians who had come to face the divinity as the projection of their exalted manhood and their vassal concept of the relations of men with God, did not remain submissive or obedient before the powerful and rich clergy, but instead they challenged, criticized, fought and scoffed it, when they felt like doing it, or better said, when they clashed with it in the struggle for power and riches.

After the martial and colonizing hiatus of the kingdom of Ferdinand the Saint once again there are many proofs of the exasperation of the old fight of kings and noblemen with bishops, abbots and clerics and the vitality of the anticlerical criticism of the intellectuals and of the people. Alfonso the Learned dared to deprive of its dominion the see of the Apostle Saint James. The favorite of Sancho IV insulted the bishop of Astorga Don Martín García and told him in public «that he was amazed because he did not eradicate his soul with a spur». Noblemen took possession of the lands of the churches and monasteries, insulted their vassals and even challenged the bishop, the chapter and the entire clergy of a diocese at the same time —in 1285 some noblemen did that to the bishop and clerics of Carthagene. Churches as powerful as those of León and Oviedo and convents as privileged as Sahagún and the Huelgas had to give up to lay grandees some of their dominions, vassals and castles —thus was born the institution which centuries later was to greatly develop in American lands. Ferdinand IV had to forbid Galician noblemen to seize estates by force and he had to regulate the use and abuses of his concessions in León and Castile. Peter the Cruel forced through violence two bishops to marry him to Doña Juana de Castro, during the life of Queen Doña Blanca, and later ordered the murder of the Archbishop of Compostela. Don Gil de Albornoz abandoned the primate see of Toledo to

flee from the royal rage. Many other insults of prelates and clerics by kings and noblemen could be quoted in the following centuries.

The people did not show greater respect for the clergy. People grumbled about the bishops and at times they dared to insult them to their faces —the Statute of Salamanca foresaw such gossips and insults and punished the latter. The temples were already theaters of courtship and misbehavior, in spite of the prohibitions of the *Partidas.* The common masses continued to profane and to burn churches —the church of Saint Francis of Orense was razed and burned in the 13th century. The peasants did not pay tithes —Alfonso X, Sancho IV... had to order their governors and justices to urge many remiss people to pay— and on occasions, they threatened, pursued and wounded tax collectors, in spite of the prescriptions of the *Fuero Real.* Many times, people of Andalusia, León and Castile were mocking ecclesiastical excommunications. The kings had to order their constables —we recall cases in Seville, Salamanca in 1274, 1277, 1289...— to seize the people, seize the properties of the excommunicated people who did not reconcile themselves with the Church within fixed terms.

The jolly Archpriest of Hita's confessions give unquestionable proofs of the extent reached by popular satire against the clergy. Behind his verses can be imagined the cynical attitude of the thinker: «The people accuse and critize us daily and with right, but let it be known that it does not matter to us and so that they will not tire in satirizing us, we, the clerics, begin by making fun of our own weaknesses.» Two other members of the peninsular Church followed the bold example of Juan Ruiz: Fray Alonso de Turmeda of Mallorca and the Archpriest of Talavera, Alfonso Martínez of Toledo. They both disclosed the vices of friars and clerics with no greater bashfulness than their roguish predecessor of Alcarria: the first renegade and turncoat to Islamism with delight, the second, naturally with more scruples, but without dissimulation nor subterfuge.

Those cases of self criticism which have nothing of the sad examination of conscience, if they did not contribute to increase the censure of the clergy, did not succeed in quieting them either, because neither the sincere nor the roguish confessions of their vices by the human groups suffering them usually succeed in hushing the satires that they cause. The lay people continued to fire heavy critical blows against the weaknesses of the clerics and friars. Chancellor Ayala intermingled them pitilessly in *Rimado de Palacio,* imbued as has been said with a new feeling of the relations of the Christian with God. They are seen under the pen of Hernando del Pulgar, they appear in *Claros varones de Castilla* and in his *Epístolas.* Fernando de Rojas aimed at them in *Celestina.* Sculptors recorded them on stone and carvers on wood. The people translated them into tales and jests. It is reported that the friars of Saragossa having offered to fight against the Mussulmans in a serious case of attack, Don Martín Lanuza declared: «I am in favor of their coming out and that we venture to win whatever way it may be, because either the friars will free us from

the Moors or the Moors will free us from the friars.» It got to the point of calling «little bishop» a big sausage which is made when pigs are killed, the coccyx of people and even perhaps the most indecent part of men. Along with the people, noblemen accepted and used bantering and offensive expressions toward the clergy. Count de Benavente, being irritated by a silver «clyster» exclaimed: «Damn the old whore who has put a burning spit in my anus.»

The criticism of the vices of the clergy was particularly willing and biting during the reign of Charles V. Don Fadrique Enríquez, Admiral of Castile, censured the prelates without bashfulness; Gonzalo Fernández of Oviedo wrote a fierce diatribe against the priests; Diego Hurtado de Mendoza lashed them violently, and in the same way numerous other lay people in no way heretics. That criticism is partially rooted in Erasmism; it is reflected in books of some clerics connected to such movement, for example Maldonado's *Buen Pastor;* it is happily used in the Erasmus cenacles of the Vergaras or Valdes; it overflows in Torres Naharro's theater, Gil Vicente, or Diego Sánchez de Badajoz; it appears in various works of profane literature: *Lazarillo,* the *Crotalón,* the *Viaje a Turquía* of Laguna; it triumphs in popular tales —see the *Libro de los Chistes* of Luis de Pineda— it appears in the «virtues» of the Choir Chairs of the Spanish cathedrals. The severe and furious politics of Philip II curtails it; it is probably for fear of it that *Lazarillo* and the *Crotalón* remained anonymous, and the *Viaje a Turquía* till now, and perhaps because of the same fear Timoneda and Zapata de Chaves avoided anticlerical tales. Hostility towards the clergy was expressed then in a vigorous opposition to the Jesuits —I recall the discourses of Don Sancho Cimbrón in the Council of Ávila against the *Company* and the attack of their church in Bilbao. After the death of the king of the Escorial, it springs up again vigorously and explosively and it leaves clear traces in the most famous literary works of the time: it is used by the story-tellers of the 17th century, especially Juan de Arguijo, it appears in some continuations of Lazarillo and even filters into the announcements of the reign of Philip IV, those of Barrionuevo, for example.

This anticlerical satirical current acquired the aspect of open rage against the clergy, as the awareness of the national disaster and its connection with the religious politics of the monarchy, grew. It became quickened by the rationalistic winds shaking the Peninsula from the other side of the Pyrenees in the 18th century, and it grew in proportion with the ascensional movement of the bourgeoisie to the wealth, culture and government —Rodríguez Casado has just sustained that the anti-Jesuits attitude in times of Charles III was a bourgeois movement and was anti-nobility. During many decades that hostility to the Church co-existed in the minds and hearts of the Spaniards with their pure faith and their ardent devotion— for that reason the Duke of Alba admired Voltaire without ceasing to be a pious Catholic. But upon becoming a high flame

due to the millenary passion of the Spaniards —a thousand years before passion had converted in grave quarrel the problem of Adoptionism, as Abadal has demonstrated— it contributed in definitively separating them in the two Spains of the 19th century.

11. Militant Christianity and Providentialism

Although the war against the Mussulmans had not been a holy war in the sense of the war prescribed by the Koran for the Moslems, and even though the Spanish Christians probably did not believe until very late in the sanctifying death of those falling in the struggle, according to what has been pointed out before, the continuation of the long «divine» war had in the long run infiltrated bellicose essences in the Spaniards' religiosity.

Not in vain does one fight century after century against an enemy of a different religion and for the propagation of the faith as well as for the extension of the limits of the kingdom. Not in vain, for centuries, is the primordial task of a people to conquer and populate lands for God and the king. Not in vain does a historical community live for centuries with the vision on the horizon that separates its national land where Christ is adored, from the Islamic Spain where Allah is adored. Not in vain, in the course of the centuries, does a nation have as its first duty the building of churches along with the building of fortresses and does it dedicate to the Savior of man and to his Mother the mosques of the cities or the castles recently won from Islam.

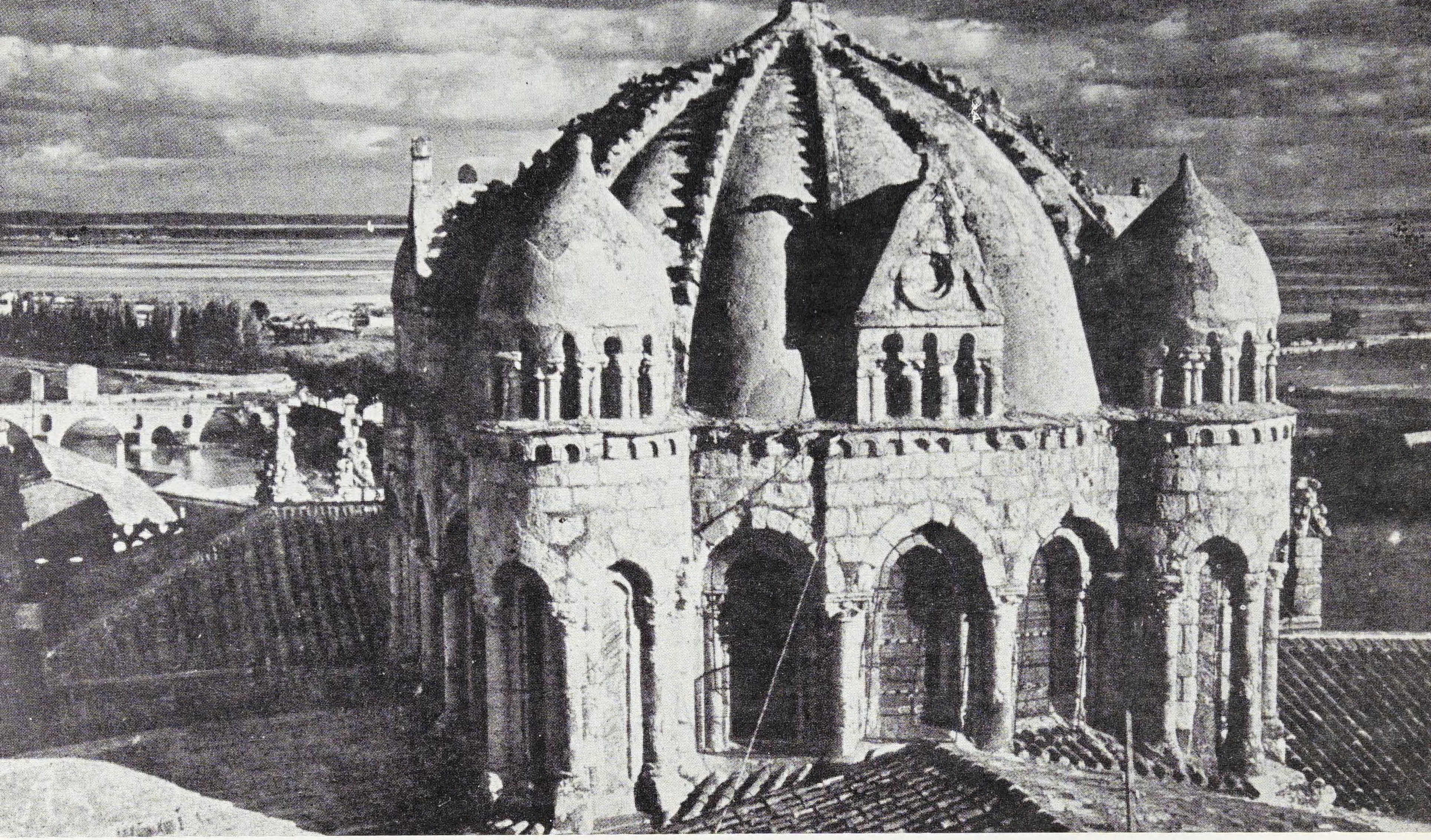
In the minds of a people living this way for centuries some strange religious ideas end up by taking root. Complex desires to extend equally its empire and its faith become confused and mixed in their souls. The limits between religion and politics were being attenuated in their minds. An exalted desire for the heavenly and terrestrial beyond moves and tortures them. A feeling of violence upon confronting men of another creed or dissidents from their own triumphs in them. They acquire the custom of using the sword after their words and of supporting their catequesis with the lance. Their bellicose passion goes into their religious lives and saturates their lives as soldiers with religious anxieties. They try to conquer the heavenly city with the same bellicose impetuosity usually used in assaulting the cities of the Saracen infidels. They attempt to obtain divine favor with the same weapons as to obtain royal favors. They attempt to reach God and to earn the delights of his contemplation through the same quick and audacious flight which permits them to obtain terrestrial richness and fortune. They organize their religions in a military way and give them the strict discipline of the soldiers. Their mystical fantasies are filled with military images. Even their most pious and serene contemplators of the divinity are moved by impetus for action.

It is barely necessary to use names and to cite events to prove such Hispanic historical realities. The least of the specialists in the Spanish past can annotate with memories of great figures and transcendental events of the history of Spain each one of these bellicose slips of the religious sensibility of peninsular people. We can recall the militant Christianity of Saint Dominic de Guzman or Saint Vincent Ferrer, the theological hostility of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, his almost military organization of the Company of Jesus, the military metaphors of Santa Teresa and her combative dynamism. For Jorge Manrique «*The famous Knights/with labors and hardships/against the Moors*» earned «*lasting life*». The feeling of violence against men of another religious creed led to the persecution of the Jews and the heresiarchs. Frequently many Spanish religious used lances and swords in the medieval centuries, and the tongues and pens of many others at all times have been like lances and swords. Who else but a Spaniard would have confronted recently conquered savages with a declaration of equalizing faith similar to the one Alonso de Ojeda addressed to the Indians? There is Pizarro baptizing Atahualpa before having him executed. «To God because of the State» could be the motto of the Philippine attitude in which religion and politics intermingled and intermixed. Crusades in America, Europe and in Africa; against Indians, Turks or the heretics. «Divine» wars in Mexico and Peru, in Tunis and in Algiers, in Mühlberg and in Lepanto, in Antwerp and in the Channel. The people seek God through the impetuous ways of Teresa of Ávila or John of the Cross and not through those of Suárez; in the attack of the miraculous ecstasy and not in the peace of analytical theologizing. «My sword for Saint James» exclaimed Quevedo when taking part in a harsh struggle about the heavenly patronage of Spain.

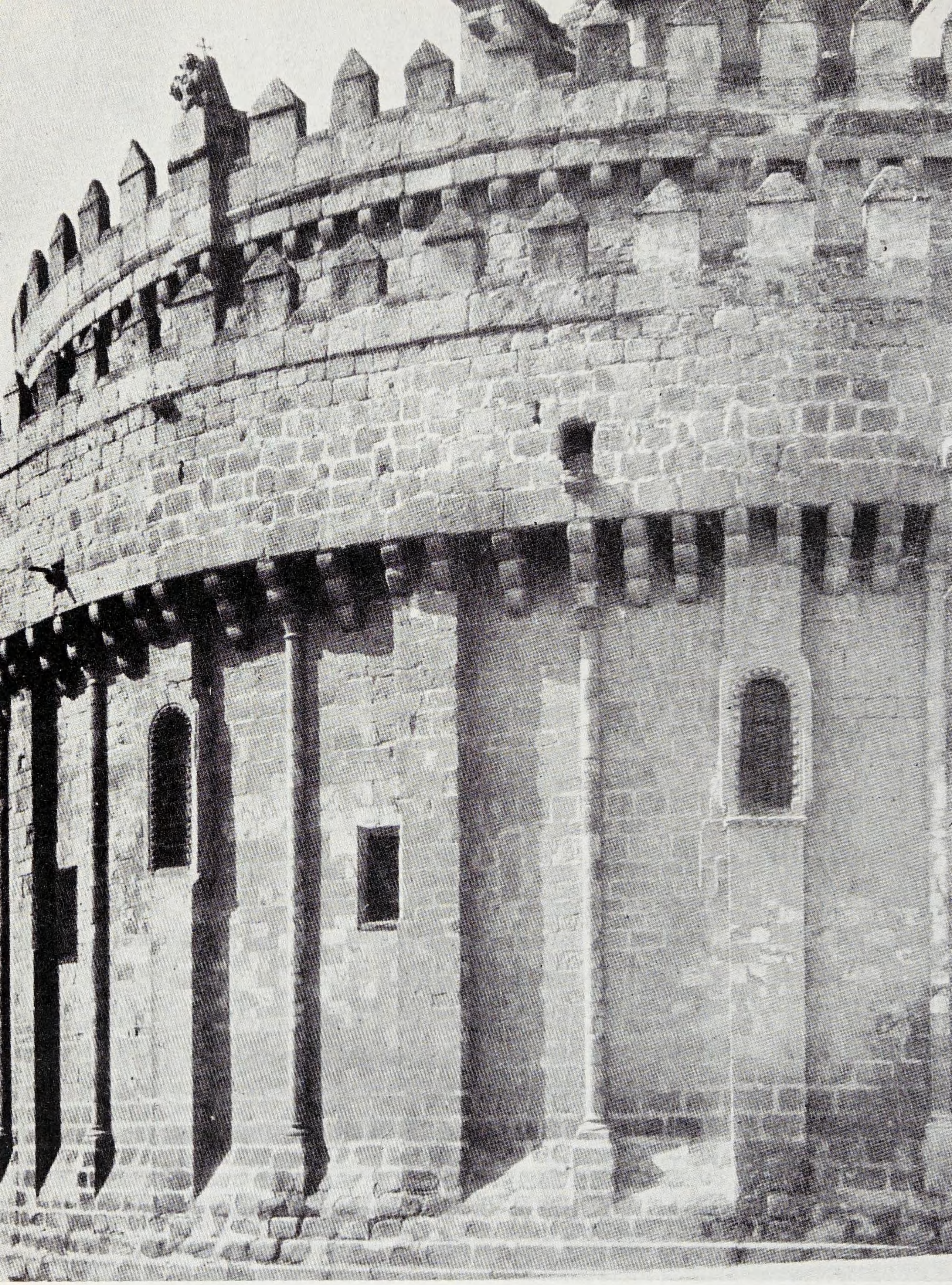
In that saturation by bellicose essences of the religious sensibility of peninsular people is one of the keys to Spanish history. The echoes of that militant Christianism deafen all the limits of the past of Spain. It came to fit so deeply in the psyche of the masses that it succeeded in altering their personal logical processes. The low urban and rural people of a nation have never enjoyed war indefinitely. At times they may have felt moved by temporary bellicose exaltations, rarely the martial impetus has managed to dominate them to the point of attenuating their natural desire for peace and rarely has it prolonged for centuries the war mystique. As all masses, the Spanish masses felt their bellicose vehemence decrease when the borders with the Moors were further away from their homes and the anguish of their fight against the Islamites passed. Chancellor Ayala in *Rimado de Palacio* clearly depicts the unwillingness of the rural and urban people of Castile before the belligerent adventures of their kings: «Those of the town as in council say,/Lord, the kingdom is kept like a mirror,/Do not seek war, that will be great evil,/And about the subject, Lord, have another council.» That passage undoubtedly alludes to the struggles among Spanish Christian princes, very frequent in that second

51.—After constructing the city walls that guaranteed their security and improvising their houses with adobe brick and wood, the repopulators of Ávila were working on various churches according to the Romanesque style triumphant in the West. They dedicated the most beautiful to the three remote residents of Ávila who gave their lives for Christ: Saint Vincent and his sisters. Begun in 1109, its construction went very slowly. Because of the artistic tradition that it reflects, it is the most Western of the Romanesque churches in Castile. *Interior of the Basílica of San Vicente (Ávila).*

52.—Segovia, Ávila and Salamanca were populated to defend the passes of the Sierras that permit entrance from the Tagus to the higher meseta, and to assure the return to life of the area situated South of the Duero. The three must have lived a century up to their necks in war. While that old Romanesque cathedral was being built, the Moors were confronted by the militiamen of Salamanca who were all masters of their own destinies, as they said once to the Almoravid sultan. *Interior of The Old Cathedral (Salamanca).*



53.—*Cupola of the* Romanesque *cathedral of Zamora* (1151-1174). Oriental influences are seen in it. Zamora was repopulated by Toledan Mozarabs, but in the 9th century. No testimony attests influences from Al-Ándalus during the 12th century in Zamoran lands. The cupola recalls constructions from Oriental Christianity. Did an Oriental Christian artist, a traveler or an emigrant in Spain construct it?



54.—Christian cities, born or restored in the wars against the Moors, were fortresses and temples. In none is that sinthesis demonstrated more clearly than in Ávila. Here we have *the presbytery of the cathedral of Ávila —the Cimorro* (12th century). Embattled and defended by a row of machicolation galleries and embrasures, it constitutes the strongest fortified tower of the walled inclosure. Thus was affirmed militant Christianity and the vassal religiosity of the Spaniards.

half of the 14th century during which time Don Pedro López de Ayala lived and wrote. The same people who counselled against the bellicose undertakings of the youthful king, friend of the Knights, depicted by the Chancellor, generously untied the strings of their purses and more than once gave sizeable amounts to their princes to fight against the Moors. When the kings and the aristocracy, absorbed in their tragic historical duel, abandoned the great battle against the Mussulmans, the people did not change the direction of their interest for the divine war and even the new Christians —the Jews recently converted to the faith of Christ— through their poets were inciting to the continuation of the Reconquest. In 1407 Don Ferdinand of Antequera, regent of Castile, was forced to raise the siege of Setenil because of the weak will to put up with «drudgeries» of the magnates; the armies of the infante, returning from the battlefield went to Carmona, but the people of the town did not want to receive them there «and they closed the gates insulting them many were saying: to Setnil, to Setnil». There are many couplets of new Christians, as ay Diego of Valencia, Álvarez de Villasandino... instigating the continuation of the war against the Moors. Many years ago they were reproduced by Gabriel Maura and recently by Rosa Lida and others.

No other task such as the conclusion of the Reconquest could really win for the Catholic Kings the fervor of their peoples and the warm support of public opinion in the revolutionary peril in which they found themselves during the first decade of their transcendental reign. The memory of the «divine» war of Granada remained for long decades in the hearts of the Spaniards: Ginés de Sepúlveda was lamenting that its conclusion had deprived the Castilians of a magnificent incentive to the exercise of their courage in new bellicose triumphs. Mateo Alemán remembered having known an old soldier who wore in his belt a blunt and miserable dagger with no other value than that of having served his father to fight against the Moors of Granada.

Spain felt no emotion before the bellicose undertakings of an imperial mark of Charles V. Through the pen of some of its sons —Louis Vives, Ginés de Sepúlveda, Francisco de Vitoria and Martínez Silíceo— it desired with insistence the end of the struggle against France —they came to speak through Rey Altuna of «Pacifism in the Spanish generation of 1497». Its representatives in the cortes asked the Emperor— in 1523 and in 1542, for example —to attempt «through all possible means, peace with the Christian princes», and they haggled about the money to continue fighting. Even magnates like Don Juan de Zúñiga made vows for the end of such fights.

But that same Spain, reluctant before the wars broke the unity of Christianity, was in full agreement with the crusades against the Turks —in Africa or on the Danube— and against the Lutheran heretics —in Mühlberg, and it ended up serving the Caesar in them with passionate

fervor. The same cortes which begged him to attempt peace with the Christian princes impelled him to make war with the infidels. The same pens which had lamented the fight against France ardently desired the battle against the Turks— Luis Vives, who had written: «that sort of war among brothers, and what is worse among people initiated in the same baptism is unjust, it is wicked...» felt with great anxiety the seriousness of the Islamic peril. They went to the undertaking of Tunis with such fervor and enthusiasm that it seemed to Countess de Palamós that they were going to the «final judgment», with such passion that some heroic Basque soldier, whom Charles wanted to reward with an amount of ducats, refused to accept it because he had gone «only to earn honor and to do what he ought to». To the divine wars of the Emperor came with enthusiasm all the people of Spain, from Catalonia, the Basque Country, Castile, Andalusia, etc... And the prominent poets as well as the popular ones sang the victories of Charles against the Moors.

A wave of enthusiasm shook all of Spain. Militant Christianity caused an ideal of authentic crusade which had never existed until then in Spain, because, as I have pointed out before, the divine war of the Reconquest had not embodied it; an ideal which had been dead for centuries on the other side of the Pyrenees.

In that ideal were intermixed the bellicose impulses never extinguished by peninsular people and the tradition of the divine war, both heated in the Southern sun of the Spanish empire. The Emperor became the chief of Europe against Africa and Asia through the fervor of the Hispanic people. They dreamed of the conquest of the Holy Land after winning Constantinople. The masses dreamed and disclosed their dreams in ballads and arches of triumph, the writers dreamed: Fernández de Oviedo, Ginés de Sepúlveda. Alfonso de Valdés, Santa Cruz... —Sánchez Montes has proven the reality of those dreams— and they even dreamed in the courts. I can allege a certain testimony: the account of Peter of Ghent about the cordial interview of Aigues Mortes between Charles V and Francis I. The latter offered the Emperor «for the conquest of Constantinople expected the following year... thirty well provided and well armed galleys... and himself, if His Majesty went», and he adds: «There is rivalry between the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans about who will go with the army of their father to Constantinople, if it were not the King».

Dreams, yes, but those dreams took form in the «divine» enterprises of the second half of the 16th century, enterprises which affirmed militant Christianity and the theological hostility of Spaniards.

Spain, which longed for the end of the wars with France —it greeted Isabel of Valois as the queen of peace— ended up by supporting the adventures of Philip II against the Protestants of Flanders and of France, against the Turks and against England, because, these in the end, were religious wars. All of Spain, especially Castile favored them, which had

not had any other international politics in the Middle Ages than the fight against the Moors.

The divine wars had barely returned to exalt the militant Christianity of the Spaniards which converted them into soldiers of the Almighty, that the providentialism which had strengthened their resistance against the Saracens, triumphed in them again. Yesterday, the author of *Spain in its History* and today Sánchez Montes have spoken of messianism in reference to that confidence in the tutelar action of the divinity with them, confidence that the Castilians and the Spaniards felt unanimously. The first one, naturally, considers this supposed Hispanic messianism as a projection of the Hebrew messianism.

Rightly so, Bataillon has rejected the qualification in his comment of Sánchez Montes' book. There are barely any texts of the alleged ones which refer to anything other than the traditional faith of peninsular people in the continual and efficacious intervention of the Almighty in the life of the Christian and of Christianity, and above all in the divine war against the Islamites. When, very exceptionally, one could disclose in a text an authentic expression of messianic hope about the destiny of a man who was believed called to save a people —that is messianism—, in reality, it deals with pure adulation —such was the comparison of the birth of the son of the Catholic Kings with that of Saint John by Palma— or with an adulation filled with political substance which does not hesitate to falsify reality a posteriori —such were the words of Hernando del Pulgar about the divine mysteries that accompanied the beginning of the reign of Isabel and Ferdinand. We must not forget that they were both Jewish converts and by their race prone to the dithyramb of princes.

José Cepeda Adán had gathered various passages of the chroniclers of the Catholic kings, Pulgar, Valera and Bernáldez, in which their providential concept of historical life is made clear. According to these texts and others that could be alleged, God prepared the way for Isabel and Ferdinand to rule in Spain. He was behind them, guarding them and protecting their undertakings, helping them in difficult moments and saving them when their lives were in danger. He enabled them to happily conclude the pacification of the kingdom and the end of the Reconquest. The Catholic Kings' lives were a web of prodigious events. A divine decree ruled their destinies. As the chroniclers, so thought other men of letters or of law. Don Ferdinand won Navarre by heavenly will, according to Palacios Rubios.

Yes, the Augustinian concept of history, triumphant during the Middle Ages in Christian Spain more intensely than outside of Spain —and the firm and permanent fear of God which had ruled the historical conscience of Spanish Christianity with singular exaltation, continued, became affirmed and sharpened and more kindled among us in the final stages of the Middle Ages. During a kingdom which witnessed the ascensional movement of the Spanish historical community, from chaos, anarchy, impotence, discord

and immorality to the Imperial summits which no one could imagine when Ferdinand and Isabel ascended to the throne of Castile, first, and that of Aragón, later.

Providentialism and the fear of God survive and are exalted in Spain during the 16th century because of our divine history, projection more than echo of our divine history from the 8th to the 15th century. In the end, Spaniards considered themselves to be the chosen people of God, they considered their kings as chiefs of the Most High, and considered their enterprises as adventures at the service of the Lord. In the euphoria of their triumphs, before the traditional binomial: fear and confidence, they tended to confide more than to fear.

«Help us against our enemies that are also yours», so had prayed to Our Lord Munio Alfonso at the front of the militiamen of Avila, Segovia and Toledo in the peril of the battle against the Almoravids, before the middle of the 12th century. In 1532 the Empress Isabel was writing to her husband, to save Vienna from the Turks: «I have faith in Our Lord, since the cause is His, He will help and favor Your Majesty». In 1535 while Charles V was fighting in Tunis, his wife was writing to him, again confident in the assistance of the Most High «*the cause being His*».

Because in the 16th century, the enemies of Spain were also those of God, as they had been all along during the Reconquest, and His was also the cause for which Spaniards were fighting, as it had been while they were fighting against the Moors, they trusted and had confidence that the providence of God could not fail them. Sánchez Montes has alleged sufficient testimonies in proof of the reality of this providentialism —poorly called messianism by him— during the reign of Charles V. Similar proofs could be alleged about the reign of Philip II.

The Emperor himself firmly believed that his ascent to the throne of Spain had been the work of the divine will which had prepared the way for him —Peter Rassow has pointed out such an idea in the testament of Charles V dated, 1543. Spaniards believed that providence had singled him out as his second lieutenant and captain and that it was with him and with them.

In moments of providential hysteria they came to think: «God has fought for us without our moving our hands, seeing our hearts being moved» and they described thus a naval combat against the Turk.

That providentialism which had served as an incentive to the Spaniards ended up being an antidote for ardor. It maintained them firm when they became tired and waiting for final victory. They were fighting for God, God could not abandon them. But disaster upon disaster made their faith in the fulfillment of a divine task vacillate, since God was leaving them. «I serve, therefore you owe me protection, I have a right to victory», so had they thought for a millennium. They were being defeated by their enemies, whom they believed to be the enemies of God, and they began to doubt. On the day that Lope wrote: «all taken into consideration, what

have the Lutherans done to me», he showed that the Hispanic confidence in the divine nature of their battle had begun to crumble and that their providentialism had been broken.

The most traditional and the least intelligent could not comprehend or they could not resign themselves to admit the double reality. They did not renounce their confidence in the help of God, because they continued to believe that they were fighting for Him. They considered the defeats passing and the crisis surmountable. Then, came, yes, desperate and absurd messianism. There arose the hope that the savior, the messiah, the one sent by the Most High would come, capable of changing miseries into greatness at the service of God.

Such were the exceptions. Weariness and despair accentuated the crisis. Martial impetus was decaying, which until then had never been weakened, when Spaniards doubted that they were fighting for God and they ceased to believe that their bellicose enterprises were pleasing to Him.

12. Echoes of irreligiousness

Some of the events reported in proof of the popular ill-will towards the clergy have raised a disturbing doubt about the limitations of the religious fervor of peninsular people or at least about the complexity and contradiction in their religiosity. As in the case of each one of the themes of this looking into the unknown history of Spain, this one requires a serious investigation worthy of a book. It is venturesome to confront the general thesis, but it cannot conceal my doubts.

The burnings of temples and their profanations are poorly reconcilable with a fervent devotion to the divinity, and even less in keeping with it are other events which cannot be explained as those by sporadic explosions of anger, caused by the resistance of the clergy to grant the urban communities the freedoms which they wished to possess or due to the clash of partisan hatreds or passions.

At times, we see medieval Christians subordinating the salvation of unfaithful souls to their incomes, their ambitions or their rages. Unpublished documents of the archive of the cathedral of Avila prove that at the end of the 12th century the *concejo* of Avila tenaciously opposed the conversion of some Moors, undoubtedly so that their taxes would not decrease. Alfonso X condemned in the *Partidas* those who insulted or humiliated the Islamites who were being baptized because such offenses dissuaded others from following their examples. Torres Fontes has just published a charter of Sancho IV (1290) ordering the governor of Murcia to guard and protect the Moors turned Christians, since they were captured on the roads and sold as slaves.

The immorality of the clerics and lay people, the suvival of magic and its practice in clerical and noble milieux, the spreading of the habit

of blaspheming among all the social classes, the irreverences in the temples, the sacred parodies, disrespectful phrases, the inundation of the dictionary by expressions with a clear taste for impiety, the minimal appraisal of sin even when nearing penance, the postponing until the last moment repentance and expiations, all of these things do not rhyme with a pure religious fervor...

I have spoken before about various of these evils and some of them are so evident —I am referring to the general immorality— that it is not necessary to annotate them. It is not difficult to prove the reality of others.

Many Spaniards said before Don Juan «You loan it to me on such long terms». They were confident they would have the occasion to repent in their last days and they considered a harsh and extraordinary punishment of God the sudden deaths that did not give time for reconciliation with the Almighty. The proofs of such belief are abundant. I will soon examine a passage from the Chronicle of Don Alvaro de Luna which clearly verifies it and many others can be alleged. Saint Ignatius rose against that impious confidence and so did Quevedo.

The Baron of Rosmithal, who travelled through the Peninsula from 1465 to 1467, was scandalized by the impiety of the neighbors of Olmedo: «About that city I have nothing to write other than its people are worse than pagans themselves, because when they elevate the body of Christ during mass, not one of them genuflects, but they remain standing as crude animals».

The Admiral of Castile, Don Fadrique Enríquez in an *Epístola Moral* taken up by Sánchez Montes wrote: «Who is there who knows God? Who serves Him? Who knows entirely his own faults? Who suffers from the offenses of God...? O princes of the earth, what are you thinking about? How do you forget your subjects...? Why do you not edify with good customs? How can you marvel if Luther and other heretics rise up prevailing over Faith, contradicting, well, if it were alive in you, you would use it? Oh, how little difference there is between what Luther says and what bad Christians do!» Perhaps the spirit always dissatisfied, contradictory and tortured of the Admiral —not even during the reign of the Catholic Kings did he believe Spain to be safe— darkened the picture of his contemporaries' irreligiousness. We cannot doubt his conviction, he called pious religious to incite his vassals, and his words constitute therefore an irrecusable testimony.

The safeguard of honor got to be above the duty of confessing one's sins and it was considered that those which could blemish honor could be kept silent in the tribunal of penance.

Malón de Chaide describes the confession of a soldier thus: «He bends one knee as an archer, crosses himself halfway, that you would not know if he makes a cross or a hook, and he beings to move about and cough up his sins which makes the walls of the cell shake, and if the confessor

condemns them, he comes out with a thousand vile expressions and says that a man does not have to live like a friar, and that it seems to him that everything is fine. At the end he comes out as dry as he entered and the unfortunate one very content as if God should take into account that he descends from the Goths.» In view of this text and of others, Sánchez Montes has doubted the Hispanic religiosity of the 16th century. If people approached their confessors thus after the Counter Reformation one might well wonder what happened before.

Not even after Trent did the lewdness and the impiety of clerics and religious cease, nor the impiety and lewdness of lay people, they are reflected in popular stories, announcements, some novels, cynical autobiographies and various books on morals. In the dazzling Spain of the 17th century, if they did not burn churches as in the 12th and 13th centuries, they frequently profaned them: they were theaters of courtship, disputes that ended up in stabbings took place there; in them they «threw the dead» in order to avoid penal responsibilities...; the Letters of Jesuits and the Warnings of Barrionuevo have preserved a record of such events. From both of these we know that priests were killed for having preached against some indecencies and that various titled aristocrats —Chinchón, Talavera, Fernandina, Villanueva del Río— attempted to stop the Good Friday procession. The list could be lengthened with similar events.

From the sacrilegious scoff of the canonical hours by the Archpriest of Hita it is initiated in the Peninsula the sacred parody of amorous poetry. The poets enjoyed writing: Love Masses (Suero de Ribera and Iuan de Valera); Hours of Love (Nicholas Núñez), Litanies of Love (Diego de Valera), Commands and Pleasures of Love (Rodríguez del Padrón), Sermons of Love (Castillejo) and other series of poems in which they paraphrase with amorous themes: «The lessons of Job» (Garci Sánchez de Badajoz), the *Paternoster* (Luis de Salazar), the *De profundis* (Mossen Gaçul)... even Jorge Manrique has left us a «Profession of Faith in the Order of Love». The sacrilegious parody is converted at the beginning of the 16th century into political satire, curtailed by the Inquisition during the reign of Philip II especially, and springs up after the death of the feared monarch, in the 17th century with Passions, Credos, Paternosters, and burlesque Te-Deums.

With a smile on their lips, some aristocrats were coining phrases which would have deserved inquisitional sanctions in Mussulman Spain. Let us recall the well known phrase of Don Álvaro de Luna affirming that if God had taken a mistress, he would have been His rival.

The common language was flooded, I do not know since when, but we might suspect that very early, with sacrilegious phrases, impious and not very edifying, which devout and pious people have repeated throughout the centuries and continue to repeat today. To exaggerate the idea of an unfrequented place they say it is «where Christ shouted three times». Of objects that have become almost petrified they state that they are

«harder than Our Lord's feet». Of something very secret or incomprehensible they say: «not even Christ knows that»: Pondering over the inadequacy of one thing with another they say that it fits «as three pistols to Christ». They put him «as a Christ» they say of someone who has been smeared or mistreated. The informal person is called «Long live the Virgin». When the beginning of a squabble is threatening one hears that they are preparing «the one of God is Christ». They say «address God in the familiar (tú) form» when someone is insolent. «There is no God nor Saint Mary» but what pleases one, is said at times. At times one could hear: «If God is not with me on this one, I shall never make it», referring possibly to the loss of a good opportunity. We still hear «to strip a saint to clothe another», to mean that something has been taken from someone to give it to another; «the saint has gone back to heaven» alluding to someone who has forgotten something; he wishes to «arrive and kiss the saint» to refer to someone who wishes to obtain fast profits; he is «an angel with large feet» referring to someone who is not innocent in spite of appearances; «he has made bread like hosts», referring to a serious deception...

The common language is also flooded by expressions more or less derogatory about God's providence: «God helps those who help themselves», «Have faith in the Virgin and do not run», «Not even God knows it».

The common people not only have blasphemed perhaps as no other Christian people in the world, but they have associated terms of direct religious significance, such as the superlative «very Holy» with words and expressions so vulgar that I do not dare to reproduce them here, but that all Spaniards know.

It is going to be very difficult for anyone to explain by the contagion of Christianity and of Hispanic Islam the sacrilegious amorous or political parodies and the sacrilegious, impious and non edifying popular phrases. One could never have arrived in Christian Spain to the practice of such poetic games and to the use of such vulgar expressions, if peninsular Christianity had saturated itself with the central ideas and the expressive formulas of the Hispano-Mussulman society which was living under the magic dome of Islam. What in the latter is similar to the literary and idiomatic customs of the Spaniards of yesterday and of today? Could anyone allege Arabo-Islamic antecedents or models for the parodies and the phrases mentioned? Were the Mussulmans ever permitted such scoff and such irreverence?

If the sacrilegious parodies of Castilian poets are related to the ultrapyrenean literary fashion of a period in which the building, until then very firm, of the religious faith and fervor had begun to totter, how not to relate the impious or unedifying phrases with the relation —strange relation— of the ardent faith of the people which extended even to the most hidden parts of the common language, of the traditional rudeness of

peninsular people and perhaps of an unconscious and nuclear vein of impiety? The same rudeness which led to the vulgar, rudeness which rose during centuries on the way of the exquisite expressions of lyricism and which later influenced in literary creations as the *Libro de buen amor,* the *Corbacho* and many other famous works of Castilian letters, would have caused that vulgar inclination of Spaniards to impious or irreverent expressions. In intermingling with the current of religiosity of the people which made the weathercock of idiomatic expressions revolve towards devout themes, but which was not sufficient to choke the harshness and the hairiness of Spanish life; in clashing against another current whose volume increased or decreased according to the times, but which always meant a decline of popular piety.

How to reconcile all these ruts in the religious fervor of the Spaniards with the 1,001 contrary proofs of firm faith, intense devotion, pious exaltation, the miracle monger hallucination, the theocentric cosmovision of the world, the centering of life in the relation of man with God, of the Spaniards? I do not know... Contrast between the country and the city? Regional differences? Rudeness and Pride? Singular temperamental projections? I repeat, I do not know. Today, in crossing the Sierra, that is the central chain of Spain, one notices a clear decline of religious devotion between the men between the Duero and the Tagus. Was it always so? Were there other similar drops? The proofs of the devout religiosity of the guilds are abundant. Did it rhyme with that of the workmen who compose them? Rural life in confronting very closely the peasant with the pastor, without the counterweight of a certain culture, frequently injures the pious fervor of the peasants. Did something similar occur before? The pride of the aristocrat and the harshness of the captain sometimes lead to impiety, even today. Did the same thing occur in the past?

Once again, problems which I cannot resolve, which should be investigated in the future and which must be studied slowly in order not to incur erroneous generalizations.

Chapter VII

LITERATURE AND LIFE BEFORE THE ARCHPRIEST

1. Limits of my confrontation with literature

Any attempt of interpretation of the past of a historical community cannot leave by the edge of the road the examination of literary phenomena. A difficult topic for all, extra difficult for me. Difficult for all, although most do not believe it, because literary phenomena offer so many different and contradictory facets, and so many opposite and complex incitations to the sharpest and most subtle interpretative searches that they are a labyrinthine forest in which the most serene critics are misled. Extra difficult for me, because I have felt charmed since my youth by political and social history and always used to step on more open and firm ground less propitious to sliding towards the hypersubjective. However, I have no choice. I am a prisoner of my ambitious determination and I have to look into the historical process of the relations between the life and the literature of my Spanish homeland.

I do not concede to literature the primordial value that someone attributes to it as the exponent of the history of a nation and as the decisive factor in the forming of its vital contexture. It has been said that people can be known by what their men have written. I have asked elsewhere: Can we not guess how they were by what they have done, how they lived and breathed in their daily existence, and by how they reacted in difficult situations in which they must have found themselves? I am firmly convinced of the continual connection between what is vital and cultural in the course of History and that faith assures me in the conviction that, reduced to its just limits, literature is a vigorous expression of each people and not a negligible force in the crystallization of the historical life of the same.

I do not believe in the *Volksgeist* of the Romantics. I do not believe in the continuation of any vital and spiritual trait of the historical

communities in function of their peculiar ethnic tradition or of the constant telluric influences. I hold for certain that with different rhythms, all nations have been creating and recreating their functional structure through the selection of new courses within the dynamics, never caducous, of their operative possibilities and impossibilities. But I do not consider less certain that, in each stage of the past of a people, the vital contexture of the same has projected itself in its literary creations and that these, in turn, have always influenced, later, in the formation of the temperamental heritage of the community. It is not, therefore, possible to pretend to discover the historical zigzags of the latter without examining how it has reflected itself in the literary creations of its sons and how these creations have contributed to the forming of the national lifestyle.

I have just determined the limits of my attempt. I do not pretend to study the Hispanic literary phenomenon from the point of view of the history of literature. I am not so foolish as to launch into such an adventure. If sometimes I slide on this path, it will be forced by necessity. Necessity? Yes, because the double projection of the functional structure of a people in the literary creations of their sons and of the creations upon the former has always taken place through the filter of real men. The reality of that intervention raises the urgent question of the reciprocal relations between what is individual and collective in the appearance of cultural phenomena. The examination of these relations at times forces to look into the very heart of literary creation.

The study of these relations demands much methodological discretion —I have pointed it out elsewhere— and presents many problems. It is necessary to be saturated with the complex of ideas which at a given moment, form the spiritual patrimony of a human community, finding itself inscribed within the existential frameworks of another. The mind, of universal projections, lets itself be seized, with not too much difficulty by the thoughts floating about in the atmosphere. The sensibility, emotions, impulses, passions with much more personal roots, do not become easily altered by the impact of what is external. It is that aspect of the ego which overflows into the world around, according to one's own vital contexture. Contemporary Spaniards, including the most Europeanized, ones are a good proof of such a difference, and it is not fitting to ignore the efficacy of the temperament, psychic tendencies, spiritual contexture, volitive dynamism of each man within the cultural and vital milieu in which he is born and lives. It is necessary to investigate and weigh what there was in the actions and the creations of each author as a reflection of his individual ego. We must avoid that man as such, with what distinguishes and characterizes him, should be shipwrecked between the waves of the spiritual world on which he sails, since the great literary figures are not moved by a mysterious power which makes them think, speak, move, act with ideas, feelings, gestures, words borrowed the collective being of a culture.

In summary, I believe in the decisive double action of the vital contexture of the writer and the vital contexture of the historical community to which he belongs. That belief, obviously, does not permit me to doubt that the horizontal projections of the wealth of ideas and of the repertoire of spiritual problems by which the author finds himself marked might have influenced, ineluctably, in the concretion of the cultural phenomena. But for my purpose of investigating the historical enigma of Spain, I am particularly interested in discovering the genetic relations which could have connected the temperamental heritage of Spaniards and their literary creations, because these relations seem at the same time sure and evident and because their study helps to know the vital and psychic past of peninsular people.

Without too much effort, some connections between different vital traits of the *homo hispanus* and some characteristics of Spanish letters can be proven.

How many times has the lack of humor and of gentle irony in Spanish letters until times close to ours been mentioned? How many times, the sullenness and the sarcasm of the writers of Castile? Yes, from the bourgeois outburst of laughter of the Archpriest of Hita to the irritated baroque grimace of Quevedo and to the harsh scourge of Unamuno, how few Castilian pens have know how to satirize with a mocking and understanding wink?

One has insisted again and again upon the flash or gust of romanticism which moves or stirs the foliage of Lope and other dramatists and Spanish poets in whom feeling and sensibility predominate over reflection and discourse and what is vital over what is rational. One has qualified of romanticism «avant la ligne» the gesture, very common in Hispanic writers or placing themselves in the middle of their works, and not knowing how to disentangle their passionate personal experiences from their literary objectivizing; this pouring of their explosive ego into their artistic creations which appears at every step in the literature and art of Spain.

It has been said that the Hispanic national characteristic is baroque by predestination. Obviously, it has not been by predestination, it has been by the joining of passion and the hyperindividualism which drove Spaniards to action. For that reason in many moments of the past of Spain, especially in those when the wave of our activism crested the most, harmony and proportion have been sacrificed to dynamism, antiesthetic and explosive tendencies triumphed and contrasts were exaggerated.

If passion and manhood, born of our life of battle against the Moors for many centuries, led to Hispanic hyperindividualism, all three, did they not lead, on one hand, to sarcastic irony in which as someone has said, satire goes to the depth, and on the other, to this double vague sensation of Romanticism and of Baroque —lack of logic, spontaneity, vitalism, antiintellectualism, creative freedom— which easily comes to the surface

of Hispanic literary productions, when they are free from foreign pressures?

That hyperindividualism, that passional exaltation of self-dominion by the Spaniard, combined with the taste for sarcastic irony and the double lasting tradition: the primacy of what is vital and emotional over what is rational and abstract, and of freedom and historical efficacy of the common man, did these not facilitate the prodigious jump which led to the modern novel? The writer looked and saw as possible the individualization of his account around a protagonist which was not the archetype of a quality, but a «man», and who was not an exceptional man, a «hero», but, any man: a poor boy as Lazarillo, a disturbed *hidalgo* and his simple squire, a rogue, the Searcher... How to explain otherwise this early individualization of the account and that early ascent of the common man of Castile to the first plane of the literary scene, an ascent and individualization which were followed by the early grasp, by Spanish brushes, of the ugly and common aspects of man?

Pedro Salinas, Ludwig Pfandl, Guillermo de Torre have considered the picaresque novel as a contradiction of the chivalrous ideals and impulses, as an anti-heroic reaction in the Spanish literary milieu. Ortega y Gasset and others have seen in resentment the genetic key of the rogue as archetype of novelistic fiction. That double interpretation rhymes without violence with Spanish life. The rogue and the picaresque novel are the natural outcome of the algebraic equation which united in Castile power, wealth and service —I will speak of it later— and, thus, take root in the Castilian social structure.

Could the rogue (*pícaro*), not a pure fictional being, have been born in a country different from ours? Where would a well-to-do bourgeoisie have prospered? Would there have been *pícaros* and picaresque novel in a bourgeois society or a society on the verge of becoming bourgeois?

The picaresque novel was born to literature because for some time in Spain there were, not some rogues —as they have existed everywhere and at all times—, but roguery as a common and frequent way of life. It was born when in the continuous pendular movement of literary creations, the unknown author of Lazarillo grasped the sharp contrast separating two types of life analogous and contradictory and two human types opposed but similar —both forced to get along in the world by means of audacity and ingenuity— and wrote the history of one of them. The picaresque novel perhaps played in Spain the same rôle that the authentic bourgeois literature with an antinobility stamp played in other countries. Among us the criticism of chivalry had to select the unique path offered by the dichotomy of Hispanic life: the exaltation of the other side of the heroic coin. It had to advance through it, not armed with the chisel of irony, but with the hammer of sarcasm.

In studying the *Raíces medievales del Quijote,* I pointed out then, the genetic connection, possibly surprising, between the Cervantes pair and the

singular Castile or rural *hidalgos* and free peasants, with souls populated by bellicose and heroic ghosts and hallucinated by the hope of fabulous and sudden progress: «Where —I wrote— if not in Spain, in the Spain born of the ancient Reconquest, could a great writer have presented a knight worker, of a generation between Renaissance and Baroque, undertaking mad chivalrous adventures barely curtailed by reason, without scandalizing the majority of his readers, and without clashing with the logical experiences of the men of his time? Where if not in Spain itself could a great writer have presented a clodbeater seduced by the chimerical offers of islands and kingdoms of a mad *hidalgo,* his neighbour, without causing tremendous amazement and without breaking the predominant logical trends?» I rejected the possibility that the knight and the peasant could have been born outside of Spain: «Can one imagine post-Renaissance Italy presided by Papal Rome as the homeland of Don Quijote and of Sancho, the Italy of princes, cardinals, artists, courtiers, condottieres, bankers, traders... industrious and working Italy, but devitalized and corrupt and for that reason, subjected to its own tyrants and to foreign masters; the Italy of clear and subtle minds, in love with pleasure, machiavelian, peaceful, freed from any near conquering of bellicose tradition?

«Can one imagine Don Quijote and Sancho born in the France of civility, reason and logic; in the France shaken by religious hatreds struggling to overcome them; in the France working and rich; in the France of the ironic smile and not of grotesque sarcasm; in the France half bourgeois and feudal, of peasants more disgusted than free?

«Can one imagine as the scene of the occurrences of Don Quijote and Sancho the urban and bourgeois Flanders, of easy life, gluttons and tipplers, happy and smiling, enjoying life, ostentatious, given to the arts of peace, industry, banking and trading, only fighting to defend their freedom and infiltrated by Calvinism, with all that such an infiltration supposed in reference to the exaltation of work as the norm of life?

«Can one imagine Don Quijote and Sancho crossing misty England with three centuries of industrial and trading history, governed by a new bourgeois nobility, recently enriched from the plunders of the Church; the England in not always bloodless religious battle between the ideological remnants of Catholicism and the new puritanical must in accelerated fermentation; the England in growing devout ascent to richness, industry and commerce; the England of sea adventurers and of workers for the nobility?»

One could multiply at will the example of the lasting bond between literature and life —in the end it is the fruit of the historicity of the writer— in the Hispanic present and past; the culmination of lyricism and the decadence of the theater in today's Spain could be explained in function of the vital contexture of the Spaniards of these days. We could easily find examples not less expressive of an analogous double connection between literature and life —what is vital as the source of what is literary

and literature reacting to what is vital— in the past and the present of other people of the West: from the *Chanson de Roland* to existentialism. But enough examples and let us take the bull by the horns. My gesture will not be less audacious than that of someone who would intend to set to work the common saying. I repeat what I have written at the beginning of this chapter: I have not had any choice.

The students of literature might be able to reap some fruit from my dangerous adventure. Most of them, and not only the foreign ones, but many national ones do not know, or know poorly the institutional singularities —social, economic and political— especially of Medieval Spain. They usually judge the Spanish literary phenomenon prescinding from these singularities: as if the Peninsula had been a mere equitable prolongation of Rome, that is to say of the West. Such an error has usually led them to hypertrophy the community of the ultra or cispyrenean and to project to the South of the Pyrenees spiritual processes which in Spain clashed with the peculiar organic constitution.

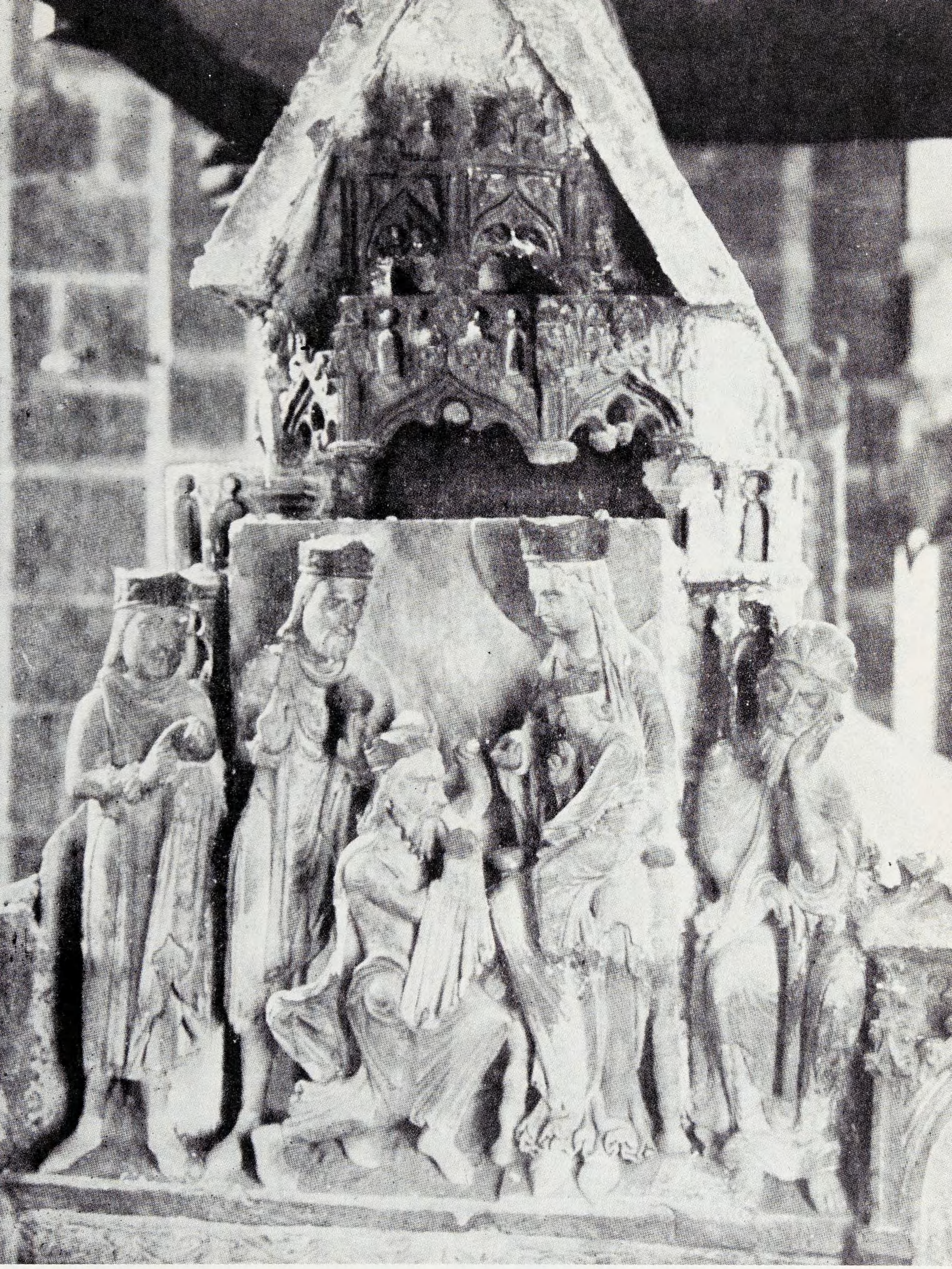
2. Chanson de geste and the war-like democracy of Castile

Others take care of the 1,001 problems which medieval epic poetry caused. They discuss about whether its Latin-Germanic roots —let us recall Saint Isidore's note— grew or not synchronically North and South of the Pyrenees. They speak about whether it lived in a latent state in its various homelands since the 9th century or if it flourished in the 11th century through the poetic creation of exceptional individualities. They dispute about its varieties, its genres, its history. I consider myself a layman before these questions and incapable of judging them. In facing them, I tend to follow the great master of Spanish medievalists, Menéndez Pidal; the *Glosas Emilianenses* studied by Dámaso Alonso, seem to confirm some of his theories. He has reaffirmed and verified them in his Roland. I only feel obligated to investigate how Hispanic life could have influenced the characterization of national epic poetry and vice versa.

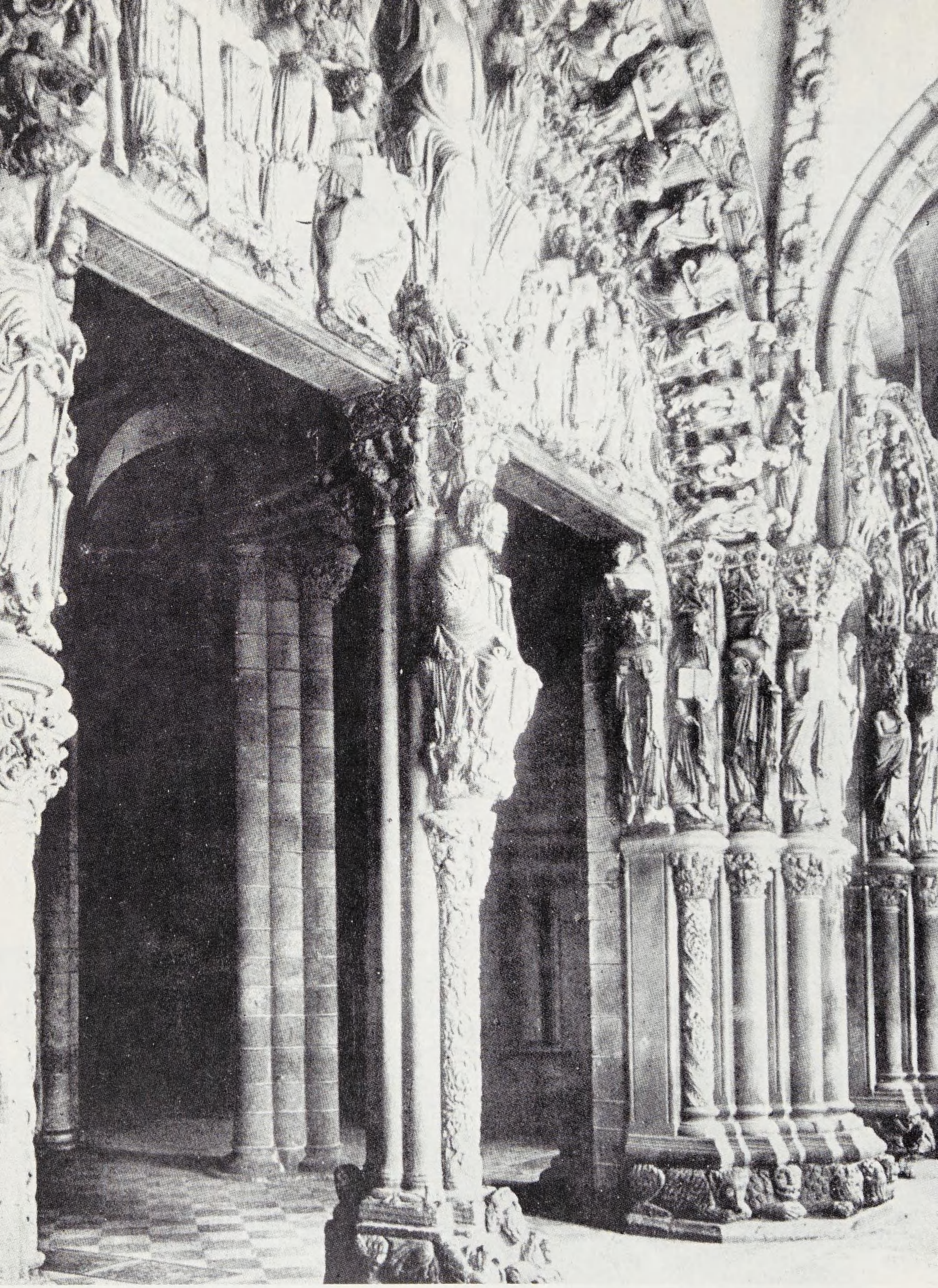
No one has attributed Arabic origins to Spanish epic poetry. Ribera suspected that epic poems were written in Mussulman Spain, not to imitate Oriental models but as a continuation of old Spanish traditions previous to Islam. His suspicion cannot be rejected *ab irato*, because under the dominion of the Islamic conquerors the sons and grandsons of the various millions of men who lived in the Peninsula in 711 continued to live, and they could have and must have kept alive the traditional poetic customs of their ancestors. If, as Menéndez Pidal believes, Hispano-Christian epic poetry lived for centuries in a latent state, it could not be surprising that in Mussulman Spain also, epic poetic narrations should have occurred, similar to those that occurred in Roman Spain. The Spaniards of Al-Ándalus could not dilapidate their spiritual and vital heritage in the course

55.—Realistic *scene of martyrdom of Saints Vincent, Sabina and Cristeta,* work of a great master (Frechel?) of the 12th century. It recalls the realistic martyrial accounts of the Hispano-Roman poet Prudentius. Was the sculptor of Saint Vincent born in Spain? Was he won over by the rough and dramatic realism of the Spaniards? Because of being Hispanic or Hispanicized, did he work with extreme naturalness, great vitality and ahead of his times as a wood carver. *Relief from their sepulcher (Ávila).*

56.—*The kiss on the hand,* entrance rite in vassalage, peculiar of the knights in Spain —with the only exception of Feudalized Catalonia. The rite of the rupture of the vassal bond that among us did not even become for life. And the courteous rite of greeting and saying goodbye to kings and knights. *From the sepulcher of Saints Vincent, Sabina and Christeta.* A work of a master —Frechel— late 12th century. *Basilica of Sain Vincent. Ávila.*



57.—«*The adoration of the wisemen*» presiding the tomb of Saint Vincent and his sisters (12th century). The work is considered to be by the same master of the Western façade of the temple and of the reliefs of the Sepulcher. In one of them he portrayed himself realizing his work. Born in Spain, was he won over by Hispanic centaurism? Was he influenced by it, if he was not a Spaniard? Did pride conquer him? He could have been proud because of the magnitude of his work. The master Mateo was an apprentice of Frechel. *Relief of sepulcher of Saint Vincent (Ávila).*



58.—Faith moves mountains. The Spaniards and the Westerners believed that in the far Northwest of Spain were lying the remains of an apostle of Christ and the great miracle of pilgrimages occurred. Among the marvelous human fruits that they bequeathed us figures that «*Portico de la Gloria*». *Worked by the master Mateo for the Cathedral of Compostela*, late 12th century, it constitute the masterwork of Romanesque Spanish sculpture.

of a few generations. Changes of religion or government occur more or less rapidly, but changes of temperamental structure or lifestyle occur very slowly. The fact that those epic poems of the Spaniards of pre-Moslem ancestry —those who had apostasized or those who had lived faithful to the faith of their elders— should have served as models and seeds to the epopee in Romance language beyond the Pyrenees, as Ribera wanted, is a question apart in which the great Arabist could have erred.

It has been supposed later that the Castilian *Cantares de gesta* (old legendary romances) received the impact of what is Arabic. The author of such a strange theory has come to consider the *Poema del Cid* as a work very close to the Islamic *hadit*. Although he has been moderate in his second voyage over the ocean of the Spanish epic poetry, he still continues to insist on most of his previous hypotheses.

He did not connect, nor does he connect the origins of the old Castilian romances to the Islamic spiritual world. He is careful to point out their evident link with what is Western and he frequently insists on the clear contrast between Islamic and epic. «In Arabic literature —he says— the characters are dissolved in the related event, they are poured into the metaphorical expression or moral wisdom and they never stand out 'sculpturally' in reference to other characters or to the world about them. Neither persons nor things have a free existence. To feel the presence of a character presupposes to feel him as present and not as a flow through time, unseizable of sliding in arabesque from one happening to another».

As great differences separate the Castilian romances from the French poems, such differences have sufficed to turn to Arabic literature and ask what Castilian epic poetry could owe it. Here is the answer: «In a general way we would say that it owes what in some way fits the literary forms and styles of Western Europe».

That answer is symptomatic. He has not thought for a moment that the differences between the Spanish and the French epopee could proceed from the singularities of the Castilian society as opposed to that beyond the Pyrenees. In these singularities I find the key of the enigmatic diversity reported by all, and that is a topic on which I can judge and must judge.

After what I have said about the Hispano-Oriental graft from which is born what is Islamico-Spanish and about the limits of the subsequent process of contact of Hispano-Christian and Hispano-Moslem and after my proofs about what is centauric, realism and peninsular vulgarity did not originate in Al-Ándalus, I could, a priori, deny the validity of the thesis about the Arabic impact on Spanish epic poetry. When the first Castilian legendary romances were composed there had not passed 400 years since the Oriental-Occidental symbiosis had been initiated in Castilian lands. Yes, there were centuries that had begun the very slow and very limited Arabization, or better, the Islamization of Mussulman Spain. Until the second half of the 11th century, the contact between that Spain

vitally anchored in the past and culturally hybrid and Northern Christian Spain united to the West by blood and spirit, had been very superficial. Hispanic Christianity could only have communicated, in the end, with a people in whom what is vitally Hispanic triumphed and in whom the cultural elements of Arabic origin were very filtered through Hispanic pre-Moslem.

For that reason it would be permissible and even necessary to doubt that not only the earliest Castilian romances: *Los siete Infantes de Lara,* the *Romanz del Infante Don García...* —my apologies to the master Menéndez Pidal if I do not believe in the romances of León: Covadonga, the death of Alfonso III...— but also the *Cantar de Mío Cid,* only half a century after the conquest of Toledo, event which accentuates the close relation between Mussulmans and Christians, would have been written by jongleurs of Arabized minds.

No one has demonstrated the weight of Islamism in the old romances. The faith of the Cid in omens and his gifts as augur are connected with the peculiar weaknesses that the *Historia Augusta* recognizes to the Spaniards and particularly the Basque people. The «tidings» of the Cid, because of their double meaning of «event» and account of the same, cannot be related to formulas of Arabic expression. Spitzer has proven that there is nothing Arabic in that double-faced word derived from a universal etymological model. It is strange to maintain the Arabization of the romance because the minstrel calls the Cid, «Campeador contado», that is to say, famous; in the poem Martín Antolínez is called «the uncommon person of Burgos» and it cannot be deduced from such a harmless phrase that the Cid is at the same time himself and the novel. It is simply absurd to relate the change of soul of the Cid from sadness to hope at the beginning of his exile, by an act of the will, nothing less than with the renunciation of the Andalusian Sufi to enjoyment of his beloved in fulfillment of the divine precept that condemns lust. The coarse apostrophes and some daring jokes of the romance are not the outcome of the adoption by the minstrel of Arabic mental customs leading to the intermingled grasp of what is poetic and vulgar: ·there is no such intermingling in the poem and it has been proven that what is vulgar is of purely Hispanic origin. The realistic scenes of the romance cannot be proof of the Arabization of the Spanish romances, should it be the opposite, we would have to admit nothing less than the derivation of the historicity of the Castilian epic poetry from the adoption by Spanish Christians of the singular forms of thought and creation of the Oriental Islamites, and besides Spanish realism is not of Arabic origin. The connection of what is poetic and vulgar in the Cid cannot be explained by the impossible parallel of the romance with the «collection of various lessons» that are the *Praderas de oro* of Al Ma'nde.

The differences which separate the ingenuous defensive attitude with which the Arabs of the Orient attempt to guarantee the authenticity of

legendary or unlikely events from the existential connection which frequently is established between the Spaniards lives and the products of their minds, have been demonstrated before. The traces of Centaurism that can be found in the *Cantar de mío Cid* cannot therefore be connected with the psychic architecture of the Islamites. Granting the Hispanic origin of centaurism, it would be necessary to relate them to the vital overflows of peninsular people.

Even though centaurism should derive from Hispano-Arabic psychic processes, which is not the case, the historicity and realism of Castilian epic poetry could never be connected with the mental architecture of the Oriental Islamites. Two different aspects of the *Cantar de mío Cid* cannot be blended by magic: the verism of the scenes in which the hero and other characters of the poem carry out acts of the common life of anyone and the historical authenticity of the actors and of the poetic web which unites them and even of the many events related in the poem. That realism and that historicity can be rooted in the same temperamental heritage of the people creator of the epopee or in the very social and political subsoil from which it sprang, but although closely related among themselves, it is possible and necessary to distinguish them as different characteristics of Castilian epic poetry. The latter could sing of remote or fantastic men or events and do so mixing poetry and vulgarity, or resort to what is marvelous in dealing with immediate and authentic characters or happenings. How to relate that double aspect of the old romance of Castile with the centauric style defined as the intricacy of the expression of observations or thoughts with the surge of the intimate experience of the author and as «the existential disposition of those who connect their lives with the products of their minds»? How could the vital overflow of the impetuous emotive and passional ego of the Spaniards influence their literary, philosophical or scientific works —centaurism consists of that— in the forming of verism and historicity in peninsular epic poetry?

Menéndez Pidal has always connected the historicity of the Hispanic epopee with a temperamental inclination of peninsular people to sing contemporary events in a veridical way and he has just repeated and rejuvenated his arguments in favor of his thesis by responding to Leo Spitzer. The appearance of these same characteristics in Lucan's *Farsalia,* seven centuries before the Arab invasion, forces, according to him, to suppose such an inclination to verism and to the epic poetization of close events and characters, connected with some old dispositions of the Hispanic people. The great master of Spanish medieval history, who has just reported the projection until the modern centuries of that verist and authentic tendency of the peninsular epic poetry, explains it through the realistic temperament of Spaniards.

Such an explanation implies a dramatic why; it implies the previous investigation of the origin and survival of Spanish realism, because no

form of historical life is born through spontaneous generation nor does it continue in time simply by continuing. I have attempted to answer these questions before. Spanish realism derives from the affirmation of an ancestral ingenuous attitude of the *homo hispanus* before the world around, as the outcome of many centuries of active life, in the fierce struggle against Islam. Through centuries of active life during which there was no time to dream, during which it was not feasible to display the potential of fantasy in the midst of a nature and a people that did not lend themselves to be grasped without demanding great interpretative efforts.

A historical community thus confronting life in a double play: of contemplation and serene grasping of the same, without imaginative overflows —realism— and of projection in it of the exalted Hispanic integral ego —centaurism— had to reflect its personality, naturally, in its epopee. It had to seek its topics in nearby events and in deeds of its contemporaries, because they were the most propitious to receive the impact of the human impetus and of the vital abundance of the singer and his public. If that vital abundance and that human impetus are poured today in the philosophical and scientific works of modern Spaniards, there is nothing more natural than to find the poets and the people of old Castile, preferring subconciously, themes which by their contemporaneity permit the easy overflow of their whole and impulsive temperaments. Later, granting the lack of development of the imaginative potential of the Castilian people through their troubled lives, which did not leave them time nor taste for dreams, nothing more logical that the realistic development of the poetic plot and even the intercrossing between what is poetic and vulgar.

In this intercrossing and in the verism and authenticity of the Castilian epic poetry, another factor decisively influenced. This vision of the *Chanson de Roland* seems fair to me: «The French romance was a sacred and solemn spectacle, more than an account.» «The *Chanson* was felt and written in order to amaze, with the intention to cause and maintain the interest of the listeners.» «The *Chanson* is an interweaving of theological and chivalrous ideals and interests, of economic calculations and cruel and fierce passions. It was conceived from the top down... with a view to amazing the multitude of the devotees.» «There are no plebeian characters in the *Chanson* because the intention was to give something to admire to the people and not a matter in which to intervene.» «They speak to the people from a plane which is not theirs and of things infinitely far from their poor daily life.» «The French *Chanson* was projected over the hearers from the summits of the monarchial institution and through monastic interests, very much above the elementary plane of life». Castro's thought is right and is expressed with clarity and beauty.

This vision of the *Cantar de mío Cid* is no less accurate: «The

Castilian romances never exalted the king as the central character... Much to the contrary the great heroes of the Castilian epic had to oppose kings or they were the victims of his unjust treatment.» «The literary theme is not here (in the poem) above the poet and his listeners.» The romance «offers us shared marvels». The central character of the same «takes off his mythical halo». «The people (hearing the romance) want their hero as close as possible, uninterested in contemplation for the sake of contemplation.» «The familiar proximity, the ingenuous nakedness of what is expressed would not fit (for that reason) in verses artificially scanned, which in themselves already imply an entering into an obsolete, inaccessible and solemn reality.»

About the *Poema de Fernán González,* weakening an old Castilian romance, has been written: «Through the erudite mesh of the poem can be seen the jongleurs' tone of the original in which Fernán González appeared embodying the consensus of his people». «In Spain the highest forms of life kept in touch with the collective source from which they sprang». «The very fact that the history of Spain which is accessible to us in the Middle Ages... had implicit in it a predominance of the popular manners...». «The hero, the superior man can only be so (in Castile) in as much as the neighbour's son feels included or participates in his superiority». Castilians did not accept «the norm embodied in principles or persons considered superior», if the superior principle was not ruled by them.

It has been written: «The history of France in everything decisive followed a direction from the top down», and it has not been understood that the opposite occurred in Castile. If in France «the literary incentives came from the court in Paris or the feudal courts or from the great monasteries, or... even from the universities and the schools», in Castile they came from the people. Between the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Cantar de Mío Cid* there is the same difference as between lordly and feudalized France and democratic Castile, island of free men in the Christian West, island of free men in which the two lay and clerical aristocracies had not prospered. The *Chanson* is the poem of a nation whose popular masses did not count in the political balance of the kingdom, tied to the ground for centuries, they were not fighting nor did they know how, they were simply inert foundations of a great noble structure, of a structure raised by the power of the great lords, noble or ecclesiastical, and articulated under the monarchical dome. The *Cantar de Mío Cid* and the other Castilian romances were born in a nation where the people were an essential factor in the social and political dynamics.

In commenting upon the *Cantar de Mío Cid,* one has forgotten to single out one aspect that cannot find an explanation in the theories about realism and centaurism which are wrongly supposed to be of Arabic origin and wrongly taken to be the key to Castilian epic poetry. I am referring to the constant care of the jongleur of Medinaceli, from the beginning of

the *Poem*, for material goods, wealth, progress. The first episode in whose description he delights is the deceit by Rodrigo of the Jews of Burgos to obtain the means with which to initiate the difficult days of the exile. Then, the poet who sings of the deeds of «he who was born in a lucky hour», in reporting each of the deeds of his hero always mentions the amount of booty obtained. Not once does he fail to report the number of horses or the silver marks which the victorious combat, the astute manoeuvre, the siege crowned with success or the great battle won from the enemy brought to «he who girded his sword in a lucky hour» and to his people. He always informs us of the plunders of the Cid's army: «We are in their lands —and do all kinds of evil, we drink their wine— and we eat their bread», he had the Cid say. He is alluding quite naturally to looting by the Cid and his men —he even used the word theft— of the place won or of the camp of the defeated army. The eyes of the jongleur light up the same way before the heroic thrust of the lance or the magnificent lunge given by the Cid or one of his, or before the riches which pile up after victory. His pen shows similar delight upon discovering the fury of the clash of the gentlemen during the battle and the euphoria of the winning warriors after having divided the spoils obtained. When he relates the profit of one of the two famous swords of Rodrigo, in the act he calculates its value —«there he won Colada— which is worth more than one thousand marks». He makes his hero say upon promising freedom to Count Ramón of Barcelona: «But what you have lost —and I won in the field/youknow that of it— I will not give you bad money». Of Don Jerome, designated bishop by Rodrigo, he writes: «they gave him Valencia— where he can be rich». He exalts the growing riches of the Cid: «Great are the profits —that my Cid has earned». After reporting the great conquest of the Cid, he makes Rodrigo say: «Now we have riches, but we will have more later». The poet never changes his visual field. One could think that he places the desire for progress as one of the essential movers of the plot of the *Poem*. He places it as the mirror which attracts new warriors to the army of the Cid, seduced by the cries of Rodrigo's messengers: Whoever wants to stop working and become rich, join the Cid who plans to ride. He presents the greed for the Cid's treasures in the infantes de Carrión —«with these goods we will always be rich men», they exclaim— as the determining force of the dramatic crisis of his work.

There is in it naturally much more than the reflection of the ambition for improvement and the delight in obtaining it. However, the constancy with which the poet of Medinaceli sounds the clink of gold or silver and presents everyone coveting wealth and «smiling» with satisfaction when he obtains or received it, can help us guess the aim at which the arrows of the poet are directed: by his own personal inclination and that of the public with whom he dialogues. That *leit motiv* which appears throughout in the singing of the poet goes beyond the supposed realistic

and centauric potential —supposedly of Islamic origin— with which Castro treats it. It confirms the popular character of the Castilian epic, its condition as poetry for the people and its being rooted in the island of the free men of feudal Europe, which Castile was, as I have said and repeated many times.

In another part of this book I am going to break the mysterious veil that covers primitive Castilian history and the sudden process of its historical ascent. Castile was born of the union in horizontal projection of Cantabrians, Basques and Goths, the people less intoxicated with Romanism in the whole Peninsula. It became solidified as a historical community within one century of peculiar life: one hundred years of uninterrupted war against the Moors, remoteness and abandon from the central government, absence of great lords and serfs, weakness of the clerical powers, free action of the counts, adhesion to them of the inhabitants of the lands and consciousness in all of their collective strength. During that century and during the century of the affirmation of its political autonomy the singular personality of the Castilian people was formed.

I have explained to myself the ascensional movement of Castile in the historical scene as the result of the joining of two realities. Because of its condition as a people of free men, freed from the mediating power of the great lay grandees and of great ecclesiastical lords; of free men, all masters of their own lives, joined in fluid classes —*infanzones*, knights, citizens, independent townsmen and landowners— always open to horizons of fortunate economic and social improvement, in the free play of history; of men masters of their own destinies, and capable of breaking the barrier of their native condition through audacity, courage and the tragic flirt with death, in the battle against the Moors and in the repopulation of borders never safe.

Castile had embodied, moreover, since its formation as a historical unity, the rupture with the strange aberration which the happy acceptance of the Hispano-Gothic heritage imposed on the kingdom of León. The neo-Gothic aspect of León made future of the past, longing for the restoration of a lost yesterday. Castile overcame the devotion of León for a longed for past and broke with the traditional Hispanic look to ideal extrapeninsular goals. It passionately subscribed to a temporal now from which it imagined an attractive tomorrow and centered on its own land the meridian of its desires and illusions. Born looking at the present and the future, it dreamed with enlarging its frontiers towards the South, not to recover the Gothic kingdom, but to affirm its communal personality which it was necessary to form by stronger impetus.

That psychic and constitutional structure of Castile whose genesis and reality I will attempt to demonstrate later, determined the appearance of the Castilian epic poetry and its pecularities. The comparison between the vital contexture of Castile and those of León and Galicia —I will attempt them in due time— explains that it Castile and only Castile was

in the Peninsula the homeland of the authentic old romances. Not because Galicia and León had become historically articulated around «theobiotic» and theocratic concepts as has been pretended, but because the millenary defensive life of the Galicians and the connection of the neo-Gothic attitude in León to a nostalgic past and the survival of Roman noble traditions in Galicia and the overflow in León of the devitalizing Mozarabic tide, in addition to various other differentiating factors of those two regions and of the epic land of Castile —factors that I have reported before and that I will examine later— created in them a human climate little propitious for the birth of the epopee. As I will point out later, towards the same time were written: in Galicia the history of a great man, Gelmírez; in León the Chronicle of the king-emperor, Alfonso VII and in Castile, the *Cantar de mio Cid.*

When Portugal broke off from Galicia-León, it was late for the maturation there of epic poetry, which as Menéndez Pidal has demonstrated, requires a slow historical gestation. Basque Navarre, without a vigorous connection with the Latin-Germanic poetic tradition, more than a century mediated by the muladis of the valley of the Ebro and humiliated later before Almanzor —two princesses from Navarre married in Cordova— did not possess sufficient epic disposition. Catalonia, because of its apendicular situation in the Carolingian Empire and its lack of national consciousness at the beginning stage of the epopee —that of Castile was very intensive at that time—, could not offer a human atmosphere favorable to the appearance of old romances.

In the psychic and constitutional contexture of Castile we can also find the key to the difference between its epic poetry and that of beyond the Pyrenees. No abyss separated the common masses from the minority of rural noblemen or ancient noblemen who lived between them and like them —the Cid was going to look after his mills of Ubierna. In Castile it was possible to ascend from the peasantry to nobility through war, through entering the ranks of the light cavalry or a vassal armed retinue. Most of the Castilian peasants could, as the *infanzons*, freely elect a lord, if they wish to have one and the remainder could become landowners by going to populate the border zone. The Castilians, arrogant, dynamic and fighting could not accept the passive and tangential role of amazed and fearful spectator of public life, but instead he fought as the noblemen and along with them, made and unmade his men, with his ardent liking, his help or his anger. The Castilian masses in raising or lowering their men and in contributing to determine the regulatory norm of their lives granted to them and to it, their enthusiastic support, without personal distinctions nor inhibitions. All, from the *infanzon* to the peasant, were accustomed to dreaming of acquiring riches at sword's point, and they were ready to ascend in the social hierarchy by means of audacity and courage.

The hard warriors' life of Castile to whose generation had contributed the masses of Goths from the Duero, emigrated to Cantabria at the time

of the Moslem invasion, had facilitated the resurrection of Germanic epic poetry. The romances being written for a singular human community in the Europe of the time, composed by free working masses, in no way passive, among which a minority of small peasant *hidalgos* barely stood out, the popular note had to triumph in them. They had been composed for the enjoyment of a people who ruled their lives and elected their chiefs and not to amaze them but to gather the fluctuations of their opinion which exalted or depressed, loved or hated with the passion, ingenuity and the oscillations of any democracy.

The Castilian romances had much political substance. That of the Cid is filled with rancor against the high aristocracy and ardent admiration for the *infanzons* and knights, sons of their works, more than of their lineages and of their wealth; it does not succeed in concealing a clear hostility towards the king and discloses a strong enmity towards the Jews, very explicable by the growing economic pressure that they exercised over the *demos* with the protection of the princes.

The people did not attend the singing of the poems with overpious and cold poetic devotion but with passionate human enthusiasm. The singer participated in the popular fervors and knew very well that he was writing for a worried national community shaken by passions, devotions or rages and which felt master of its destiny. For that reason the jongleur prescinded in his account from the marvelous, since apart from the ancestral realistic attitude of the Castilian people before the world about, the presence of the magical in a dithyramb filled with rich echoes of the present, would have made him lose credit among the people who knew their men well and who knew about the physical limits of heroism since they, themselves, had fought more than once against the Mussulman enemies. Therefore, from time to time he descended way down and attempted the blending of what is poetic with what is vulgar, in order to give verism to the account that a crowd of *infanzons*, knights, bourgeois and workers little prone to let their fantasies take off, were listening, and to satisfy the general desire for equality of the bold and suspicious Castilian masses, little prone to recognize the human superiority of anyone and accustomed to the simplicity of the lives of those whom they took as their chiefs.

Therefore, he intented to provoke frank loud laughter which is necessary to get from the people in order to satisfy their infantilism —we know of the taste for comic scenes among the people from León and Castile at the time of the Cid from various passages of the *Crónica* of Alfonso VII— and to get their attention. He was looking for the general assent with the cutting dart directed against the human group which enjoyed the animosity, rancor or scorn of the people.

The appearance in the Castilian epopee, not of the vulgar, but of the real, and not of the lewd, but of the comical, is connected with the double constitution of the Castilian masses for whom the old romances were writ-

ten. Common masses have not usually felt what is heroic and when they have literarily faced heroes, they have belittled or they have made fun of them. The societies in which what is popular has triumphed in its double vital and psychic projection, with the poetic manipulation of heroism —understanding that term without the clipping limitation of epic-warlike— have either stifled it in what is comical or they have intoxicated it with realism. The triumphant *demos* has usually imposed itself upon the authors who have written for it. The writer pours into his work his thought and his sensibility into a monologue, more or less vigorous, depending upon the exaltation of his personal temperament. But rarely does he cease to seek, sometimes with anguish, to dialogue with his public. Dialogue is the basis of all literary and artistic creation, perhaps we should say of all creation. One might suspect that God gave up his mysterious monologue from eternity and perhaps created the cosmos and especially man —in his image and likeness— to be able, in the end, to dialogue with someone.

In any society articulated on the basis of a popular community, little hierarchized and dominated by the *demos*, what is heroic can with difficulty take root, blossom, flourish and mature, and with difficulty, therefore, can the epopees take root. If it fructified in Castile, it was because Castilian democracy, through the accidents of its whole bellicose destiny, exceptionally felt the heroic dimension of life. Such a feeling should not surprise us. The war course of its history, from its very Cantabrian craddle had to reverberate in the depth of its psychic movements and to create an impulse of ascension which impelled it to live in tremendous epic tension and with a superior dignity, not common among people of low birth in other countries and in other historical climates.

However these masses did not cease to be just that, masses. They could not remove their psychic chains, the shackles of realism and of what is comic. The first ones, very strong as they are reinforced by the joining of the natural tendency of the people towards the realistic grasping of the world and of life with the traditional and enduring realism of the Castilian people. What is heroic and real could have been opposed in other historical communities, in Castile far from being opposed, there was an intimate correlation between heroism and reality —between epic heroism and reality prolonged to the jest— and from that correlation came the singularities of the old romances. The fictional fragrance came up, a mixture of narration and descriptions, the frequent sliding of the author from the epic-heroic torrent to the rustic rill of what is real and even burlesque; and the waves of the poetic line of the epopee came upon crossing the radioactive zone of the daily life of the hero and of his companions. What is popular for being Castilian could not bring the hero down to the point of destroying him in the swamp of vulgarity, because the tendency towards reality and what is comic of the masses and the taste of all the people of Castile for what is heroic and warlike neutralized each other. But, it did force the poet to sing of men and events whose

heroic echoes resounded even in the ears of the people and to sing them with a relative fidelity to historical truth, still alive in the memory of the people who were going to hear his accounts, and to frame them within an atmosphere of small realistic details.

Because Castile was a democracy, it bypassed the learned and minority language of the clerics, created a new romance without respecting the norms of the political center of the kingdom —respect which made the scribes from León hesitate— and used it soon for all the manifestations of its life. Because it was a democracy it scorned the chronicles of the courtly clergy written in Latin and centered around the monarch, and when after having made history with the sword it thought about recording it in writing, it composed annals, schematic, but which gathered the little daily events, and came to the romances which in its common tongue transmitted news of the events which could most interest the future. Because in them the jongleurs exalted the deeds of their heroic chiefs, archetypes of the community —Fernán González, the Cid, stigmatized the ignoble figures of the collaborationists with the Mussulman enemy— to this tended the poem of the infantes de Lara, gave examples of the treasons which had temporarily disintegrated the Castilian liberty —the assassination of the Infante Don García in León, its last count, and that of its king, Don Sancho in Zamora, or it made concrete the youthful hostility of its compatriots against the foreigners— they attributed to the treacherous countess the defeats of the counts by Almanzor and invented the myth of Bernardo del Carpio to reject the supposed triumphs of Charlemagne in Spain, sung by the French people.

However, if Castile, because of its being a democracy, soon elevated the common tongue to an instrument of culture and enjoyed its luck of exemplifying national history through the old romance, in the eternal interplay of reciprocal influences between literature and life, those two same creations of the Castilian people were reflected later, in the formation of the lifestyle of the community. The early adoption of the vernacular as the literary language in a historical group lacking powerful noble and clerical forces, contributed to the equalizing spiritual levelling of the nation. In exalting heroes, execrating traitors, remembering the hours of failed hopes and reacting against foreign pride, the minstrels who had sung for the enjoyment of a singular people in Europe and in function of the psychic and constitutional structure of the same, with their romances filled with national substance collaborated in affirming the historical personality of Castile and the Castilians.

3. Roughness opposite lyricism

The origin of Castilian lyric poetry is a fascinating theme. It has been examined as a mere literary problem without any connection with the life of the people of Castile. My belief in the continual connection of what is

vital and cultural reiterated in these pages, has made me tend to trace to the Castilian functional structure the key of the genetic problem of our late lyricism.

It has been said that in the Castile of the 12th century: «The atmosphere was so filled with Islamic presence that any attempt at intimate expression would have easily gravitated towards the Mussulman side, not towards Christian Europe», and it has been added that Castile was penetrated in its subconscious of Islamico-Judaic substance. Until then Spanish Christianity had never been able to free itself from the influence of the fashions, the artistic forms, and the forms of expression of Al-Ándalus. Neighboring countries have always influenced one another reciprocally. The eternal cultural and vital current which continuously passes the most closed borders has, naturally, differed according to the different political potential of the countries in contact —not only language follows the empire. If one alluded only to this normal and inevitable filtration of wordliness, I would have nothing to object to the abundance of Islamic presence in Castile during the time of the beginning of the battle of Zalaca (1086). But such is not the case. There is more than a reference to cloths, suits, works of art, customs and expressions in the reference.

When a historical community is penetrated by foreign, spiritual and vital essences, however buried they may be in the depth of its most closed intimacy, the circulatory current which directs its life, ends up by dragging them, impelling them to the organic superstructure and pouring them in the end into the vital style of the human group whose psyche has been penetrated by them. The supposed subconscious impregnation of Castile by Islamico-Jewish essences would have had to leave some traces in at least some of the facets of Castilian life.

Nevertheless, in the 12th century, Castile seems strongly anchored in the West. The Church is filled with clerics from beyond the Pyrenees. Everywhere, numerous and dynamic colonies of «Franks» or ultramontanes settle. In art, the Romanesque trend triumphs in its triple architectural projection, sculptural, pictorial or in miniature. The models and forms of neighboring France make a way in literature. In the literary language, the Gallic clergy makes its decisive influence felt and the popular or romance language is filled with gallicisms. The Carolingian letter and the Roman liturgy are accepted. The clerical organization is unified with the general one in the West. The institutions of belonging to another and vassalage are sliding towards the ultrapyrenean feudalism and in the seigneurial regime are infiltrated practices from beyond the Pyrenees. From beyond the seaport scome the seeds of the future bourgeoisie. Right, economy, fashions suffer the impact of the West... In a people thus imbued with the West, could the sensibility and thought remain foreign to that total inundation of the literary, artistic, linguistic, juridical, ecclesiastical and institutional life by what is European? Is that firm Europeanization of Castile compatible with its impregnation by Islamic essences? In the closed

circuit of Castilian life, the circulatory torrent would have thrown off the literary, artistic, juridical, institutional superstructure... of Castile some clear proofs of the supposed abundance of the Castilian spiritual milieu by supposed Islamic presence. Some clear proofs, naturally, because the malodorous belches of Asur Fernández in the poetic courts of Toledo, the simplicity of life of the greatest Castilian hero, the Cid, or the semi-vulgar style in which Alfonso X wrote the *Cantigas* cannot be considered as such.

I insist that it is gratuitous to affirm that «any attempt of intimate expression would have fatally gravitated towards the Mussulman side and not towards Christian Europe». And it is gratuitous to pretend that mysticism and lyricism would have followed Islamic models: because in the 14th century, after 250 years of *Mudejarism* in New Castile, the Archpriest of Hita will avail himself perhaps of some Hispano-Arabic traditions —one has not succeeded in disconecting it from the Western tradition, because at the end of the 15th century the Xadili Moors of the Valley of the Tagus influenced in the psychic architecture of the illuminati— to that are reduced the contacts between the two sects; and because in the 16th century some mystics from Ávila gathered some forms of expression from Mussulman mystic —no one has demonstrated, nor will be able to, that Saint Teresa and Saint John of the Cross felt or thought according to the currents of Islamic thought and sensibility.

The Castile of the 12th century did not have to exert itself very much to defend itself from erotic poetry nor from Sufi mysticism. There was no vital contradiction between «the energetic, moderate and chaste soul» of Castile and the lyricism and mystical ecstasy of Al-Ándalus. Because Castile was as it was, the impregnation of the Castilian spirit by Islamic lyricism and mysticism was impossible. Because the Castile of the 12th century was as it was, no other facet of Castilian life was really saturated at that time by the essences and presences of a people with whom Castilians had lived in fierce struggle during the 12th and 13th centuries.

The delay in the appearance of lyrical and mystical projections in Castile is not the result of a conscious defensive movement against the possible contagion of the sensuality and the Islamic heterodox mystical leaps, which could lead to the weakening of the Castilian war potential. It was the natural consequence of the emotional climate in which Castile was living for centuries, about which some expressive details have come to us in reference to the historical period marked by the captures of Toledo and Seville.

I have already said, and will have to repeat more than once, that from the dawn of its history, Castile —or better the people of the newly colonized lands from the Duero to the North, and after the Duero to the South, had to pour not a surplus of activity, but their whole activity into bloody bellicose channels. I have already hinted at, and will do so again, that epic history of Castile. For more than five centuries, people of Castile

and León centered their lives around the permanent battle against the Moors. They never enjoyed ten consecutive years of peace and they almost never managed to enjoy minimal repose. I challenge anyone who wishes to contradict me to outline an accurate chronology of the military history of Castile. Five centuries of continuous fighting, and frequently of anguishing fighting, is more than sufficient for a people, whose primitive bellicose fervors are known to us, to affirm a vital contexture with a heroic mark, directing even the most secret corners of his thought, sensibility, emotions and instincts.

The war against the Moors was not a ballet step nor a mere lordly adventure; it was a national task and a cruel and fierce undertaking. The people participated in it actively and it usually implied the intensive razing of the country, and the death or capture of thousands of people. It has been said that the *concejos* considered as a valuable privilege going to war only once a year and that, if the king did not war on the battlefield and if the enemy did not appear in the outskirts of the city. The frequency of this contingency is attested by: the generalization of service of *anubda* or vigilance, in strategic places, away from the urban center, on horseback if possible, to warn urgently the community of the proximity of the danger, and the dispositions of the most generous *fueros* of the borders positions —Toledo, for example— about the obligatory presence in them of armed men, or of men who could fight in their names from the month of May on.

From the month of May on, because during the days or harvest, as the chronicles say, Moors and Christians were preparing themselves for attack or defense, to take the war to enemy land or to defend their own lands. In those campaigns, Christians and Moors systematically destroyed the country they travelled: they were burning the fields, cut or burned the vineyards, olive groves or orchards, the oak, pine tree or beach forests... stole the cattle, plundered and destroyed churches and monasteries —or synagogues and mosques, according to whoever was attacking—; they looted and razed later to the ground: settlements, barns, villages and open towns or poorly fortified, or the castles and the strongholds that they managed to assault; they decapitated or captured the enemies falling into their hands, and while they were returning to their homes laden with booty, triumphant, euphoric, raising the heads of their enemies on the tips of their lances, the Christian or Saracen land —the Christian land almost always, during five centuries— remained razed, silent, desolate and barren.

Sic per tres menses amittunt ordine messes,
amittunt cuncta fuerant quae parta labore;

says the author of the *Poema de Almería* summarizing the destruction of the fruits of the earth and of human industry in such campaigns. «Usque modo bello bellis sunt undique mixta», we could also say with him.

Those foraging parties implied grave perils. The enemy was in ambush, preparing snares and surprises, falling upon the sides or the rearguards, anihilating detachments that were far from the main forces, taking advantage of the least confusion or the slightest strategic error and at times attacked, unexpectedly, in the most favorable spot and after a calculated pause. A weakness or hesitation or the invincible numerical or tactical superiority of the enemies, could cause the defeat of the Christian or Saracen army victorious until then. They could cause the general destruction of the vanquished ones, who thus lost the precious booty and their precious lives, and upon whose heads, piled up in the form of hills, the muezzin climbed later to praise Allah.

Those campaigns were taking place year after year, decade after decade, and century after century, when they were not undertaking some of greater span, destined to overcome the enemy on the open field in order to, after the victory, conquer by force a coveted castle or an important stronghold or a group of strongholds and castles.

That barbarian and cruel war particularly threatened the borders though it was not limited to them. No Moorish nor Christian land, however far it might be from the deserted fringe which usually separated the two peoples, could be safe from seeing the enemy appear at the beginning of summer or autumn. The Islamites went as far as Oviedo, the Castilian shores of the Cantabrian and even Santiago of Galicia during the 9th and 10th centuries; they penetrated into Old Castile after the capture of Toledo and they even went to the plains of Mancha after the conquest of Seville. The kings of the North destroyed Lisbon when the border was not beyond the Asturian mountains, they burned Evora and Alange from behind the front of the Duero, penetrated into Andalusian lands when Toledo was still a country tower in the Tagus valley, at times they got to the point of dipping their horses' hoefs into the Mediterranean before taking the Southern limits of their kingdom to the Sierra Morena.

Harsh and barbarian centuries of national and religious wars only interrupted by flashes or peace or vassalage and alliances. Negligence on the border zone, laxity in the preparation of the resistance or the attack, a civil fight that would weaken the war potential of the country... and the Islamic flood would rush sweepingly to the heart of Christian lands, or vice versa. Vice versa? Yes, the Christian flood rushed at times into Moslem lands, but there was a tremendous difference between the two attacks, and in the end, between their consequences. The Christian forces were minimal during three centuries to face the Cordovan power. Later, each time that the bellicose impetus of Al-Ándalus was beginning to weaken or to die, or when, at the price of squandering audacity, the Christians managed to equalize in their favor the balance of the war against the Hispano-Mussulmans, the Cordovan sovereigns recruited hordes of fierce and ferocious Berbers to fill the ranks of their armies or great African tides, at times coming from the burning lands of the Sahara, were passing

the Strait —this crossing was repeated three times in less than two centuries—. Great tides, which according to the metaphor, pleasing to the Islamite chroniclers, covered the Spanish ground like clouds of locusts.

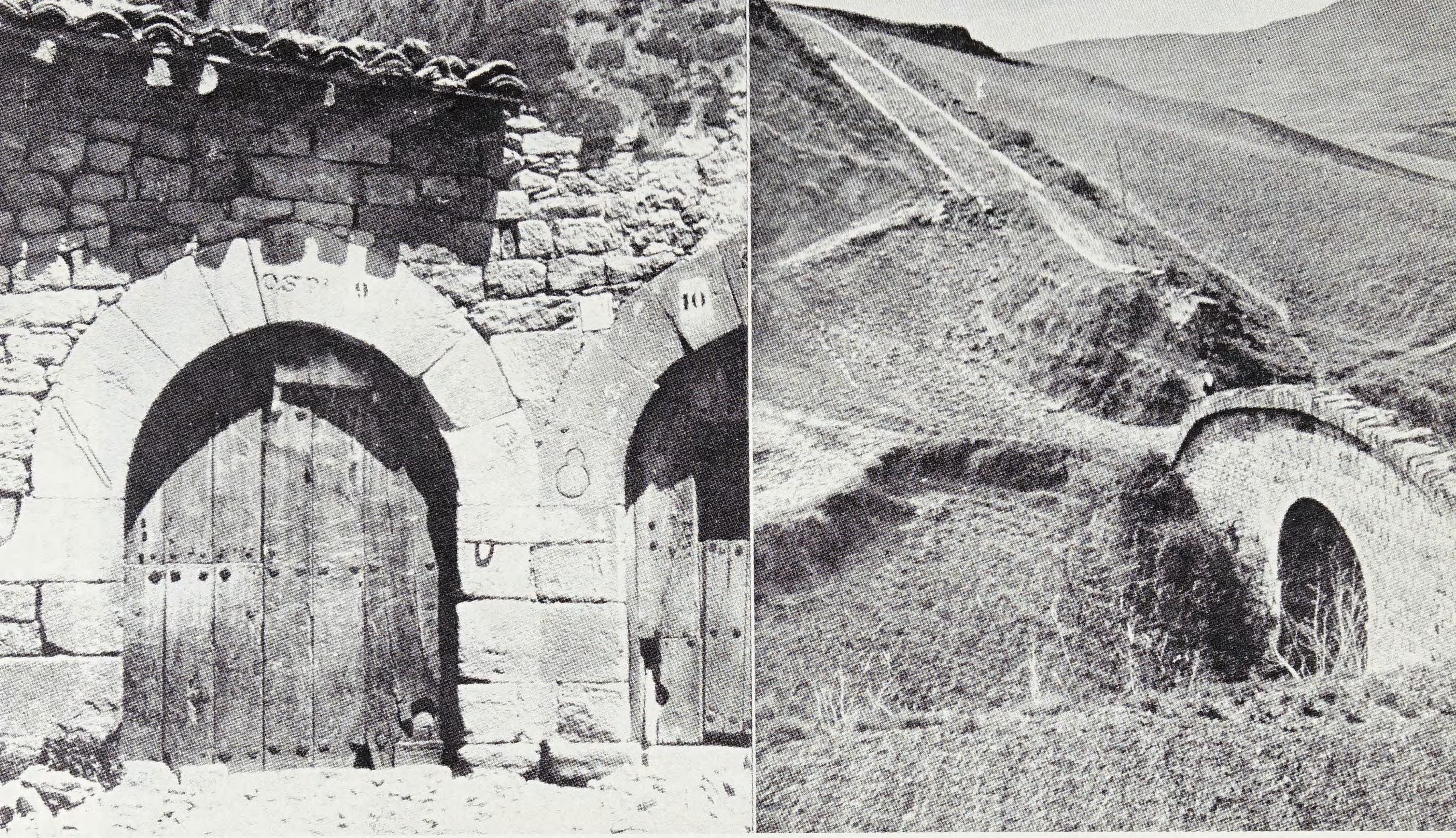
To the terrible attacks of Islamic power which made Northern Hispanic Christianity live in constant anguish, the latter could only oppose weak and sporadic attacks which never reached the nervous centers of Al-Ándalus and which could not influence, until very late in the spiritual life of the Spanish Islamites.

The century and a half between the capture of Toledo in 1085 and that of Seville in 1248 was particularly deafened by the clamor of war. We know this from the Latin histories that have left us information about that stage of the past of Castile: the *Gesta Roderici Campidoctoris*. the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, the *Crónica latina de los Reyes de Castilla* and the works of Lucas de Tuy and of Rodrigo of Toledo. The data is amplified by Arabic sources: Abd Allah b. Ziri, Al-Marrakuxi, the «Anonymous of Copenhagen», Ibn Al-Atir, Sahib al-Sala, the *Rawd al-Quirtas* Ibn 'Idari, Al-Nuwairi, Ibn Al-Jatib, Al-Himyari, Al-Maqqari... The annals and the romance chronicles complete them: *Anales toledanos*, the *Crónica de la población de Ávila*, the *Crónica general*... They are confirmed by Hebrew chroniclers, Christian and Islamic documents and by texts of hagiographers...

The *Anales toledanos* offer a dramatic chronology of victories and defeats of the Castilians during the long period of harsh fighting. The *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, Sahib al-Sala and the *Crónica de la población de Ávila* inform us of the continuous battles against Almoravids and Almohads, even into the heart of Andalusia, by the militiamen of Ávila, Segovia, Salamanca, Toledo and other cities and towns between the Duero and Tagus, in their judgments, by their own initiative and at the margin of the state direction of the monarchs of Castile or León. The author of the *Poema de Almería* could rightly write that fighting was a drizzle for the Spaniards and in the end, a custom: «Hispanis ros est, bellandum denique mos est.» And he could say of them: «In mortem spernunt, audaces sic quoque fiunt / plus gaudent bello, quam gaudet amicus amico.» «They scorned death and thus they are bolder, they enjoy war more than friends enjoy friends.»

That century and a half of arduous and continued battles, added to those that the people of the plateau had fought without rest, made Castilians a strong, inflexible, severe, hard, biting, proud people who lived in an atmosphere of exalted violence, under gloomy, bloody threatening clouds. So not only the histories which their romances report, painted them, but also the narrative texts, the hagiographers and juridical texts which mention their daily lives, their days at home or in the cities, their pleasures and feasts, their sensibility, emotions and instincts, their inhibitions and their reflexes, and their desires, arrogances, vanities and dreams.

The roughness of medieval life in the West is an old topic of historical



59.—Through this road (Cironqui) crossed thousands of pilgrims who connected Spain with the West. Taking beyond the Pyrenees knowledge, art, Hispano-Arabic techniques and bringing to the Peninsula art, knowledge, law... and forms of life and thought of Western Europe. In that hospital (La Población) some of those pilgrims were cured among whom were kings, saints, scholars, knights, merchants and rogues. *Pilgrimage road to Santiago (Cironqui, Navarre) and Pilgrims Hospital (La Población, Navarre).*

60.—As the frequent flirtations of the Spaniards with death matured the vital Hispanic contexture, the instant of the agony of Christ on the Cross was awakening among us greater fervors and we like to represent it more and more. Among those representations stands out that *head of Christ* which anticipates the pathos of our modern imagery. *Cámara Santa of Oviedo*, 12th century.

61.—*Head of Christ* of the 12th century proceeding from Miljana (Museum of Lérida). Constitutes one of the first examples of polychromatic Spanish imagery. In Catalonia, the religious painting in presbyteries, nevertheless, triumphs —let us recall the Pantocratos of Tahull— and on the frontals of the altar which represent scenes of the life of the Virgin or some saint. Advanced Spanish pictorial techniques, later classical, stood out on them. *From Church of Miljarán* (Museum of Lérida).

62.—Human and cultural unevenness which has always existed between the Moghrib and Al-Ándalus has determined the repeated conquest by Spain of its African conquerors. The bewitchedness of Seville enamored with the customs —one died bored by a brave bull— and they adorned it with magnificent constructions. Among them the Giralda stands out. The tower of the Moorish mosque later became that cathedral church.
The Giralda of Seville.

literature. The right of asylum and the truce of God came up and lasted to bring some relief to that violence. Beyond the Pyrenees the noblemen were the ones who usually fought among themselves and who tyrannized the people. Because of a historical process to which I have referred and upon which I will insist, the people in Castile were not an inert matter in public life, nor did they form a docile choir accompanying the leading actors in the authentic tragedy of history. In the long war against the Mussulmans, not only participated those who in feudal Europe made up the professional class of the warriors, noblemen, but the whole people, because their intervention was indispensable for the repopulation and for the defense of the border lands. That double function of the masses and their consequent ascent to the first plane of the political scene extended to them the circle of those who frequently launched into direct action. The atmosphere of violence became very thick in Castile, and it managed to overexcite the clergy and the Jews.

A long series of facts prove this. The neighbors of Castrojeriz brag about having broken into the palaces of Ferdinand I and of the infanta Doña Urraca, having raided them and about having killed a few people to defend their freedom. Once Ávila was repopulated, its residents began to fight among themselves, and Count Don Ramón, the king's son-in-law had to rush back from Segovia one night in order to reestablish peace among them. After the defeat of Uclés, in 1108, the Toledans carried out a general slaughter of Jews, and one year later, after the death of Alfonso VI, slaughters were repeated in Castrojeriz, Saldaña, Cea, Carrión... «The Segovians after the octave of Easter killed Albar Hannez, it was MCLII», simply say the *Anales toledanos* in relating the assassination, in 1114 of the most famous captain of Castile at the time, the man of steel that had just saved Toledo from the harsh siege of the Almoravids. Somewhat later occurred the popular revolutions of Sahagún, during which they attacked the abbot with arrows while he was celebrating the holy sacrifice of the Mass. Alfonso VII had ordered Count Rodrigo Martínez and his brother Osorio to besiege the castle of the Valley, his defenders said many blasphemies to their conquerors, overcome and captured they were yoked to oxen and with them they were forced to plow, graze and eat out of mangers. Upon the surrendering of the castle of Oreja, in October of 1139, Alfonso VII had to entrust to one of his captains the protection of the Mussulmans who garrisoned it «because the Toledans wanted to kill them». In 1146 when the Moorish King «Zafadola» confronted some chiefs of the same Emperor of whom he was the vassal and fell prisoner, upon being taken to the counts who had defeated him he was recognized by the «brown knights», that is to say by the «villein knights» of the army and because they felt like it, they killed him. «The *concejo* moved from Toledo; they took Peter's house, Saturday May, 9th, and they burned and destroyed his house; it was MCLXVII» (1159), can be read in the *Anales toledanos segundos.* From the *Crónica de la población de Ávila,* we know

about the armed fight between the militiamen of Ávila and those of Béjar and Plasensia, which was about to cost the life of the prelate successor of Saint Segundo for having served as mediator. That such battles among civic bodies were not rare is known from the prescriptions of the *Fuero* of Salamanca about the cases in which one village fought against another and from an order of the *Libro de los Fueros de Castiella* which says thus: «Section about when a *concejo* fights another and there are *hidalgos* on both sides.» They dared to enter noble lands and to break mills and to destroy towns and churches with the greatest facility and frequency. From the same *Libro de los Fueros de Castiella* we know that «those of Gallixo went to a mill of Climente and they destroyed the mill and they wounded one man», and that the *concejo* of Belorado attacked San Miguel de Pedroso, which belonged to Saint Millán de la Cogolla, and did great damage there.

Violence reached even the Jews and the clerics. Two precepts of the same «libro» prove it: the «Section referring to the penalty to Jews when they hurt one another» and the «Section referring to a cleric who hurts another or a lay person»; section whose first words are: «This is about many judicial cases in Bilforado: that if a cleric hurts another...» clearly attest the frequency of such gestures. It is not surprising that we have news of «attacks» often carried out by the people: in the towns and outside and even against the royal camps and against the churches. Nor is it surprising that the municipal statutes disclose barbarian popular customs and at times not only barbarian but dirty and repulsive —in ordering punishments for those who grabbed a woman by the breast or other more modest parts, those who would throw someone in a rubbish heap, would break wind in his mouth or put human dung in it, or those who did other things not more distinguished nor elegant.

Harsh and hard Castile so saturated by a demoniac impulse of violence! People's riots in which the Jews of the city fell as easily as the main Castilian hero after the Cid or the chief constable of Toledo. Social revolutions! Fights between municipalities and villages. Battles among the people repopulating. Assaults of palaces, churches, monasteries. Clerics and Jews fighting among themselves. Barbarian customs. Harsh and hard Castile thus shaken by an unbrilled inclination of the masses to solve their quarrels by force and to avenge insults by force; masses used to enjoy freedom on a poor land and in the midst of epic scenery! Hard and harsh Castile ready for direct action over the smallest trifle; accustomed to the ancient practice of violence in the rough, long, bloody, tremendous moments of battles against the Moors, and forced later to outpour torrentially the vital energy accumulated in them!

Hard and harsh times! That hardness and harshness in action came out in the vulgarity of habitual expressions. We have many strange testimonies of that violent and bawdy tongue of the people and of the leading minorities. I do not dare to bring to these pages —I have dared too much al-

ready— the least coarse of the insults with which, according to the statutes, the townspeople frequently addressed one another. From the one of Salamanca we know that they not only insulted one another but at times they dared to insult the bishop. According to the *Libro de los Fueros de Castiella* it turns out that even the Jews had adopted such practices: «If a Jew should insult a Jewess and call her 'whore' he would have to pay twenty *sueldos* (old coins)», can be read there. Other literary and narrative texts present crude words and vile insults on the lips of infantes, prelates and grandees, of infantas reproaching their people for having less confidence in their lances than in the sexual organs of their princesses; of prelates summoning their clerics calling them «sons of whores» and of grandees who before beginning the battle of the Navas shouted to their sons «Be called 'son of a whore' rather than son of a traitor».

Tha same harshness and roughness of life was found in their feasts and rejoicing. The *Cantar de los Infantes de Lara* tells us how sometimes, the happiness of weddings among nobles ended up tragically. The custom of shooting arrows from a horse into a wooden platform not only showed the agility of the animals and the ability of the riders, it constituted a substitute of a tournament which, in an atmosphere of violence as in Castile, then could terminate in bloody battles. The people enjoyed witnessing those games and attending other more barbarian spectacles. We know from the *Crónica* of Alfonso VII that the millenary taurine feast of the Iberians continued in practice, that is brave bulls excited by dogs were speared, and we also know that the crowds enjoyed and laughed upon seeing a group of blind men who, placed in the middle of the square, wounded one another with knives instead of the pig running between them and escaping.

That harshness and roughness in doing, speaking and laughing in the people of Castile and León in the 12th and 13th centuries was accompanied by a punctilious sense of honor and a very strong appraisal of feminine chastity. They were both so acute and niggardly that an archpriest's niece renounced the dowry she had received upon announcing her engagement for not admitting that she had kissed and embraced the one who was going to be, but in the end was not, her husband; it is reported in a «fazaña» (judicial case) of the *Libro de los Fueros de Castiella.* Any violence in word or deed against a woman was severely punished in the municipal *Fueros* and in the *Fuero Real* and in the *Partidas,* because the insult or the violence stained the reputation of the family, according to the *Fuero* of Escalona. The procuresses already practiced their base profession —so necessary in any republic to believe Cervantes— and very much to the North of Castile, free from any Mussulman influence —in Beloredo, for example— they were already taking the archpriests and their lovers to their houses, as Trotaconventos was to do later —we know it from a «case» of the *Libro de los Fueros*—, but they were inmediately severely punished. The deceived husbands were hanged only if they castrated their

wives' lovers, and they used to kill adulterers with less rhetoric than in classical theater but with no lesser penal impunity, impunity protected by the statutes and codes. Fathers and brothers punished unchaste daughters or sisters and avenged their insults or violence; we recall the case of the Toledan mayor, Munio Alfonso, who killed his daughter because he had found her «playing» with a youth. Such vengeances were not only for the noblemen —*hidalgos* or knights— but the peasants residing in free cities and even those belonging to a lord. This is proven by the *Fueros,* codes and the *fazañas* or judicial cases have kept reports of some concrete applications of such punishments.

The sense of honor tortured them with such drama that it moved them to realize acts of magnificent cruelty. In the siege of Jaén, Esteban Domingo and other knights of Ávila rushed to the aid of other knights of Ávila, who were archenemies, not to fall into the shame of seeing them die at the hands of the Moors and to be able to avenge themselves personally. A modest Castilian family pulled on the rope with which one of their sons was being hanged —for stealing from some German pilgrims— undoubtedly to show their rejection of the act and so, to preserve their honor.

If keeping their honor and the fear of shame moved them in such a way, the millenary sharp sense of pride drove them no less. It impelled them to a chilling hyperindividualism. The militiamen of Salamanca ran, that is to say, they raided the land of Badajoz, when they came upon nothing less than the army of the Almoravid sultan, Texufin ben 'Ali. Before starting the battle, the latter asked the Christian retinue who their chief was and heard that answer: «Omnes sumus principes et duces capitum nostrorum», the same that the militiamen of Segovia or Ávila could have given, because like in Salamanca, they were all really princes and masters of their own destiny in León and Castile.

With the same haughtiness towards their kings and lords, the enemy kings and lords, Castilians also confronted the supreme providence of God. They not only blasphemed immoderately, they even dared more. The Learned King relates in a musical poem that while besieged by the Moors and in very grave peril, the Christians placed an image of the Virgin between the merlons of the castle confronted it thus: we are yours, we shall see how you behave, beware of what you do.

That energetic, harsh, rough, inflexible, strong, proud people lived in an atmosphere of exalted violence, under gloomy bloody threatening clouds, that accustomed them to fight their land, heaven, Mussulman enemies beyond the border, the Christian neighbors, companions in the task, in weariness, energy, haughtiness and in pain, constituted soon —it already did in the 12th century— the whole man that the Spaniard was to be. Erect on the Castilian hills he felt his own master. Disdainful of the mysteries of nature and of ultra and ciscelestial life, he challenged the only two beings worthy of his attention and deserving of his ires or of

his loves: the entire man, his brother, his rival or his enemy, and his God, a God less father than lord, a God who hailed on the corn or the stems or filled the cellers or the granaries, and who decided the fate of the fight rewarding services or punishing offenses. Could that man feel attracted by the mystical flights or the lyrical songs of the hated Saracen? Can we imagine him imbued with Islamic presences and consciously rejecting the contagion of Mussulman things? How could those rough and fierce souls overflow with lyricism? Why should they feel the inclination to open the valves of their spiritual intimacy?

That whole man faced with a God more lord than father, and with other whole men, his peers; that harsh, rough, inflexible man battling with his land and his destiny, among the literary genres of the time, could enjoy the epic poetry which sang of war deeds and of tragic events of the lives of exceptional men, examples of behaviour for him; the narrative poetry which idealized the miracles of Mary, the mother of God-Man, and of the saints, his favorite human servants; religious dramas and of poetic disputes beyond the realm of nature or in this world of his daily living; historical and moral works, guides and norms of conduct of these whole men, in their relations with God and with other men; and at most popular lyric poetry, very connected with the epic life of the Castilians —vigil songs in camps and castles, victory hymns, dithyrambs in honor of conquering chiefs, elegies for lost heroes who had fallen in fights...; a lyric poetry which gave an outlet to their rough passion—, songs in jest in which he roughly fought a fellow citizen or an enemy; a lyric poetry which could accompany them in their works —harvest or mill songs.

There are no early traces in Castile of the popular friends' songs —beautiful sentimental expressions of women separated from their lovers— if we except those used by the immigrant Jews as refrains of their Hebraic poems. Neither are there traces of the early development of a learned and minority lyric poetry, similar to the one that rose in Provence and soon took root in Galicia.

It is difficult for beautiful lyrical roses to blossom on a spiritually barren land, under the sun of lire and war and among a barbarian and rough people. In that atmosphere temperaments filled with lyricism could not rise, temperaments that would feel the need to open the doors of their intimacy to pour their emotions into poetic monologues, or which would enjoy dialoguing poetically with the Castilian masses, which were as has repeatedly been said, active and decisive factors of national life.

Naturally after decades, popular Castilian lyricism was affirmed and refined and there matured also in Castile the learned and minority lyric poetry because a historical community, whatever the roughness of its life may have been, in the end, never has ceased to feel pulled by the lyrical flight of the soul. Moreover, the disorderly bellicose impetus decreased in Castile as the border was getting further, and when the Reconquest stopped there was a relaxing of the harsh tension in which they were

living. However, the old tradition as never completely forgotten, and Menéndez Pidal has pointed out the continuation of the epic themes in the ballads in Castile, when they were forgotten outside of Castile.

4. Original autonomy of Galician lyric poetry and modernism of Castilian lyric poetry

It has been supposed that Galicia and Catalonia gave in before the Mussulman disease and let themselves be won over by Islamic lyricism and mysticism because they were not facing the resistance to Islam and the national tasks of the Reconquest with the same conscious vigor as Castile.

It is difficult to prove the hypothesis that the Galician lyric poetry proceeds from Hispano-Arabic. The Portuguese scholar Rodrigues Lapa wrote: «Cordovan poetry is dissolute, low; its inspiration is generally Arabic... Its refrain usually has an erotic character, even obscene... To want to make our archaic lyricism (Galician and Portuguese) so simple, so virginal, derive from that trash of the brothel and the tavern, is absolutely impossible.» Rodrigues Lapa was referring to the poetry of Ibn Quzman, although not all dissolute and low —Menéndez Pidal has rejected such a generalization— it is at least very different in its themes from Galician-Portuguese lyric poetry. Even less can it be connected with the poetic themes nor with the traditional forms of the Hispano-Mussulman poetry of Oriental origin. Today the question requires another approach and offers other solutions.

A distinction must be made in Galician-Portuguese poetry the poetry in *maneira de proenzal* and the «*cantigas de amigo*» (friends's songs), a genre refreshed by the «breezes» of the Galician rivers. Menéndez Pidal pointed out some years ago that Galicia and Portugal simplified in the extreme the complicated art of the South of France and did not reach an original and subtle esthetic value except in their peculiar lyrical creations. Less than a decade ago Stern published in *Al-Ándalus* a series of songs —written in the stammering and archaic romance of the Mozarabs or of peninsular renegade Christians— which served as *jaryas* or refrains to very old Hispano-Hebraic *muwaxxahas*, some of the first half of the 11th century. The Spanish Hebraists Millás and Cantera studied those *jarchas* and the theme immediately attracted the attention of the Hispanic Romanists, first, then of all the Romanists.

We owe those Mozarabic and Muladi songs which have come to revolutionize the fascinating themes of the origins of medieval lyric poetry to the dry climate of Egypt and to the temperamental singularities of the Jews. Most of the manuscripts that have conserved Hispano-Hebrew *muwaxxahas* proceed from the back part of the Synagogue of Fostat. Spitzer attributes the reproduction, by Jewish scribes, of the romance

jarchas with which the *muwaxxahas* ended to the congenital polyglotism of the Hebrews combined with their interest for strange cultures and their respect for the written word, which can be the word of God.

That sensational finding was followed by another no less important: numerous Mozarabic or Muladi *jarchas* which served as refrains to Hispano-Arabic *muwaxxahas,* some of the 11th century also, were found. García Gómez has published and studied them not long ago.

Items from Ibn Bassam, who was writing in Seville in 1109 and of Al-Hichari, born in Guadalajara in 1106 and who died in 1155, prove that the *muwaxxaha* which the *jarchas* accompanied was invented by a poet of Cabra, Muhammad or Mukaddam (888-912). The *muwaxxahas* showed great revolutionary new ideas in comparison with classical Arabic poetry. The greatest of Spanish Arabists, Ribera, in studying the appearance of the Andalusian *muwaxxahas,* believed that they were an eminently popular genre, even choral and rambling, born of imitation of a Romance poem and which ended up by substituting it. Those who doubt the choral character of the *muwaxxahas* connect more or less their origins with the poetic compositions of the Hispano-Mozarabic or Hispano-Muladi people.

Ibn Sana'al-Mulkan, Egyptian author who died at the beginning of the 13th century, determined the laws of the *jarchas* and their relations with the *muwaxxaha.* The whole *muwaxxaha* tends to the *jarcha* and is its prelude. The *jarcha* must provoke in the listener an electrifying effect, it must be placed on the lips of someone and it must be written in a Romance language or in common Arabic, because the *jarcha* is the essential part of the *muwaxxaha,* it must be composed first and the rest of the poem must obey its meter and rhyme. When the poet does not feel capable of writing a beatiful *jarcha* he can take anoter's as the basis of his *muwaxxaha.*

Therefore, the *jarcha* was not a mere appendix, it was the essential element of the *muwaxxaha.* Its condition being thus, the information that Ibn Sana' al-Mulk presents us about its singularities and the findings of almost fifty Romance *jarchas* incline the writers to believe —so thinks García Gómez— that the poet from Cabra from the end of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th, would have invented an intermediary genre between classical erudite and artificial lyric poetry, and popular lyric poetry, written in Romance. I dare to conclude that the lyric poetry of the Spanish Pre-Moslem people —Mozarabic or Muladi— triumphed over the lyric poetry imported by their Oriental dominators, upon becoming the essential axis of a new poetic genre which was soon to extend through the whole Islamic world. That triumph would not have occurred if only the Mozarabs had composed Romance songs; only because the Muladis or neo-Mussulmans continued to sing in their ancestral tongue was it possible for their popular songs to come to form the essential part of the new Arabic lyric poetry of the *muwaxxahas.* It is, therefore, unjust to speak of Mozarabic *jarchas* and not equally of Mozarabic *jarchas* and of Muladi

jarchas. Mussulmans of non-Hispanic origin and the Jews later imitated the Muladis.

Romanists have greeted the finding of the Romance *jarchas* with extraordinary emotion. Various specialists of great renown have studied them. Dámaso Alonso has attributed the origin of Mozarabic and Muladi lyricism to the obscure centuries of peninsular Romanism. «Traditional lyricism (From what still more underground seeds?) fermented —he says— with the language and with the same rhythm as the language. With the invasion it became sunken in the Arabic, surrounded by Arabic culture, and while it became penetrated with many Arabisms it produced strange revolutions in Arabic literature: on the songs and the Romance *villancicos* (carols) new poems were composed (*muwaxxahas* and *zéjels*) and it is possible that the same stanza form of these poems (new form in Arabic) is based on comments or stanza developments of the carols that also existed in Romance».

Dámaso Alonso believes that this lyric poetry which he calls Mozarabic —(I insist that there is no reason not to call it also Muladi)— spread to Portuguese and Castilian lands through the vehicle of the Mozarabs who were becoming incorporated in the Northern Hispanic population. «What is Castilian —he writes— is nothing (except in the small original nucleus) more than the mixture of a Castilian superlayer, a conquering spot advancing towards the South and a Mozarabic element which was becoming a sublayer as it was being reconquered». Dámaso Alonso deceives himself in maintaining it. He forgets that until the capture of Toledo in 1085 the Asturias-León kingdom extended over barren lands. Yes, some immigrating Mozarabic nuclei became incorporated in the free Hispanic Christianity during the 9th and 10th centuries. Gómez-Moreno initiated the study of such an immigration. If Northern Spanish lyric poetry had been the result of those migrations, its beginning would have coincided with that of Mozarabic poetry and would have left some clear traces in areas such as León —most saturated with Mozarabism— where there are no vestiges of that poetic tradition. They are not even abundant in the Castilian regions of South of the Duero and of the valley of the Tagus where the conquerors did find Mozarabic masses or where they received them after their conquest, and on the other hand they appear in Galicia very little frequented since the 8th century by immigrants separated from the old trunk of the Mozarabs.

The same Dámaso Alonso writes: «We must not reject the hypothesis of a Romanic lyric poetry lost in the North of Spain and in other countries, during the dark ages». It is not impossible to admit... that there could have been lyricism 'of the friend type' with the Mozarabics as in Galicia»... He tends «at times» to accept this conjectural Galician lyricism «which would have been joined to the Mozarabic one as the Reconquest progressed, as two waves of the same ocean when the dike breaks down», because parallelistic forms of the Galician-Portuguese poetry do not appear in the

jarchas. «The *archaic* parallelistic type, either must be sought... in the extra-Portuguese tradition (Castilian, Asturian), or in the oral tradition of rural and distant Portuguese districts». «The known fact that most of the true representatives of a traditional type of friends' songs in the representatives of a traditional type of friends' songs in the Galician-Portuguese songbooks were Galician to such a point that what there is of lasting enjoyment, virginal freshness in the Galician-Portuguese songbook is closer to Galician flavor than Portuguese, inclines more to not reject the conjecture of predocumented Galician lyricism».

Menéndez Pidal has greeted with joy the publication of the *jarchas*. He had been struggling for almost half a century for the remote origin of medieval Spanish poetry and of the synchronic poetry of the West. The finding of the Romance songs which served as *jarchas* to the *muwaxxahas* has come to confirm his theory. He has devoted to them a careful study, erudite and sharp as all of them, under the title, *Cantos románicos andalusíes, Continuadores de una lírica latina vulgar*. The caption of his monograph discloses his concept. To confirm it he examines the language of the *jarchas* and demonstrates that it is not Castilian, nor the Romanic dialect of the Spanish Jews, but Mozarabic, in an archaizing state and naturally very permeated with Arabisms. He studies the metrics of the Andalusian songs and points out their variety —used are: the distich, the triçtich, the quatrain of two assonances, the quatrain with four rhymes— and its popular character. He reports the various themes of the *jarchas*, most of them authentic «friends' songs», in which a girl sings her love to her *habib*, that is to her lover; she laments his absence, his leaving her, remembers the happy moments, discloses her melancholy, weeps over her grief, vibrates at the call of the friend, hesitates to open to him, consults her troubles and her doubts with her mother and her sisters, rejects the boldness of her *habib*... He sees the origin of these songs in eternal Andalusia, and he believes today that he can connect with vulgar Hispano-Latin poetry, the Andalusian lyric poetry. whose traces have been preserved by the *jarchas* saved from oblivion —as in jars of alcohol, says Dámaso Alonso— by Hispano-Arabic and Hispano-Hebraic poets. In the same way —he says— that the Romanic languages have permitted one to deduce the existence of Vulgar Latin and even made it possible to study it scientifically, the *jarchas* or Romance refrains recently discovered authorize to consider the existence of this Latin-Vulgar lyric poetry in Romania; lyric poetry which some day will be studied and which would have been cultivated in pre-Moslem Spain.

Spitzer, along with Menéndez Pidal, strengthens that thesis by pointing out the approximations which bring the *jarchas* near the medieval primitive European lyric poetry and their relationship with the French refrains of the 11th and 12th centuries, studied by Jeanroy. Prohibitions of the Church, of 789, could make the historical tradition of such love songs in Europe, go back to the 8th century.

The Romance *jarchas* in Arabic *muwaxxahas* published and studied by García Gómez extend the topics of the ones known before. The girl in love also sings her love for the *habib* and laments his absence, she complains and talks about her to her mother. But it seems to me that there is more eroticism in her words. Several girls invite their lovers to come to see them at night or dawn, one says: if you do not want to come, I will go look for you wherever you want; others ask for kisses, they recall the pleasures of love, they mock the exaltations of their friends because they are not admitted, they complain of the desires which trouble their dreams declare that their lovers will not be able to sleep on their breasts as they did before... Songs of Muladis, that is to say of Spaniards converted to Islam, reflect the penetration in them of the free love concepts of the Islamites. The *jarchas* of the Arabic *muwaxxahas* do not alter nevertheless, the conclusions of the Romanists about the first one known and published.

Menéndez Pidal deduces the following conclusion, seemingly acceptable from his study of the *jarchas*: «The primitive Andalusian songs, the friends' songs and the Castilians carols, clearly appear as three branches of the same trunk rooted in the Hispanic Peninsula. The three varieties have an unmistakable likeness». I do not doubt the similarity, but does that evident and undeniable approximation imply a parallel, independent and synchronic coming out of a common root, for each of the three groups mentioned? Or, is not there among them a relationship of filiation? The answer involves an affirmative or negative answer about the originality and antiquity of Galician-Portuguese lyric poetry and Castilian lyric poetry. I have answered before in regards to the poetry of Galicia and Portugal, and I have answered affirming the autonomy of Galician lyric poetry. The lasting bond between literature and life does not leave room for doubt.

In Galicia, there was no solution of continuity between Antiquity and the Middle Ages. There did not take place there a historical hiatus. Conquered by the Mussulmans in 714, if was freed from the Islamites in 740. Its ancient inhabitants continued their millenary life. They did not suffer any decisive crisis in their traditional existence. As I have demonstrated in various studies, there continued in Galicia during many centuries, social, juridical, and state traditions of the Roman Empire: the regime of the land based on servitude and the system of colonization; the double system of personal protection and of territorial protection —*commendationes* e *incommuniationes*; the slow decline of the *privati* or possessors; the emancipating practices— still in the 10th century freed men were automatically converted into Roman citizens; the tributary articulation of the late imperial times; some institutions of private law and of Roman criminal law: in the regime of succession and in the proof in civil matters, for example... Galicia was the most conservative region of the whole Peninsula. Phonetic forms of a very old origin as the *geada* —according to Zamora Vicente, prior to the Celtic invasion— have survi-

ved until today. In Galicia were preserved until yesterday —Krüger demonstrated it some time ago— types of circular houses which the Celtic invaders probably found in the country. According to Taracena, Celtic art continued there for centuries after Roman art had become generalized in other peninsular lands. Romanic art lasted for centuries and survived after its extinction in the rest of Spain. There remain today juridical forms and practices —the leasehold among others— derived from the lordly loan of the medieval centuries. It is not therefore unforgivably daring to suppose that in Galicia, along with Andalusia, and about the same time, there would develop the same Romance lyric poetry which managed to be saved from its definitive asphyxia by Arabic poetry, intervening in its refrains, and which has survived in the *jarchas.*

It seems more uncertain to say that Castile and León knew an autonomous popular lyric poetry, similar to and synchronic with the Mozarabic-Muladi and the Galician one, I say Galician because Roman *Galaecia* extended to the Duero. The Castilian carols coincide in their themes with the «friends' songs» of the Northwest and with the Andalusian songs of the *jarchas.* But the pages in which Menéndez Pidal compares the three lyric forms raise some doubts in my mind about the antiquity of the carols and, therefore, about their direct derivation from the Latino-Vulgar lyric poetry.

In Galician-Portuguese, Mozarabics and Muladi songs, the girls in love always name their lovers with the same word *habib=friend.* The carols do not offer the same uniformity as that coinciding simplicity. The girl calls her loved one: *friend, good friend, lover, good love, my loves. my loved one, the one I most loved, my heart*; and if she is upset with him, she will call him *villano,* and if she is a shepherdess she will call him a *vaquero,* etc. Plurality of names, in contrast with the single name used in the Galician and Andalusian songs, does that not show the modern origin of the Castilian songs?

Galician songs approximate Andalusian songs in the intervention of the sisters in the lyrical confidence; Menéndez Pidal does not find the sisterly secrets in the Castilian songs and writes: «If the presence of the mother confident... relates with certainty the three peninsular traditions... the sisters' confidence establishes a more particular relation between Mozarabic tradition and the ancient tradition of the peninsular Northwest, showing that there existed an archaic coincidence, lost in the course of time». The loss of that archaism in the Castilian carols, does it not again suppose their modernism?

The Andalusian Romanic lyric poetry was already used by the author of the *muwaxxaha,* at the end of the 9th century, and it definitively appears to us in *jarchas* of the first half of the 11th century. The «friends' songs» reworked by Galician poets, are proven in the 13th century. The Castilian carols which the poetry of Gil Vicente and Lope de Vega enlive-

ned later are not documented until the 15th century. How can we explain that strange delay in their documentation and reworking unless there was a parallel delay in their origin?

Castilian history supports rather than contradicts such conjectures. Opposite Galicia conserving the old Roman traditions, Castile was a renewing force, breaking with the remote past. It is not impossible to suppose that Hispano-Latin popular lyric poetry would weakly penetrate as far Cantabria, won by Rome so late and always impermeable to the new ideas coming from the South —it has been said that as late as the 4th century the Cantabrians were still faithful to their own gods—. It is very doubtful that lyric poetry would have come even as far as the Basque country. The sliding in the 5th century towards the cismontane land of Cantabria —the future Castile— of some Basque tribes, barely Romanized, could not contribute to enliven in the country lyrical traditions of vulgar Roman origin The colonization by the Goths of the plains of the Duero, at the end of the 5th century and the beginning of the 6th, could not either favor the continuation of popular Latin songs in lands, Castilian later. The Goths, emigrants to mountainous Cantabria when the Arabic invasion occurred, could not take to the North poetic traditions which were foreign to them. The conjunction Cantabrian-Basque, Visigothic from which Castile was born, since it did not gather the institutional and juridical heritage of Rome, neither must have received the vulgar Hispano-Roman lyrics which survived in Galicia, Al-Ándalus, in peninsular Mediterranean Christianity and in general in all of Romania. The depopulation of the valley of the Duero must have expelled from it all trace of the old popular poetry. The Castilians, fruit of the triple joining —so many times reported in these pages— of three people barely touched by Romanism, when they progressed through the desert, doubtfully took with them what they did not posses.

As the Castilian was a strange wedge going Southward and breaking the relative Romance uniformity of the Hispanic Peninsula, so in literature Castile was pushing a wedge of relative lyrical silence into the relative poetic unity of the Peninsula. The new linguistic, institutional, juridical, psychic, temperamental singularities... of Castile —of the primitive Castile, the Castile of the counts, and the Castile that went to Toledo— go well with the more than probable literary singularities. Its bellicose barbarian activity, its tremendous roughness, its moral rigidity... could not push the Castilian people towards lyricism and did not go well with the erotic lyricism of the «songs of *babib*» Mozarabic and Muladi and even with the peculiar lyricism of the Galician-Portuguese «friends' songs». It is difficult to imagine that in the rough Castile of Doña Lambra and of the infantes de Lara, they would listen to sweet and fragrant love ditties of sweethearts and talkative girls. It is difficult to imagine them sounding off in the streets and the squares of towns and villages deafened by crude insults, bloodied by atrocious struggles, populated by persons ready to assault the

palace of Ferdinand I or to hang their sons by their hands or their pilfering brother. It is difficult to imagine them singing about the beautiful face of the loved one, asking for kisses, inviting him to come at night or dawn, disclosing that he wanted to break her corset and squeeze her breasts, declaring he could not sleep with this burning desire, missing the pleasures of another time or making fun of the friend's exaltation because she curbed his sexual desires, it is difficult to imagine some of those Castilian girls who consented to lose the dowry received from their betrothed. in order not to confess that their «husbands to be» had kissed them, singing in the way described above.

When in 1085 Castilians reached the valley of the Tagus and began to co-live with Mozarabs, Muladis and Jews, with an old lyrical tradition and accustomed since centuries to sing poetically, they therefore found themselves in a historical situation little propitious to initiate the reception of that lyric poetry of remote origin and new to them. It is necessary, moreover, to point out that the various testimonies of Castilian poetic songs found by Menéndez Pidal proceed from chronicles or texts of the second half of the 12th century on, and they almost all refer to places inhabited by Mozarabs, Muladis or Jews —Toledo, Saragossa...— or by ultramontanes —Sahagún, León—. Only the vigil song gathered by Berceo has a Northern origin. We do not know when the Castilian song could have been born; it was only reproduced in writing in the 15th century after a long life in latent state. The recent date of the first manifestations of a Castilian popular lyric poetry and the geographical limits where it could have seen the light, explain the differences and contacts with the other Hispanic popular lyric poems, and it is fitting to make a final allegation against the supposed antiquity of the carols. Those who during the 12th and 13th centuries felt tortured in Castilian lands by a vivid lyrical sensibility, wrote in Galician. No one has attempted to clarify the misterious adoption of a tongue which was not that of an imperial people, politically and culturally by the poets of a Castile with a remote lyrical tradition, by poets sons of a people whose popular carols had, at the time, a long and strong history.

5. Berceo, free from the Islamic impact

If something seems certain to me in the Spanish literary past, it is the absence of any kind of an Islamic or Arabic influence in Berceo. His relation to the West is unquestionable and his integration in the most authentic structure of Castilian life is no less certain. Among the most uncertain thesis is one about the supposed impact of what is Oriental on the poet. I fear that its author has been the victim of a mirage, that he has been candidly tempted to find relations between works that the title or content seemed to approximate. In the case of Berceo, perhaps without reading the lives of the Andalusian dervishes of Ibn 'Arabi he would

not have tended to seek Hispano-Mussulman origins to the lives of the Castilian saints of the clergyman-poet.

Berceo is one of the Hispano-Christian writers who least appears in his works and who least discloses his intimate personality. In the *Vida de Santo Domingo,* he mentions his inability to write in Latin; in that of Saint Millán and in the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* he states his name and country, and in that of Saint Oria, that he was old and tired. His appearance is exceptional in his long stretch of verses and his confidences are insignificant. He confesses that he versified Latin texts; at times he says that he has not been able to understand the manuscript that he was putting into Romance, or that he had lost part of it, not by his own fault; on one occasion, he writes: «I saw it» of the church to which he alludes in the account; at other times, referring to the steps of the towers, he says: «I went up some of them, a long time ago»; once he admits that he had spent too much time on the preface and adds: «Let us follow the story... the days are not long, and it will be dark early. To write in the dark is a difficult task», another time he asks God for help for the versifier «who is working at his door». That is all, and it could not be less. I doubt that anyone can accept these words: «However slight these appearances of Berceo may be they are sufficient to give a flavor of lived reality to the impersonal theme of his narration which appears in the making, disclosing the "innerness" of its making; the monotony of the account is broken and the modern reader experiences a pleasure which he did not expect.» Who will have the courage to agree with that thesis built on the tenuous basis of little more than half a dozen innocuous phrases, lost in the ocean of various thousands of verses?

It is obvious that the explosive Hispanic ego must have been frequently entangled in Berceo, in his pious accounts, and it could never be considered certain that the poet «of Cogolla» as he may have called himself, had received the impact of what is Arabic. I have proven before that centaurism really owes nothing to peninsular Islam.

No one can dare to suppose that Berceo would have known the *Risalat al-quds* or «Epistle of Sanctity» of Ibn 'Arabi, where are reported miracles compared to those reported by Berceo. No indication guarantees that he knew Arabic. The *Risalat* was sent by the Murcian mystic from the Orient to a Sufi of Tunis in 1203. Only through magic could a copy of the same have come into the hands of Berceo or of someone he knew even though there would have been interest in Castile to read the biographies of the masters of Ibn 'Arabi, which is absolutely unlikely.

It is not even thinkable that Berceo would report the miracles of Saint Mary, Saint Millán or Saint Dominic by inspiring himself from the verbal accounts or the charisma that the Sufis received or believed they received —many were simple phenomena of thought transmission—. Berceo relates about one hundred prodigies among which only three are remotely similar to the many that Ibn 'Arabi reports and those three are not unnatural nor

extraordinary. As José Fradejas has observed, those miracles are similar to others described in the Gospels or in the Acts of the Apostles. Saint Mark VIII, 23-24, and Saint John IX, 6-7, report cures of blindmen realized by Jesus. Saint Luke XVIII, 37-39, Saint Matthew XX, 30-32, and Saint Mark X, 46-48, record the shouts of the blindmen who wanted to be cured. In the *Actas Apostolorum* XII, 6-10, is related the freeing of Saint Peter by an angel who miraculously got him out of the jail. The cleric of Rioja did not have to seek inspiration in the Sufi of Murcia nor in any Hispano-Mussulman tradition to outline the pious narrations which Castro compares with those reported by the Islamic Ibn 'Arabi.

Berceo wrote in «paladin Romance» because he did not dare write in Latin. That confession does not imply his ignoring ecclesiastical language. Without knowing the earliest translation of the Bible into Spanish, prior to 1250, he was able to read the pages of the New Testament that Fradejas has mentioned. Besides, Berceo declares in all his works that he versified Latin texts, which have been specified from the days of Menéndez Pelayo: the biography of Saint Dominic by his disciple, abbot Grimaldo, that of Saint Millán, work of Saint Braulio, that of Saint Oria written by his confessor Munio, and a repertoire of miracles of the Virgin, kept in Copenhagen, the probable source of Gauthier de Coincy... From these texts, prior to the spreading of Sufism in Spain, Berceo took his ideas about the prodigies of the *Gloriosa* or of the Castilian thaumaturges.

The pious Christian legends about the favors granted by the Virgin or the Saints were a century-old when Sufism crossed the Strait and reached the Peninsula, and more time still until the spiritual masters of Ibn 'Arabi could give occasion to the rise of similar legends about them. Asín has rightly pointed out that the Christianization of Islam and the imitation there of mystical and ascetic practices of Christian origin. I do not believe that the Andalusian Sufis realized or pretended prodigies, nor that they received charisma similar to those attributed to the holy thaumaturges in the North of Spain. However, I do not believe either that those who narrated the miracles of the Virgin, Saint Millán, Saint Dominic, Saint Oria... owed anything to the accounts of the South of Spain. The belief in the breaking of natural laws by God, at the request of exceptional men —exceptional by their fervor or piety— is common in all religions. The same Catholic priest Asín has not denied the possibility that the Almighty might have granted charisms outside of Christianity.

It is not fitting either to suppose Berceo reporting miracles without inspirations in Mussulman accounts but receiving some kind of mysterious impact from Islamic spirituality in his psyche, vital contexture or his literary style. It is certain that he fits in the Castilian «*mester de clerecía*» * and structure of thought and life.

---

* «*Mester de clerecía*» —erudite poetry of the 13th century and of the first part of the 14th against epic poetry of popular inspiration— usually employed by clerics. Also called «nueva maestría».

There is no trace of Sufi mysticism nor of Islamic spirituality in Berceo. Neither in Saint Dominic nor in Saint Millán does he mention the passionate amorous flight of some Andalusian Sufis towards God, nor does he refer to ecstasies, nor that they felt pantheistically united to the divinity, nor that they proudly discovered magic powers. Both saints are presented as they were, two strict ascetics, with severe and rectilinear moral behavior at the service of the Most High, according to monastic ways of the West. Berceo praises their exemplary lives, meditative asceticism, strict fulfillment of the divine law, sure and fervent practice of their priestly duties, honest organization and direction of a monastic community, zealous care of souls, and their fervent and pious preaching to the people...

It is easy for anyone to compare the pious narrations of Berceo with those of Ibn 'Arabi translated by Asín. In the North and the South: monastic solitude, silence, prayers, vigils, fasts, penances, prophesies, charisms... But, what an enormous difference between the lives and the miracles of the Andalusian dervishes and the Castilian saints! What a difference between the literary pages devoted to their memories by the poet from Rioja and by the Andalusian mystic!

The Sufis accomplish their miracles through acts of the will after their magic union with providence, disposing at will of the mysterious forces of the Eternal One. The Castilian thaumaturges never believe in their magic union with the Divinity and they pray to the Almighty to realize the prodigy; they spend entire nights in prayer, they fast, lament and mortify their bodies to move the Lord to concede them the grace asked for by the «poor ones» who approach them. Only after they are dead and sanctified by God do the sepulchers and relics acquire superhuman virtues. Once their personal union with God is interrupted, the Andalusian Sufis do not seem to keep their miraculous force, after their death.

Let us compare the pride which some Hispano-Mussulman dervishes had about their supernatural powers with the humility of the Castilian saints:

Ibn 'Arabi praises highly the Sevilian mystic Nunna Fátima and relates that he heard her say: «I am really marvelling at God! My lover gave me the *Fatiha* (first chapter of the Kora) to serve me, and yet this servant has never distracted me from thinking about my Loved One!» «Ever since that day I have known the very high place that this woman had in the eyes of God, when I was told that the *Fatiha* served her. Both being seated one day, suddenly a woman came in and told me: "Dear brother! They tell me that my husband who is in Jerez de Sidonia has got married there. What do you think of that?" I answered: "Do you want him to come back?" She said: "Yes." I turned towards the old woman and I told her: "Mother, do you hear what that woman says?" She answered me: "What do you want, my son?" I said: "That you satisfy her desires, which are mine, that is, that her husband come back." Then she exclaimed: "Heard and granted!, I am going to send *Fatiha* for him, to bring back

63.—*The Annunciation,* masterwork of the *cloister of Silos,* in which the sweet femininity of the Virgin seduces. It accredits a radical evolution of the concept and technique of the sculpture of Silos in it are observed analogies with that of Compostela. But in the tall cloister is manifested on the other hand a clear sense of what is popular in the selection of themes from daily life: wrestlers, hunters, inn keepers... another clear projection of Castilian disposition in art.

64.—In those warriors of a *Comentario al Apocalipsis*, of Beato of Liébana, of the 12th century, proceeding from the monastery of «Las Huelgas» of Burgos we can see the *image of the Castilian warriors* who went to the siege of Almería, took Cuenca, were conquered in Alarcos and conquered in the Navas of Tolosa, warriors whose strength and generosity are registered by the author of León in his *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*. *Miniature of The «Beato» of Las Huelgas (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).*

that woman's husband." And reciting with me the first chapter of the Koran, she gave it real form. I understood then its eminent mysticism, since she was reciting the *Fatiha,* she was giving it bodily form, although heavenly, and making it be born. Once she was formed this way, I heard her say: "O *Fatiha,* go to Jerez de Sidonia and bring back that woman's husband. Do not leave until you come back him!".»

Berceo reports that a woman of Cannas cured by the intercession of Saint Dominic fell at his feet and said: «I understand and know that I am cured thanks to you.»

But the poet adds:

The Good Father replied that he wanted to punish her:
«Friend, he said, you do not speak as you should,
God, our Lord, you must bless and praise,
because of such a great ailment, He wished to free you.
His precious virtue which deigned to cure you,
And it alone, you must praise and bless:
You must not say any such thing against me
And I do not want you to say it, nor do I want to hear it.
Daughter, go in peace, and return to your home,
.....
but inasmuch as you can, keep away from sin.

The Sufis adopt a hostile attitude towards the sultans and the State authorities; their scruples lead them to refuse their gifts and the meals that they offer them; they would be stained by the mere contact with gifts and foods from those they considered to be tyrants. The Castilian saints give to Caesar what is Caesar's, they do not consider kings and grandees as infamous though they might be sinners, they receive their favors and at times consider them to be prodigies from the Lord, which are instruments for them. (Therefore, there could not be any connection with the Sufi accounts in the miraculous donation of flour to the cloister of Silos by a messenger of Ferdinand I which Castro compares with a prodigious and anonymous gift of four bags of figs to a pious Sevilian dervish).

Opposite the proud scorn of the Sufis for the Alfaquis and traditionalists and their not dealing with them, Castilian saints are priests and they consider the priesthood their greatest honor and they fit in the ecclesiastical hierarchy... Christianity *versus* Islamism? Yes, but that opposition —it could be extended— between the firm outlines of the two entities, is full proof that no projection of Mussulman spirituality ever slided into the *Milagros* and *Vidas* of Berceo, and a strong indication that his psyche and sensibility did not suffer the impact of what is Arabic either.

In contrast with Islamic religiosity, Berceo discloses his vassal concept of the relation of man with God, so rooted in the Castilian life of the

time. Opposite the letting oneself go, letting oneself slide through life of Mussulman believers, according to the judgment of «The Clement and Merciful One», and the receiving of charisms from the Divinity as a reward for the integral amorous union with It, the pious Christians in Berceo trust they will reach the grace of the God-Man and his miraculous breaking of nature's laws through their free service to the protecting lords chosen by them —Mary or the saints, or by dint of insistent prayers, acts, ritual devotion, generous promises, tangible gifts, votive lights, etc., etc.

Some pages back, I have alluded to the vassal religiosity of peninsular people. The central idea of Hispanic vassalage: service in exchange for protection overflowed from social into religious life. Opposite the rigid feudal union beyond the Pyrenees, the Castilians freely sought a lord to serve and by whom to be protected. That practice was taken by the exalted and rough man of Castile to the area of his relations with the heavenly powers. Berceo —a «bullheaded» Spaniard, as I like to call him with an attribute pleasing to him— is the best witness and this transfer and this overflow. I have written before: «In his *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* he establishes many times the divine prodigy on close correlation of vassal service and lordly protection: vassal service of the sinner or the wretched and the protection of the Mother of God. She is not soft —for Berceo— with those who are not among her servants and she gets upset and punishes severely those who scorn or offend her, but «with her vassals —writes the poet—, she is always compassionate». For them, she fights devils, speaks to her divine son, changes the laws of nature and saves from disgrace and hell even the greatest sinners. «He was the vassal and friend of Saint Mary» Berceo quotes an angel as saying who was fighting to free the soul of a peasant, caught, at his death «in the ropes of the devil».

These words are also mine: «Berceo in his *Vida de San Millán,* after relating the double promise of the legendary Vows to Saint James by Ramiro II, and to Saint Millán, by Fernán González, reports the marvelous apparition of the two heavenly patrons of people of León and Castile, and praises the marvelous intervention of the divine couple of lords to help their terrestrial vassals. Saint James and Saint Millán, as any protecting lord, for Berceo and for any Castilian or person from León, had the responsibility of protecting their vassals. The villein knights or the free men with whom they lived did not think otherwise of their own lords.

God was giving breath to everything. Upon Him depended every moment of life, the sustenance and the welfare of all beings. He gave rain or draughts, filled the barns or had the harvest hailed. Spaniards with great faith came to Him in their needs. To obtain relief in their «fevers» they started by using the traditional practices to which they were accustomed since millenniums, but since such superstitions did not manage to break the pain or the evil, they solicited the intercession of a protective lord, in turn direct vassal of the Most High through prayers, vigils, fasts, weep-

ings, offerings, etc... In the end God listened to the pleas that the holy man addressed to him and the miracle was taking place.

There is nothing in this Christian concept of Berceo —cis— and ultra-pyrenean, obviously— which approximates the religious ideas of the Sufi mysticism. Nothing either connects his accounts of the miracles of Mary, Saint Dominic or Saint Millán to Ibn 'Arabi's narrations of what the masters of the spirit did.

Berceo was a Castilian rural cleric; he did not travel much —the area of his visual experience did not go further than Amaya— «that royal rock» —Carazo— «a high head, with a famed castle» —and the Duero— «that perfect water». From his corner he already had a unitarian concept of Spain —«of pure Spaniards he was born in a good hour», he says of Saint Dominic of Silos—; and he indentifies such human unity with Christian Spain —referring to the tribute of the one hundred girls he writes: «All of Spain is in that servitude.» But he was prisoner of the ideas of the villagers of his land and in conformity with their functional structure and their rustic disposition. Twice he discloses their habitual rage towards the subordinate authorities of the adminisrative machine of the kingdom: Of Saint Millán he says: «At last he went to heaven, where no constable enters.» He always reacts as the peasants of the mountainous valleys of the High Rioja, where it was necessary to buy everything from nomadic peddlers, including the oil for the lamps of the temple of the «bullheaded» confessor Saint Millán.

Berceo personalizes and materializes with delightful, ingenuous roughness the religious ideas of the ingenuous and rough people that the Castilians were at the time. They lived their poor active lives close to the earth, at the margin of subtle theological concepts and their fantasies being limited by the realism of their cosmovision. No pious narrator has reached the Berceo's extremes in the veristic tone in reporting Our Lady's miracles, or those of Saint Dominic or Saint Millán... An angel made Saint Peter get out of jail by breaking chains and crossing walls, miraculously, according to the account of the New Testament. The Sufi Abu Maydan Su'ayb also liberated magically Musa al-Baydarani unjustly imprisoned; in the morning his guardians found his chains on the ground; Ibn 'Arabi relates it. Berceo reports that the shadow of Saint Dominic liberated a Christian prisoner by giving him a prodigious hammer with which to break his shackles, and making him jump over a wall with the help of a rope on which the holy apparition pulled with his hand.

To liberate a knight of Llantada from captivity the shadow of the saint gave him specific instructions at to what he should do when his owner would go to sleep:

You are perceived, conceal yourself from him,
Then put something under his neck...

In describing the nocturnal visit to heaven of Saint Oria, guided by Saints Agatha, Eulalia and Cecilia, Berceo makes them go up by means of staircases as those that were seen in the towers: «By such go up the blessed souls.» All four climb a tree later. «They saw open windows in heaven», he adds. Saint Oria asks about all her friends and acquaintances, her guides call out their leader, Urraca, who answers loudly, and after dialoguing with the one who keeps the reserved throne

They took that of the martyrs who guided her before
By that staircase through which they led her;
In very little time they returned her to the body...

With the same realistic gracefulness he relates the awakening of the rough visitor to heaven and her other visions.

The devil gets mad at Saint Millán and appears to him. He does not try to tempt him with deceiving seductions. They could not impress the hermit from Rioja. A Castilian could only be defeated while fighting. With an image of military type —let us remember what has been said about the militant Christianity of the Spaniards— Berceo has praised Saint Dominic's virtues saying: «He well knew how to hold his own with the devil.» Beelzebub fights Saint Millán single-handed:

Even now you want to make another conquest
You take me for a fool if you think that I will consent to it.
I want to tell you something that I have prepared for you:
That we both fight, and he who falls on the ground
Give it to the fallen one, it is a thing done,
Then he stops the other, the war is undone,
After he said this, the furious beast
Wanted to come to blows with the holy man
Fight with him, to overcome him
But all of it was not worth to him anything at all.

Saint Millán pleads with God:

You defended me today from that strong beast,
Since he was overcome and I remained without a wound.

The Lord listens to his terrestrial jouster and Berceo writes of Satan: «His great arrogance fell to the ground in dust.»

He presents the devils kicking, in a vulgar manner, a greedy peasant, who had died in mortal sin.

Berceo humanizes the Lord and the Virgin with such ingenuity that I consider him to be the only poet in the world capable of calling the Virgin, mother-in-law! and to apply to the former the title of don. In the delightful dialogue between Jesus and Mary which he imagines in telling one of

the Marian miracles, we read: «When Don Christ saw the Glorious Mother», and referring to Saint Cecilia, he writes:

... of Don Jesus Christ she wanted to be the spouse;
She did not want any other mother-in-law than the Glorious one...

With no less ingenuous realism Berceo also describes the history of Theophilus. There is a very vivid interview between him and Satan, of whom he declares himself to be the vassal; when he repents his great sin and after many sorrowful pleas for forgiveness he obtains the divine grace through the intermediary of Mary, he is not satisfied until the Virgin herself delivers the very parchment signed in his own hand and sealed with his seal, that the demon kept in a corner of hell.

The same need to personalize and materialize the myth had led the people to convert the heavenly help of the Apostle James into his authentic humane intervention as *Miles Christi,* and that of the holy archbishop of Seville, Saint Isidore, in his personal help, on horseback, in the fights. Berceo gave in to the same tendency to humanize divine help and presented the holy hermit Saint Millán fighting next to Saint James in the battle of Simancas.

They come on two horses whiter than crystal,
....
They go through the air with great hurry,
Looking at the Moors, with a mean look,
Swords in hands, with a sign of fear
....
When the two knights were near the ground
They hit the Moors with such good aim
And did such damage to the ones in front,
That the terror spread to those of the rearguard.

Nothing of this, nor of that in the religious and literary sensibility of Berceo, rhymes a little or at all with what is Islamic nor shows the slightest Sufi influence.

Berceo was more than a rough and ingenuous poet incapable of taking off in imagination. He possessed a singular creative potential. Rare is Berceo's account of some miracle of Mary in which there is not a breath of life and action to enliven the pious narration. That occurs at times in the works where he relates the prodigies of Saint Millán or of Saint Dominic, besides the cleric has a clear ability to grasp scenery and things.

The Virgin, Spanish-style, friend of her friends, disputes with the devils over the souls of her vassals; she goes up and down, enters, goes out; gets mad, she becomes tender, she gives direct orders, apostrophizes, insults, dialogues; she feels jealousy, anger or compassion; she attacks the devil

with the skirt of her mantle or hits him with a crowbar, with maternal care she puts a drunken monk to bed... Berceo makes the Glorious one live in our eyes with delightful ingenuity but also with delightful novelistic drama.

Frequently Berceo makes her declare her divine condition with a firm and sharp I:

I am Saint Mary, Mother of Jesus Christ who nursed my breast:
I am the one who gave birth to the true Savior.
I am... the mother of the true God...

Berceo relates Mary's cares with the drunken monk, whom she saved from the devil by hitting him with her mantle. She becomes angry with the bishop who prohibited a poor cleric to say mass because he only knew one: that of Saint Mary. She appears jealous of a youth very attached to her and who is to get married. Irritated with the devil who argues with her in legalistic terms about a friar's souls, she insults him thus:

You speak —says the Glorious one—, in a very stupid way
I do not challenge you, because you are a captive animal.

When the occasion arises, at the petition of the virgins of her house —Berceo creates a court around her in the style of the courts of this world— asked by Saint Peter, she goes to her son surrounded by all her ladies. The poet versifies for his pleasure, and ours, the dialogue between Jesus and Mary, interceding for a friar who had died in his sins.

The saints and the demons speak, dispute and move in the *Vidas y Milagros* of Berceo. After having been overcome by Saint Millán, the demons met in council, they deliberated, and decided to end with their enemy by burning him alive while he was asleep. The poet depicts the meeting of the devils in detail, their looking for dry straw through the fields and their frustrated attempt to burn the holy confessor, frustrated because they ended up being burned themselves. Throughout the ingenuous and picturesque account there is life.

Pretending to be Saint James, the devil deceived a pilgrim and led him to castrate himself and then commit suicide. Satan and his henchmen take the soul of the dead man, but the apostle meets them on the way, argues with the devil. Saint James and the devil come to the tribunal of the Virgin and the Glorious one listens to the parties and:

The fight terminated in a delightful way.

In the same delightful way as all the other stories of the poet from Rioja; as in the stories in which people walk, eat, suffer, shout, gesticulate, love, hate, sin, despair, repent, weep, pray, beg, jump with joy... in a word: poor people of the human series of the days of Berceo live —from

the pastor to the count, from the dame to the gentleman, from the leper to the merchant, from the begging blindman to the crafty Jew— intermingled with the Virgin, the saints, Beelzebub or the devils. With frequency, there is life, action and movement in the *Milagros* of Berceo, especially in those of Saint Mary, his masterpiece. On occasions there is a breath of novelistic drama which sketches some characters and depicts some real people. Among his dramatic successes is the dispute between Saint Dominic and King García of Navarre. He writes a phrase which Calderón could have repeated:

You can kill the body, the flesh mistreat,
But over the soul, king, you have no power.

he has the saint say, confronting the greedy prince.

Berceo knew how to look around and see, not only the men who passed by him, but also nature and the things among which he lived. Therefore, at times, he describes the scenery and the world of the vital detail with the ingenuous brush of a miniature painter but with expressive and spontaneous plasticity.

The Hispano-European perspective is not combined in Berceo with the Hispano-Islamic perspective. His charm is not in the fact that his poetry borders on an autobriographical line of Oriental origin. He does not attract us «by how his topics are in him», because there might be a vital connection between the miracle and the one who narrates it, or because his autobiographism might give a taste of lived reality to his accounts. Such are the magic attractions of the «Epistle of Sanctity» of Ibn 'Aradi, arbitrarily transferred to the poetic work of Berceo, free from all of this. Notwithstanding the irritating monotony of his verse, the result of his mediocre expressive means, he wins us over by qualities which have been recognized a long time ago: his ingenuous candor, reported by Menéndez Pelayo and his generation, and by his spontaneous tone, jovial, plastic, intimate singled out by Azorín and other great contemporary writers. And because at times, as I have repeatedly pointed out, he knows how to instill life and action and drama in his account. No one can attribute the attention aroused by Berceo among the minority of us who enjoy him, to his slight autobiographical appearances and to his importunate allusion to the text which he put in Romance. Neither these foolish and innocuous references, nor the supposed vital connection between the poet and his account, which have been mentioned without specific foundation, can attract anyone. Berceo attracts us by his candid and rough grace, by his figurative spontaneity and because in that breath of life which he instils in his miracles, at times, in my opinion, there is the seed, immature, but promising of the Spanish novel and drama: two literary genres which, as has been said and repeated many times, have not existed and cannot exist in Islam.

He owed his jovial, spontaneous and plastic tone to his own tempera-

ment; to the singularity of his psycho-physical equation, and on the other hand owed to the vital contexture of the historical community to which he belonged: his tremendous ingenuous roughness, his common and rustic realism, and the easy slidings towards the novelistic and dramatic action because Castile was a rough people of free workers overflowing with ruralism; because the active life of the Castilians, their sky, lands and their open living, without defensive folds, put their fantasies to sleep, and because the dramatic history in the open intermingled in a lasting dichotomy of heroism and fiction. Yes, the existence of the Castilians, always at the border, always watching the hostile horizon, always ready to flirt with death —on the battlefield or in the recent village— always in movement or waiting for it, always in concerned migratory nomadism —ready to run the risk of their lives on the border—, always in chimerical adventure, missing it, remembering it or wrapping it up in legends when it was going far away in time or space; they united to the heroic gesture of the knight, the novelistic drama of the common man. That action, drama, and novel upon which was built the daily existence of Castile, had to be poured into the literary creations of its sons, just as their candid and cruel roughness and the realism of their cosmovision were poured into them.

6. Catalan lyricism and mysticism

I cannot follow the Catalan historians who present the absence of Mozarabs as the difference between Catalonia and the other historical groups of Spain. Although many Goths and Hispano-Romans crossed the Pyrenees when the Arabic invasion occurred, the country was not depopulated as occurred in the valley of the Duero. Most of the inhabitants of old Catalonia continued under Mussulman dominion. When the Franks and the ancient emigrants conquered the region, they really extended through Mozarabic lands. Later, the Catalan countries did not suffer such an intensive Mozarabic immigration as León, for example, but without the contribution of the Mozarabs it would have been impossible for the convents of the region to begin to transmit to Europe the Hispano-Arabic science and for the archdeacon of Barcelona to initiate the series of peninsular translations from Arabic to Latin.

The contacts of Catalonia with Islamic Spain were not very different from those that must have taken place in Castile. It would be easy to sketch the parallel. It will suffice for now to remember that the Castilian count Diego Rodríguez and Wifredo the Hairy, died fighting against the Banu Qasi'. Almanzor captured García Fernández of Castile and the viscount of Barcelona, Udalardo. At the fall of the descendants of Almanzor Sancho Garcés in August 1009 and Ramón Borrell in May 1010 entered in Cordova. Although of different historical origins and of different history,

there is between Castile and Catalonia something more than the «little hidden thread» with which the Andalusian couplet ties the irritated lovers. Some day the parallel lives of the two peoples should be written.

Catalonia lacked a clear picture of its historical personality, a precise sense of the unity of its destiny, during the centuries in which Castile was forming itself as an autonomous political community conscious of its future, Catalonia also lacked courageous national heroes and a free people that could maintain the great human dialogue which led to the Castilian epopee. Land and life had never been in Catalonia, nor were then as rough as those that in Castile favored a tragic meaning of collective living and exploded in storms of roughness and violence. Neither the Atlantic flute nor the Mediterranean lyre had ever resounded in the ancestral lands of Castile, in Catalonia, when the swell of the Reconquest had barely stopped, the tender lyrical sounds of the ocean of millenary history were heard again.

Neither the remote past, of which I will speak later, nor the land, of which I have spoken before, nor the life as a cispyrenean appendix of the feudal Carolingian empire and in static defensive against the Mussulmans, could impel Catalonia towards epic poetry. Articulated in autonomous counties, organized manorially and with the border stationary for three centuries where the Frank conquerors left it, Catalonia lacked the bellicose and national incentives that could have helped to overcome tradition and geography. When at the end of the Caliphate there opened up before it a possibility of expansion, the impetus was lacking. The jongleurs beyond the mountains were spreading epic Frank legends through Catalonia, Catalan clerics were composing some laudatory Latin songs, and only perhaps very late, when there was the formation of national feeling, the contagion with the ultrapyrenean and the Castilian prompted some poetic narrations, about the founder of the count's house, at the beginning of the 12th century and about events even more modern; poetic narrations which if they existed —it is not certain— would have formed as a dim echo of the medieval European epopee.

Catalan history, land and life, on the other hand, favored the lyrical beginning as occurred in Provence. The intimate contacts with the latter and the linguistic brotherhood between the two peoples contributed to facilitate it. It is not possible to refer to the literary life of Catalonia forgetting the magnificent history of Catalan ultrapyrenean expansion. Initiated and favored by a series of political marriages, it lasted more than a century and a half. It began by the annexation of Carcassonne and of Rodez by Ramón Berenguer I in 1067 and ended, in fact, in the battle of Muret, of 1213, and in law, with the Treaty of Corbeil signed by James I in 1258. For more than a century the counts-kings always exercised, now authentic political sovereignty, now attenuated feudal tutelage over very extensive areas. From the marriage of Douce of Provence with Ramón Berenguer III the Great, Provençals and Catalans lived in very close political

relations; they were continuously ruled by princes of the same family and for two long stages the count of Barcelona —afterwards also king of Aragón— was at the same time marquis of Provence.

The cultural and vital relationship which united of old all those who live about the great Northern region of Western Mediterranean and the political and dynastic bonds which after a century and a half united Catalans and ultrapyreneans, included Catalonia in the great poetic movement of the South of France and converted it into one of its active elements. Its seigneurial structure, similar to that of Provence, favored the development of the courtly poetry South of the Pyrenees... Some counts-kings: Alfonso II, Peter II, James I... various magnates and knights: Guillén de Cabestany, Viscount de Bergadá, Gueráu de Cabrera... were excellent poets in Provençal. Whether the lyric of Southern France and courteous love sung in it suffered or not in greater or lesser measure the impact of poetic forms and of Hispano-Mussulman amorous ideas is a question which does not interest the central theme of this book. We possess no proof that Catalonia served as a vehicle for such problematic influences. If it did that, its mission must have been reduced to serve as a channel to take feeling and metric forms to the North of the Pyrenees —perhaps the latter and not the former— which, later, indirectly, it received along with the thematic and meters of Provençal lyric poetry.

The Catalan common people for a long time did not count politically nor in literature. For that reason, Latin continued to be the official and ecclesiastical language and Provençal, the poetic language. The Castilian language matured at the service of the communiy. In the Castile of free men, poets very soon looked for dialogue with the people and they wrote their ballads in Romance. Not much later, private notaries and royal scribes composed laws and charters also in Romance, because the masses were a decisive factor in the political mechanics of the kingdom. Soon the Learned King managed to put within the reach of that haughty and active people: the lesson of behavior which history suggests, the moral norm which right determines and the astronomical knowledge capable of pointing out —that was the belief of the times— the astral routes of life. On the other hand, Catalans matured through the efforts of superendowed individualities, moved by human impetus and not for the benefit of popular necessities nor for the general education of the community.

The first chroniclers and the protean and great figure, Raymond Lully created Catalan prose. Someone has believed that the impact of what is Arabic had been fruitful in such an awakening; Catalonia would have been impregnated by the overflows of Islamic lyric poetry and mysticism and they would have reached even the Chronicle of James I and the works of the great man from Mallorca.

The great masters Ribera and Asín and even second rate figures like González Palencia judged Raymond Lully to be an expert in Mussulman theology and influenced by the doctrines of the Islamic mystics. No one

discusses today that knowledge and influence. It suffices to look at the *Libro del gentil y de los tres sabios* and the *Libro del amigo y del amado* to support the already old thesis of the Spanish Arabists. Later, with excess, it has come to the point of connecting Lully's mystical experience with that of the Persian, Al-Hallaeh, of the 9th century. Ribera and Asín considered Lully's experience inspired by the *Intérprete de los amores,* by the Murcian Sufi Ibn 'Arabi (1165-1240).

Raymond Lully's dominion of the religious doctrines of Islam and his grasp of mystical sensibility of African and Oriental Sufis —it is doubtful that he travelled in Islamic Spain— do not authorize the presentation of his thoughts as the projection of Mussulman thought, nor Catalonia as impregnated by Oriental lyricism and mysticism. Raymond Lully was an exceptional figure, because of his singular genius and life. There is no possible parallel between the spiritual and vital atmosphere of Catalonia and of Mallorca in the days during which his solitary personality matured. When he was born in 1232 (?), not a lustrum had passed since the conquest of the island by James I (1229). In Lully's Mallorca, a very small minority of Christians lived among a compact mass of Islamites. Had he been born and had he lived in Catalan lands, with an old Occidental tradition and where the Moslem population was not numerous and was very humble —it only amounted to something in New Catalonia— is it doubtful that Raymond Lully would have received the impact of Sufi spirituality. Only in that strange center, which Mallorca was during the formative years of the exceptional man that Lully was, could he conceive his hopeful missionary enterprise, and he could prepare for it by learning Arabic and studying the religious doctrines of Islam. The great illusion, the great dream of his life was: the conversion of Mussulman infidels, which moved him to use the weapons of reason in order to accomplish successfully his quixotic deed; he declared it clearly many times and came to found a school of Oriental languages in Mallorca. It was in the course of his various chivalrous outings in search of divine adventures, when that singular Catalan was won over by the ideas and by the sensibility of those he did not manage to win for the faith of Christ.

The process of Lully's quixotic adventures is more than well known. It is not fitting to discuss the peculiarity of his position opposite the vital contexture of Catalonia. That contrast was to lead, in the end, to the condemnation of Lullysm by the Catalan Inquisitor Eymerich, a few years after the death of the Enlightened Doctor. No, the impregnation of Lully by Sufi religiosity and by Oriental lyricism does not derive from a specific predisposition of the vital contexture of Catalonia for the acceptance of the mysticism and the Arabo-Islamic methods of literary expression, nor did it create a spiritual atmosphere propitious to such an acceptance.

Moreover, it would be going very far to present Raymond Lully saturated by Islamic spirituality and vitally Arabized. By his mental activity and by his culture he was a man of the West and a man of his time, he

was able to blend the multiple spiritual influences that assailed him in the course of his life: Latin-ecclesiastical, troubadour-like, French and Oriental, and he ardently cultivated reason; I refer to the studies of brothers Carreras Artau... His mystical experience was Christian and he never ceased to keep in contact with Franciscanism. His missionary impetus was not rooted in the Islamic tradition, nor can we connect his rationalism and his belief in free will with Sufism. In him were united along with the Nicolau d'Olwer, Montoliu, D'Alos, Peers, Long Pré, Sureda Blanes, the and of his scientific ideas are still studied— and the man of action —we religious man: the scientist —the new ideas of his philosophical system shall see him define himself as such later— and finally his structure of life was quite removed from the one peculiar to the Sufis. Because of his temperamental heritage Lully was the archetype of the Spaniards of his time and even of the Spaniard of many other times of the past of Spain.

Several times, I have used the term quixotic to qualify the enterprises, deeds, and adventures of Raymond Lully. He was truly a Quijote at the service of faith. He undertook the conquest of the world for Christ with chimeric impetus, from the world of Islam, which ignored or scorned him, and from Christianity itself, which had abandoned him. He travelled without rest, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, was many times in Mussulman lands, visited the Papal court many times, went to councils, spoke with princes and doctors, taught and disputed in Paris and in Montpellier, begged, prayed, wrote, always with the hope of moving popes, kings, magnates, bishops, clerics... in favor of his great hope to convert the infidels and to gain Christians for the love of his «Loved One». Lully's adventure and chimera were worthy of the mad Hispanic *hidalgo* of the Mancha. He called himself mad in *Blanquerna,* in relating his presentation before the Pontiff. His contemporaries almost considered hin to be mad. On the way to the council of Vienna of 1311 he wrote *Disputatio clerici et Raymundi phantastici,* because one of the clerics he met on his way accused him of being fanciful. In that *Disputatio,* in which he discloses unmercifully the poor impression that people had of him and of his plans, he declares: «I was married, I had children, I was rich, lustful and mundane. I left it all to procure the honor of God, the common good and to exalt the holy faith. I learned Arabic, many times I went out to preach to the Saracens; I was arrested, incarcerated and whipped. For forty-five years I worked to move the Church and the Christian princes to common good. Now I am old and poor and I persist in the same goal and will continue so until my death.»

Forty-five years attempting to convert the infidels and to move pontiffs and princes to the common good! Yes, during forty-five years he had lived trying to undo wrongs on all the roads of the world, undertaking at times ventures as that of the windmills —in criticizing the dissolute life of the clergy— without ever obtaining greater results than those of his grandson of the Baroque days, the Ingenuous *Hidalgo* Don Quijote. Almost an

octogenarian, he asked the council to prohibit the teaching of Averroism, that the crusades should be renovated, that Military Orders should be founded in all of them and that everywhere they should found schools of Oriental languages.

That Quijote of the Gothic poured all his Hispanism into his writings. The whole man that Lully was is always within them disclosing the secrets of his personality at each step. Many of his fictional pages are authentic autobiography. He appears even in his philosophical and scientific works. In all there is uncontrollable human pressure. The torrent of his passionate ego overflows at every moment. It has been said of him: he never knew how to speak about anything but himself.

Above the rocks of his seraphic religiosity always appears the foam of his Hispanic pride: in the *Libro del amigo y del amado,* he writes: «The friend (himself) is the messenger of the loved one (God) to the Christian and infidel princes in order to teach them the art and his principles so that they can know and love his Loved One.» In order to reach his noble missionary goal he declares that he intented to write the best book in the world. In *El desconsuelo* he says to the hermit with whom he is dialoguing: «I bring an *Arte general* that was inspired by the Holy Spirit, through which men can know all natural things according to the comprehension of the intellect by feelings. It serves to learn law, medicine and all sciences, and likewise to learn, Theology, which for me is the most valuable science of all. There is no other *Arte* worth so much to solve problems and to destroy errors by natural reason» (VIII). And he insists later: «I assure you that I am tired of teaching, and if real men were to study in my books and through other doctrine, they would not forget, I would be known; but some people read like cats passing through burning embers, for that reason I get almost nowhere in this affair. But if there were some who would remember my *Arte* and would understand it, and would not doubt, through my works they could put the world in a good state» (XXII).

As Spaniards of the beginning of our era, Lully was always ready for death —material death, naturally—; he wrote in order to find people ready to bear it, preaching and he exhorted the Pope to look for such people.

He himself admitted to his vehemence, when in *El desconcuelo,* he has the hermit with whom he is dialoguing say: «Raymond, it seems to me that you are not a patient man, because I see that you worry about anything at all... An impatient man is not pleasing to God, and for that reason he does not permit that the affair you are attempting in his honor, be successful» (I). He knew himself. He barely opens a valve of his interior life or makes a movement or says a word and immediately, his Hispanic passion bursts out and overflows.

In *Blanquerna* he wrote: «The Sultan was very amazed that the Pope and the Christian princes in their plans to conquer the Holy Land used the same tactics as Mohammed, who conquered at sword's point and why

they did not use the methods of Jesus Christ and of the Apostles who converted people through preaching and martyrdom » But in the end, his militant Christianity, of Hispanic root, won and his late writings, he defended the efficacy of the crusade and asked of the Pope and the council, to resume the ancient war adventures to the land watered by the blood of Christ.

His mysticism imbued with love was combined with an impetus of action, of continuous and frantic action. Not only did he run through the world without rest; his activism overflows even in his philosophical and scientific works and gives movement and life, even to his favorite literary form: the allegory.

His daily life as his spiritual creations are burning with human warmth.

There stand out in Lully, temperamental features which bring him close to many other archetypes of famous Spaniards whose names are known by all. Enlightened Quixotism, explosive and torrential ego, activism triumphing over quiet adoration, chimeric hope of changing the world at will, impetuous pride that produces irritation in clashing with scorn, soul ready for death, vehement impatience, militant Christianity... His knowledge of the religious doctrine of Islam and his grasp of the Sufi ideas and forms of expression had not managed to alter the uncontrollable Hispanic vital contexture of the Catalan transplanted to Mallorca who was the Enlightened Doctor.

With the methods of mystical expression of that Gothic Quijote, Lully has been connected with the Baroque Spanish imagery. He writes about divine love: «The loved one dressed his friend, mantle, coat of arms and skirt, making love hats, thought shirts, tribulation shoes and tear garlands.» From these words an essay writer has concluded: «One foresees integralism, plastic lyricism of the 17th century sculpture with his intermingling of spirit and matter, divinity and humanity —the images of Alonso Cano or Pedro de Mena.» I am not brave enough to follow in this disproportionate prediction and I suspect that I am not the only one to refuse to connect Lully's phrases with the gesticulating dramatic nature of the Castilian and Andalusian painters or sculptors.

The *Crónica* of James I has been alleged, in proof of how Catalonia was already porous to the confessional overflows of the writer's intimacy, overflows which have been supposed to be of evident Moslem origin. The intimate projections of the man Don James in his supposed biography are unquestionable.

The discussed paternity of *El libre de Feyts* raises an unavoidable question. It is not the same thing if the king wrote the chronicle or someone in his name, or if it was composed later on the basis of confidential remembrances of Don James interwoven with poetic and romance accounts, without any intervention of the monarch. To judge from the studies of Montoliu and Nicolau D'Olwer the problem is very complicated and delicate. It is certain that we only have the retouched Catalan translation

—a work of 1343— of a Latin version of 1313 —also manipulated— of the original whose authentic outline is very difficult to determine. It is clear that the reality of such problems and such versions —the last translator is the first one to use the majestic plural, in the primitive text were used, now the first person, now the third, singular— raise doubts and cause shadows on the autobiographism of the chronicle. Even admitting to it —which is granting a lot— it is extremely improbable that the supposed psychic projections of Don James be of Hispano-Arabic origin and that they reflect a literary practice peculiar to Catalonia.

It has been said of Don James that he reveals his basic Spanish being in «spontaneity, disproportion, reduction of the objective order to the possibility of encompassing all in the person himself». Yes, the «Conquistador» was an integral Spaniard. His Spanish being is what is clearly shown in his chronicle. His confessional overflows are nothing more that the usual projections, very remote and very modern of the explosive ego of the Spaniards, obsessed by themselves, but not by work and grace of Islam, but by their vital and psychic condition, born of their singular history. All the characteristics granted to the integralism of the Spaniards —I have mentioned them before— are those that distinguish the vital overflows of Don James. He is not carried away by a fluid world without firmness nor does he dissolve his person in the world; he does not feel himself in things; his personality is not formed in opposition to those of the people around him; he mixes the high and the low in order to encompass as much as possible within his vital radius and he feels things in themselves.

Neither is his vitalism necessarily of Hispano-Mussulman origin, nor his taste for intimate confessions. The parallel established between a passage of the Conquistador's chronicle and that of Saint Louis, by Joinville, discloses, the differences which separated and separate what is French from what is Spanish, genetically united with those that distinguised 2,000 years ago Gauls from Hispanic people and accentuated with the passing of time. It verifies that this taste for the autobiographical slidings was also frequent beyond the Pyrenees, in lands free from the contagion of the Islamic forms of life.

It has been affirmed that autobiographism, intimate confessions are Semitic features. Because he was a Semite —it is not proven— Saint Agustine wrote his; because Montaigne's grandmother was Jewish and Saint Teresa had a Hebrew grandfather, they were attracted by the same taste for confidence; and between the Semite of the 5th century and their grandsons of the 16th century, Ibn Hazm, Ibn 'Arabi... and a series of Hispano-Christians would have shown similar autobiographical inclinations.

Devotion to an idea which attracts us by its newness and its brilliance has moved us all to its exteriorization, at the risk of confronting contradiction and absurdity. Saint Agustine saturated with Roman culture, anchored in the agonizing Roman life style and filled with fervor for the

new Christian faith would have succumbed to the temptation of disclosing his intimacy because he was Semite by race and therefore the mysterious inclination of the lineage would have triumphed in him. It would have been so strong in people of Semitic origin that a few drops of Hebraic blood would have sufficed for its manifestation after 1,000 years in the Castilian Saint Teresa and in the French Montaigne, even after the passage of so much water under the bridges of history.

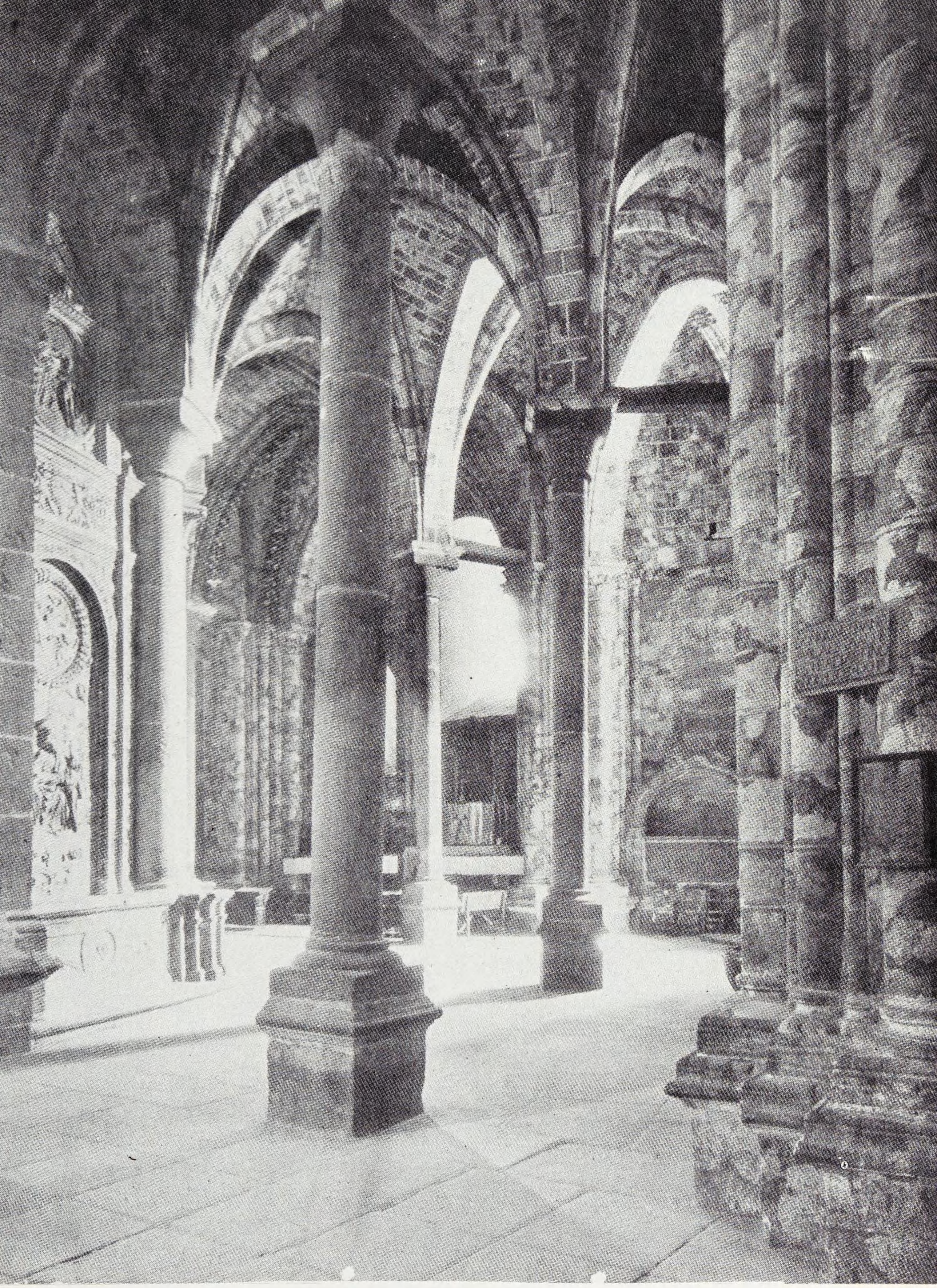
Race, on the other hand, would have had no influence on Ibn Hazm, a Spaniard by race and vital reactions; his being in a culture and religion of Semitic origin would have sufficed for him to follow the attraction of autobiographical confessions.

Islamic Spain, with Western blood, temperament and vital contexture, would have been so filled by this pleasure in confidence, that it would have managed to win over the Hispano-Christians' wills.

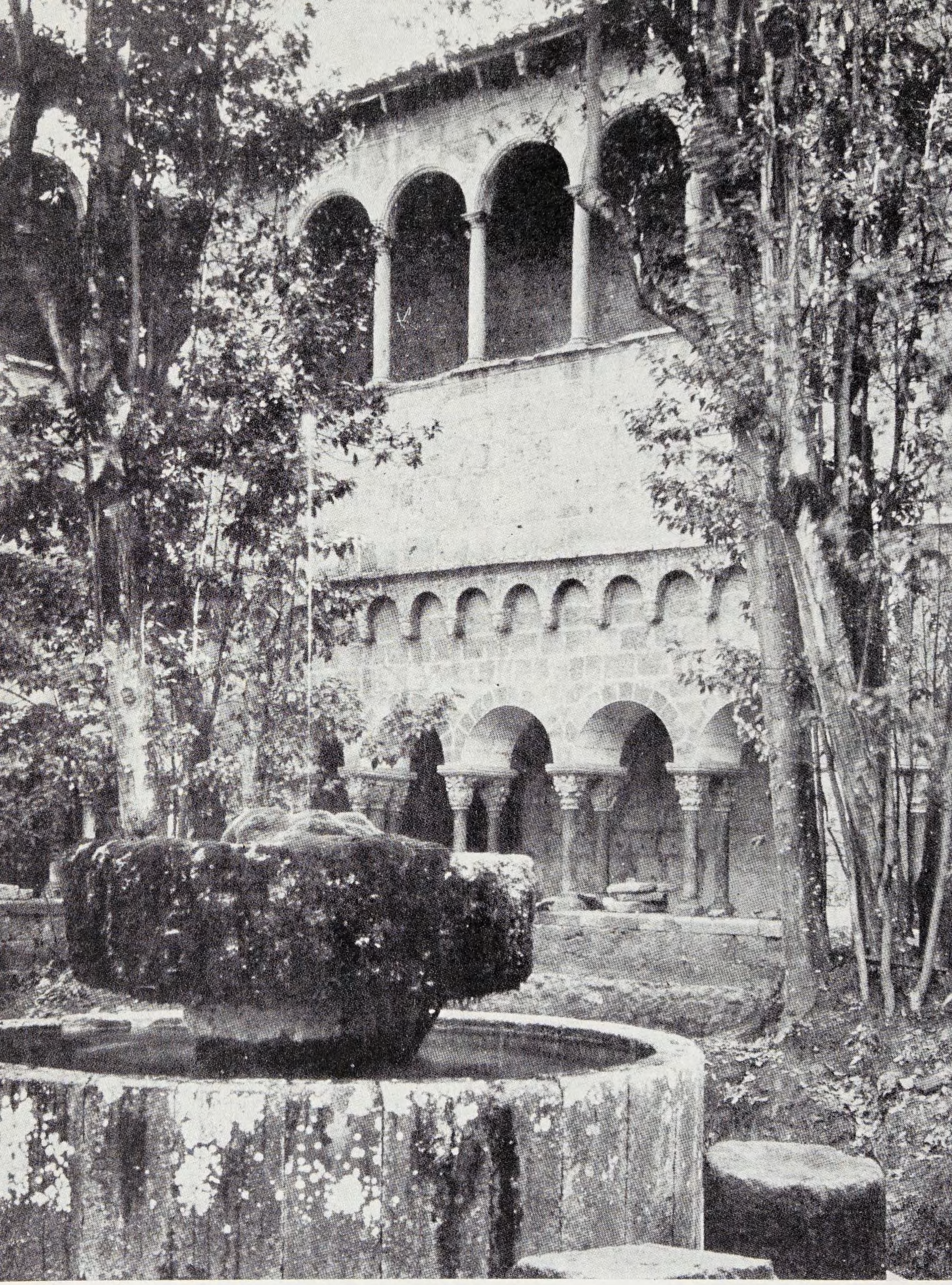
Will it not be more reasonable to suppose that this inclination to confidence is the fruit of a concrete movement of the soul of real men, whatever their cultural and ethnic background, religious background and temperamental heritage? There have been Spanish Jews and Moors inclined to disclose their intimacy and there have been those who are arch hermetic, and so it has been in all peoples and at all times. Naturally men are prisoners of their environment and they cannot easily overcome this. In many stages of the changing sensibility of a historical community, it gets to be, if not impossible, extremely difficult to channel this or that psychic inclination; in others, there arise from the milieu, very strong stimuli to move men towards expressive formulas which would not have come up in battle against the times. Ordinarily the absence of too strong inhibiting curbs is sufficient to allow the opening of the spigots of the individual literary desires. The opening of one or the other of these doors is not sufficient to permit the characterization of a human community. Even in history it is not possible to prescind from statistics. Only when the same cultural or vital manifestations are repeated over and over along the past of a people, or identical human inclinations, it is possible to speak of collective temperamental modalities. They are not rooting in distant lineages nor in mere spiritual contextures, but in the very integral life of the nation, in which are interwoven the most varied psychic, ethnic, historical, telluric currents which cannot be isolated according to one's whim.

We cannot forget all the complex history of the composition of the *Libre del Feyts* —notes of Don James' life, Latin redaction (1313) and Catalan version (1343)— nor the synchronism of this reworked or truncated autobiography, with the autobiographical overflows of other Spaniards of the time: Raymond Lully, Don Juan Manuel, the Archpriest... and of other contemporaries of France or Italy.

The questionable Hispanic autobiographism of the *Libre del Feyts* would thus be the result of Don James' personal inclination to the confi-



65.—In the repopulated cities between the central Cordillera and the Duero were built in the 12th century numerous Romanesque churches and they began to construct cathedrals. The majority of these were finished without altering the primitive plans. Some were changed to give way to the new Gothic architecture. We find them, therefore, in the *Girola nave of the cathedral of Ávila.*



66.—*Cloister of Saint Cugat del Vallés (Barcelona)* of the 12th and 13th centuries. Beautiful specimen of those that adorned hundreds and hundreds of cathedrals and monasteries in the Peninsula and Hispanic America through all the centuries, of all styles and categories. Its author, Arnaldo Gotell, impelled by his Hispanic temperament, signed his own carved image constructing a capital. It is one of the most beautiful Catalan Romanesque works.

dence of his own intimacy, of the very height of the times, that had opened windows to conscience or the human heart, in Spain and outside.

The vital lyricism of Don James does not seem to me to be of Islamic origin, and I write vital lyricism to distinguish it from literary lyricism. It is certain that the latter requires a lyrical temperament but man's lyrical inclination is not always poured into poetic lyrical creations. Such was the case of Don James. Son of his land, he would found himself more prone to vital lyricism than a man from Aragón, Navarre or Castile. But we cannot prescind from the singular equation between the trilogy of psychic forces: spirit, emotions and instincts of the real man who was the king of Aragón, in order to explain him.

We cannot forget what the speculative and operative forces of every man owe to his singular temperamental equation. Don James suffered from sentimental or romantic pathos, which many men of all times and all lands have suffered or enjoyed, independently from the dominating psychic climate around them. The Conquistador showed in the course of his long life the same ingenuous and graceful lyricism shown in the passages from his chronicle. Historians are well aware of the thankless political corollaries which that singular way of being of Don James caused in the Crown of Aragón, zigzagging between energy, cruel at times, and weakness, at times tearful.

For us to accept Islamic roots to Don James' sensibility, it would be necessary to explain how a man raised and educated first in Carcassonne in an ultrapyrenean milieu, then in Monzon, with the Templars, a man who spent his adolescence in the midst of the squalls and discords that troubled his youth, and who saw continuous battle later, devoted to his great reconquering undertakings and in the center of many serious family and political questions, how such a man could have contracted the Oriental disease. It is understandable that he was as he was because by nature he possessed that romantic and sentimental pathos that distinguished him, but it is dificult to believe that someone who lived as he did could acquire a temperamental lyricism of Islamic influence.

Neither in his actions nor in his chronicle does Don James fit in the Moorish tradition, unless we should want to connect with it his passion for women, passion which naturally millions of men before Islam and outside of it had felt in all times and countries

It is very probable that we owe the appearance of the first autobiopraphical overflows of Christian Spain to the temperamental emotive luxury of the man Don James and not to some kind of Islamic vital projections in Catalonia. If Catalonia had really been open to the contagion of the Hispano-Mussulman forms of life, it might be possible to discover some other trace of that Islamic life style, because a swallow —the swallow that had taken shelter with Don James— does not make the Summer.

Chapter VIII

AGAINST THE SUPPOSED MUDEJARISM OF THE ARCHPRIEST

1. The why of these pages

I have never manifested hostility to the theories of the Spanish and non-Spanish Arabists about the influences of the thought, letters, arts, customs and in general Hispano-Mussulman life upon the life, customs, arts, letters and the thought of Wertern Europe. In my *España musulmana*, I have recorded with pleasure the results of the investigation of peninsular Arabism about such influences. Therefore, the connection of the *Libro de buen amor* with the literary tradition of Spanish Islam, could not cause any adverse reaction in me. Therefore, I started, with a mind propitious to approbation, the reading of the long study in which that thesis is developed. As I was getting deeper into it, and even more in coming back to it, I became convinced that the possible contacts of the Archpriest with Arabo-Hispanic life and culture had been enormously hypertrophied.

Before the disproportionate theories that have presented the *Libro de buen amor* as the fruit of the cultural Christian-Islamic graft and its author as following Semitic models, either Arabic or Hebraic, because of the significance of Juan Ruiz in Spanish literature, once more I have had no freedom of choice.

My limited knowledge and my roughness in these matters, as the Archpriest would say, have not succeeded in stopping me. In spite of not knowing more than «a working ox» about Romanic and Arabic literature, from the «little bit that I heard to dispute» about them —I am continuing to paraphrase Juan Ruiz—, I made up my mind to voice my disagreement with the mentioned thesis. Will I succeed in refuting it? I will submit myself to the judgment of the learned in literary themes. Perhaps my pages will serve as a spur and incentive to make them have the final word. Because of its projections upon the history of the national literature the topic is sufficiently serious to merit that one should risk —as I do— to break the silence and to face the problem rigorously.

It has been said that the *Libro de Buen Amor* does not tie in with Castilian literature of the previous centuries nor with Romanic literature, and that the methods used in the interpretation of poetry beyond the Pyrenees fail to understand it. Such a negative attitude about the connection of the Archpriest with the literary models of Western Europe is risky. The specialists who have dealt with Juan Ruiz, from before Menéndez y Pelayo until after Lecoy, have been demonstrating the derivation from ultrapyrenean texts, in Latin or Romance, of most, if not the totality, of «Buen Amor», and every day new contacts and influences between them are verified. Such a connection has been minimized, until almost removing it from our sight. It is not fitting to deny that the Archpriest knew marvelously well the clerical and goliardic literature of Western Europe That knowledge implies an unavoidable projection of his attention and interest towards themes and literary forms of medieval Christianity.

Menéndez Pelayo observed already the evident parallelism which the strange mixture of devotion and lewdness, characteristic of the Archpriest's work, shows with works of Jean de Meung, Chaucer, Gualterio Mapes, Boccaccio... Menéndez Pidal has mentioned the buffoonery of Juan Ruiz; Leo Spitzer the rôle of Western didacticism in the *Libro de Buen Amor.* Lecoy has confirmed such interpretations in studying in detail the Romanic sources of the Archpriest. María Rosa Lida has insisted upon the relationship with ultrapyrenean literary currents, of the connection between divine and human, and of other singularities of the poetic creation of Juan Ruiz. Kellermann has pointed out that Ruiz used a great number of literary genres of the European Middle Ages: argument, fable, example, proverb, Marian poetry, bucolic poetry, farce, satire... There has been silence, or little said about this, but it has been impossible to prove the inaccuracy of all these parallelisms, relationships, connections, bonds between the *Libro de Buen Amor* and forms of thought and of artistic creation of the ultrapyrenean Western Christianity. How can we deny that these contacts, approximations, coincidences, imitations, influences corroborate the marked and specific orientation of the Archpriest towards the ideas, sensibility and literary customs of beyond the Pyenees?

No one denies that the Achpriest's poetic voice is new in the ensemble of the poetic voices of Christian Spain and Romania; but does such a reality authorize to place «buen amor» in the Hispano-Arabic literary tradition? Such a thesis would only be admissible if Juan Ruiz would prove to have dominion of Spanish Islamic literature at least similar to his mastery over ultrapyrenean literature. From before Menéndez y Pelayo until after Lecoy it has been pointed out that whatever apologues of Oriental flavor his «book» includes could have been read by him in Hispanic works as the *Disciplina clericalis* of the Jewish convert Pero Alfonso or in the Castilian translations of *Calila e Dimna* and of *Sendebar.* It has been demonstrated that the Hispano-Arabic metric form of the *zéjel,* sometimes used by Juan Ruiz, could have been imitated or taken

from peninsular Christian poetry which had already used it very frequently.

The novelty which the poetic voice of the Archpriest can present in the ensemble of the poetic voices of Christian Spain and Romania, demands the investigation of the origins that such a change supposes, and suggests the theme of how the changes and the turns in the literary currents of people come up and triumph. Are such changes and turns always necessarily the result of the imitation of foreign historical-literary processes more or less remote? Can they not be the fruit of the combination of the desire for novelties by superendowed writers, with the oscillations, changes and exchanges of the vital climate —psychic, social, political and even economic— of a human community, in function of the singular temperamental equation of the genial man who initiates the movement?

No one has wondered about this problem. The analysis of the double spiritual and physical balance of Juan Ruiz, marked, obviously, within the historical peculiarities of the Castile of his time, has been left aside.

Already in the first pages of the study motivating these lines, even before initiating the attempt to prove the Archpriest's connection with the Islamic literary tradition, has been started an insistent reiteration of the reality of such a connection through categorical affirmations: «Juan Ruiz'buffoonery was Hispano-Arabic», he was «imbued with Islamic spirit», and «very familiar with Islamic life», «the book of Juan Ruiz is the first and most advanced poetic projection in the spiritual land of Islam», «he knew about the world from his Arabic readings...» One has wanted in vain to impress upon our minds the idea that the Archpriest is within the mark of Hispano-Arabic literature. Such haste in venturing such precise and unproven affirmations is sufficient to suggest doubts about them.

What I have to allege against the direct linking of the *Libro de Buen Amor* with Hispano-Arabic literature does not, obviously, imply a necessary negation of the possible influence of ideas, superstitions, customs, fashions, linguistic usages, fables, legends, traditions and literary Oriental or better Hispano-Arabic themes in the Archpriest. In a vague, confused, imprecise, involuntary and subconscious way, Juan Ruiz could have received the vital and cultural impact of what is Hispano-Islamic which in a diffuse and vague way was floating in the New Castile of the Tagus and in the regions of new colonization of the Guadalquivir and Segura. Nevertheless, we cannot exaggerate that influence when we know the exact number of the minorities of Islamite origin who lived in Castile after the forced exodus of the Moors of Granada, numbers determined by Lapeyre: 80.000 *Mudéjars* and Moors in 400.000 square kilometers and against the easy anger, the bitterness, the audacious religious flight and «the It will always be necessary to limit concretely the influence received by Juan Ruiz since we now know that in the whole Archpriesthood of Hita governed by him, only 11 *Mudéjars*!! lived in 1581 and we can presume that there could not have been many more in the 14th century.

2 Juan Ruiz was not aware of Ibn Hazm

The demonstration of the Archpriest' *mudejarism* has been centered on the knowledge and imitation by the latter of *The Dove's Ring* of the Cordovan poligraph of the 11th century, Ibn Hazm. I fear that the condition of «Treatise about love and lovers» of the work of the Hispano-Mussulman author has been the spark which brought out the idea about the connection between the two authors.

If the panorama had been real, it is certain that Spanish Arabists would have greeted it with great joy. His devotion to Ibn Hazm who occupied the jealous attention of the great master of contemporary Spanish Arabism, Don Miguel Asín, and who continues to attract his disciples' attention, would have prompted them to welcome the mentioned thesis with delight, with all the more delight since it came to extend the limits of the influences of Hispano-Arabic thought upon Western culture, influences which, rightly, they enjoy discovering.

Nevertheless, the most astute investigator of Hispano-Arabic poetry, García Gómez, translator and commentator of Ibn Hazm, first considered the influences of *The Doves Ring* on the «Buen Amor» very questionable, and he continues to think that it is daring and premature to affirm the direct relation of the two works.

According to García Gómez, Ibn Hazm in his youth belonged to a «minority of youth of high society, elegant, not very esthetic, with much snobism and dilettantism, who were dealing with literature and who in literature raised a revolutionary program». Their literary ideal was «furiously aristocratic and pro-Arabic» but was also nationalistic. They hated what was popular Hispanic, took care to be aware of the poetic fashions of Bagdad, but aspired to escape from them and to create, thinking, especially Ibn Hazm, about their Spanish homeland. Asín told us about the restless life of the author of *The Dove's Ring*: exiled, a conspirator, public man first, then man of studies, theologian, philosopher, jurist, polemist, severe critic of religious routine, violent censor of tyranny and tyrants, fighting against everything and every one, and thus, for many decades, until his final defeat and fall.

It is difficult to find a soul and a life more opposed to those of the Castilian cleric: sedentary, cautious, roguish, humble at times, only ready for a joke, incapable of direct attack, very anchored in what was popular and imbued with the beginning bourgeois spirit. There would never have come from Juan Ruiz' pen expressions as this one of Ibn Hazm:

I am a hard, stony land,
reticent and against all vegetation.

An abyss separates the magnificent moral rigidity, the critical impetus, the vehement pride, the Quixotism, the punctilious veneration of honor,

the easy anger, the bitterness, the audacious religious fright and «the exquisite soul, imbued with neo-platonism and ascetic misogyny», of Ibn Hazm, from the spiritual profile of the jovial, epicurean, mischievous, sensual, sulky, cunning cleric, who greatly enjoyed life, a great admirer of feminine charms and ironic with a tendency to the grotesque, who was Juan Ruiz. It would have been surprising that he would be attracted by the personality of the one, who as a theologian wrote «Historia crítica de las religiones», and as thinker composed a book on «Los caracteres y la conducta», of someone who upon disclosing the intimacy of his spirit and stating his observation about men's psychology now is close to Seneca, now shows affinities with Saint Augustine, now reminds one of Democritus or Theophrastus, now anticipates La Bruyère or Bacon, now shows himself as the ancestor of Quevedo, Larra or of Unamuno.

The author of *Spain in its history* has not understood Ibn Hazm well as García Gómez has just observed. The latter does not accept that the author of *The Dove's Ring* moved in a world penetrated by the Sufi spirituality. Asín had come to pointing out his hostility towards the speculative and ascetic and mystical doctrines of the Sufis and had written that he «abominated» them, and does not believe that he would mix human and divine love as has been affirmed. «Of divine love strictly speaking, in the unilateral meaning which we understand in using the term —says García Gómez—, there is nothing in Ibn Hazm's theology, nor can there be in the Zahiri doctrine.»

It has been written: «Ibn Hazm speaks of some lives, his and others', immersed in love and of the final renunciation to its deceiving delights.» «Ibn Hazm subtly analyzes the effects of love on his soul and on other people's, without establishing greater intimacy with his object in the second case than in the first. his ego and other egos are within the same distance, interchangeable.» It is not correct that Ibn Hazm did not put a special accent in speaking of his own amorous experience. He was too Hispanic to avoid the intermingling at each step, of his personal experiences in his reflections about love, and his work is really filled with autobiographical confessions and intimate confidences. We cannot deny his psychic incursions in the sentimental and passional life of his contemporaries nor his final renunciation to the deceiving delights of love. The Archpriest's ego was obsessed with himself, it is not interchangeable with another. Juan Ruiz is only interested in his own amorous life. He never thought about renouncing the delights —for him they were something more than delights. they were urgent desires —deceiving— they were not deceiving for him but extremely pleasant and urgent— of love.

«Islamism and neoplatonism combined made it possible to maintain the peaceful co-existence of erotism and religion», of Ibn Hazm, it has been said. In the Archpriest that co-existence was not peaceful but pugnacious and if it did not get to be painful it was because Juan Ruiz' soul

was overflowing with happiness, humor and «he was incapable of abandoning himself to serious asceticism».

Ibn Hazm does not curb his pen and reports obscenities which he reproduces as examples. His amorous feelings have been included by Asín within the framework of chaste *Udri* love. Ibn Hazm's love has been qualified of exquisite and it has been said of him: «that it converts a sentimental experience into a sunset iridescent with beauties». I doubt that Ibn Hazm was an adept of the *Udri* theory about love, theory which implied renunciation of desire. He never renounced anything but sin. «I never untied my cloak for illicit intercourse», he writes in *The Doves Ring*, and in *Los caracteres y la conducta*: «Continence has its limits in that you remove from your sight and all your members from any body that is not licit to you... But to deprive oneself of what God permits is weakness and impotence». In the «Ring» he declares also that in regards to sexual instinct among men, Allah, very kind with bachelors, had only condemned adultery. The same Asín points out that he considered virginity and mystical celibacy an imperfection, in hostility to the Sufis. But we cannot deny the sentimental tone of some of his amorous experiences and the subtlety and sharpness of his philosophical, psychological and moral reflections about love. The Archpriest throws himself to the side of sexual love; there is nothing in him that reminds one of the neoplatonism, romantic, tender, sweetness of the Cordovan poet. His mentionings of his loves have nothing to do with examples, they are autobiographical projections, either his or of a poetic subject, which comes to the same thing. If, on the other hand, Juan Ruiz does not go to the expressive obscenity of Ibn Hazm, he never pours his amorous experience into the iridescent beauty of a sunset, but into rough and direct expressions of carnal desire.

The Cordovan esthete has of love the ambiguous idea of the Andalusians of his generation which did not exclude «particular friendships», nor the sentimental inclination and even carnal passion, from man to man, and which was projected from polygamy to licit intercourse with slaves: bought, cloistered, enjoyed and, in the end, sold again. In the cleric of Hita triumphed the robust, natural and simplistic heterosexual concept of love of Castile of his time, marked by monogamy and, at most, halting before concubinage.

While Juan Ruiz had an intense power of vision of material realities, a vivid sensorial potential which enabled him to go through the world about him with all five senses and to grasp of it the richest, most varied and baffling collection of sensations, Ibn Hazm had his retina accustomed to looking at men —their souls and their actions— more than things among which men moved, and his capacity to venture acute psychological observations was not accompanied by a similar power to grasp sensorially the minute reality of the objects of our world. In the Dove's Ring, there is not a single passage in which we can find even the shadow of one of

those descriptive orgies, saturated with realism, which we find in «*Buen Amor*».

The contraposition which separates *The Dove's Ring* or «Book of Love» of Ibn Hazm from the work of the Archpriest is not minor. Asín describes that of the Cordovan poligraph thus: «the book is a psychological study of love preceded by a preface in which the author states the motive of his composition and the historical and autobiographical character of his work». «It adopts the conventional form of a literary epistle addressed from Jativa by Abenházam to a friend of his, in answer to another which the latter had written to him from Almería». «The thirty chapters of this epistle can be distributed in four groups: They include the first ten chapters which deal with the essence of love, the symptoms that manifest it and the occasional causes that produce it, or the ways through which it penetrates into the heart, namely: dream, the description of the beloved, the looks, the prolonged relation, the mere allusion in words, the signals with the eyes, the epistolary correspondance and the intermediary. The second group encompasses twelve chapters about the attributes and the accidents of love. In them Abenházam studies the following themes: the friend protector of the lovers, the union of the two, the kept secret, the revealed secret, the submissive lover, the inconsiderate lover, the one who falls in love with a single quality or even a defect; the one, who humbly, is happy with very little; the unfaithful lover; love sickness; death due to love. The third group has six chapters devoted to the dangers and the calamities which threaten love, namely: mutual reproaches among lovers; spying; calumnies; rupture; simple separation; oblivion. The last two chapters form the fourth group in which Abenházam, not as a psychologist, but as moralist, condemns adultery and illicit loves».

In each chapter the author follows regularly this method: first he exposes the psychological data of the corresponding erotic theme; he clarifies and verifies them later with historical and autobiographical accounts; then he comments upon them through fragments of poetry, almost always of Abenházam himself.

The accuracy of this description of *The Dove's Ring* can be verified by all those who want to look at any of the six versions in modern languages —English, Russian, German, Italian, French and Spanish— which exist today of Ibn Hazm's work. A simple general glance at «the Ring» forces us to guard against its supposed imitation in the *Libro del Buen Amor*, so far by its central idea, by literary architecture, by its thematic contents, by everything, from the *Risada* sketched by Asín. García Gómez the last of its translators, has just sharply analyzed *The Dove's Ring*. He calls it an Andalusian elegy, of nostalgic resurrection of an exile from the great Caliphal metropolis. *The Dove's Ring* is the love story of a generation written by a great thinker, capable of the most beautiful rhetorical niceties and who was able to inlay his exposition with a magnificent «diwan»; with a long series of philosophical and ascetic poems of great

depth of thought or of enormous emotive strength. Here are some which I gather at random:

I cannot doubt that you are a pure spirit attracted to us
By the similarity which binds souls.
There is no more proof to attest your corporal incarnation
Nor any other argument than that you are visible.
If our eyes did not contemplate your being, we would say
That you were true Sublime Reason.

Was it an idea which reason brought forth in its reflections?
Was it a spiritual image that illumined the thought?
Was it a phantom formed by the hopes of the soul,
And that sight had the illusion of reaching?

I am jealous for you until my eyes reach you,
And I fear that the touch of my hand might disolve you,
To keep myself from this I avoid meeting you
And I propose to unite myself with you while I sleep.
Thus, my spirit if I dream is at your side, separate
From the corporal members, hidden and secret.
Then to unite with you, the union of the souls
Is better a thousand times than the union of the bodies.

Pastor of stars am I, as if it were my duty
To pasture all the heavenly bodies and planets.
The stars in the night are the symbol
Of the fires of love burning in the darkness of my mind.
It seems that I am guardian of this dark green garden of heaven
Whose tall weeds are adorned by daffodils.

I would like to open my heart with a knife
To place you inside it and then close up my chest.
So that you would be in it and would not dwell in another's,
Until the day of the resurrection and of the judgment.
So that you would dwell in it during my life, and at my death
You would be in the interlining of my heart in the darkness of the sepulcher.

Is there anything further from Juan Ruiz's amorous theoretics than Ibn Hazm's ideas, beautiful and pure poetic lilies which adorn the perfumed garden of his «diwan»? García Gómez has rightly said that «real abysses of spiritual differences» separate *The Dove's Ring* from the *Buen Amor.*

Asín concludes his opinion of Ibn Hazm's work: «The style of this book is completely different from that of the other books: select and even affected terms abound in it; the richness of synonyms for the expression

of the same idea or feeling is also extraordinary; for that reason reading it is not easy».

García Gómez has qualified *The Dove's Ring* of «rich in select synonyms and reasonably filled with rhetoric». «The literary art with which Ibn Hazm has composed his book —he adds— is extraordinary». Then he details some of its niceties. «Fundamentally it is written by a literary man, even more than by a poet...». «His verses enter into what the Arabic critics themselves call the poetry of th wise, which is always clearly forced». Ibn Hazm himself boasted of being above what we could consider the subterfuges of the profession. García Gómez also says of «The Ring» «it is an aristocratic and very difficult book».

As Lecoy has demonstrated, it is far from being probable that the Archpriest should know Arabic, but even if he had jabbered it —it is not permissible to consider his mastery of Ibn Hazm's language greater— the stylistic difficulties of the work of the great Cordovan thinker raise an insurmountable obstacle to their utilization by Juan Ruiz.

Such an erudite expert of Arabic literature as García Gómez has just pointed out that *The Dove's Ring* was barely known and exploited by the Mussulmans of the West, he only records it use by Ibn al-Jatib (14th century) of Granada, and the Moroccan Al Maqqari (17th century); but the latter, a great fan of the great historian of Granada could have taken only the three verses of Ibn Hazm which he quotes in his work, from Ibn al-Jatib. The same García Gómez doubts that *The Dove's Ring* was known by the carmelite friar Joseph of Jesus Mary, as has been pretended. He rightly doubts, because the friar limits himself to gathering the indications that the Arab doctors offer of the love «sick», indications which are even more ample than those stated by Ibn Hazm. It is very doubtful that Islamic doctors whose information was used by the author of *Excelencias de la virtud de la castidad,* would have taken their inspiration from *The Dove's Ring* —they offer many more details than Ibn Hazm. But in any case nothing justifies the supposition that Friar Joseph of Jesus Mary lied and did not know some medical traditions of the contemporary Spanish *Moriscos.*

It is hard to believe that Juan Ruiz, whose mastery over Arabic is more than problematic and of whom no one dares to suppose that he was interested in Hispano-Arabic poetry, should know the very difficult book of Ibn Hazm, which only one Spanish Mussulman author had used and of which, until today, there has only been one unique Oriental manuscript. It does not even seem licit to suppose that the Archpriest of Hita could have known about *The Dove's Ring* through the *Moriscos* of the Kingdom of Toledo, since it is incredible that the work of Ibn Hazm would surpass in interest the Hispano-Arabic writers and poets from the 11th to the 15th century.

The parallel of some passages of *The Dove's Ring* and of *El Libro del Buen Amor* does not force me, besides, to overcome this conviction. It

has not been proven that Juan Ruiz read Ibn Hazm, not even that he verbally knew of *The Dove's Ring.*

The phrases where the Archpriest declares that he wrote his work to give example and so that all could keep themselves from the mastery that some used in mad love, have nothing to do with the phrases in which Ibn Hazm apologizes for having mentioned the procuresses, saying that he did it in order to guard against them; the poet-cleric was inspired in the predominant tradition in Western Europe. The grotesque words that Juan Ruiz places on Caton's lips: let us rejoice because worries sadden, cannot be connected with those of Abu Darda: «Let the souls play on some insignificant thing which serves them to reach the truth», nor with the supposed saying of the Prophet: «Let the souls rest, because, if they do not, they gather rust like iron»; the pseudo-Catonian ideas of the cleric of Hita had been reproduced in the *Libro de Nobleza e Lealtad,* presented to Saint Ferdinand, and in the *Partidas* II, 5, 20. How to make the angry remarks of Ibn Hazm about the *guardian,* whom he compares to fever and pleurisy, inspire the declarations of the Archpriest that he could not be alone with a landlady with whom he had fallen in love, because in her house they avoided men?

It is not even remotely probable that the Archpriest took from Ibn Hazm the idea that he developed in his ballad about Fernán García, the third one to take his place in a woman's love. Ibn Hazm does allude to an amorous messenger who created a rivalry between himself and his beloved and who replaced him. But Lecoy has pointed out that the theme of the replacement by a third person was very frequent in the Middle Ages and he quotes the comedy *De nuncio sagaci,* a passage of André le Chapelain and various other texts in which such an idea appears. Moreover, the Archpriest could find around himself more than one such case, if in truth, he did not suffer himself the rascality of some «traitor, false, cheat».

If there is anything certain it is that the Archpriest did not find inspiration in *The Dove's Ring* to create the best character of «Buen Amor». «The type of the procuress was already perfectly characterized in Mussulman Spain», writes García Gómez in rejecting the verbal contact between the two works, and we shall see how the type also existed in Castile.

No other passage of the «Buen Amor» has really any direct connection with others of «The Ring». Through such whimsical parallels we could connect the most dissimilar works. There are ideas and expressions which authors separated by cultural and vital abysses could state —the fulfillment of the laws of God; the damages of those who separate lovers; the effects of love on lovers: blindness, courage, subtlety...— the ones that Ibn Hazm and the Archpriest use in their works without any verbal contact and about unrelated questions.

All those who have studied the literary sources of the Archpriest and especially Lecoy have reported the thematic fidelity of Juan Ruiz to his ultrapyrenean Latin models. Why did he not follow the same pattern with *The Dove's Ring* and did not paraphrase at least some of the themes of Ibn Hazm? Lecoy, and before and after him, other investigators have demonstrated the verbal approximations and the literal translations that the Archpriest, at times, makes of his source. How can we explain that he would not let slip in his work some faithful versions of the «Libro del amor» of the Cordovan polygraph, if he had had him before his eyes, or had had it translated by that supposed strange Moor, more a friend of *The Dove's Ring* than of the writers and poets of Al-Ándalus?

The thematic wealth of *The Dove's Ring* about amorous questions is enormous. In it are examined in detail the signs of love, the various ways of falling in love, the allusions, signs, letters, messengers and secrets of the lovers; the multiple facets of the relations between the lovers: submission, contradiction, loyalty, treason, rupture, separation, oblivion, death; the obstacles found on the way of love; amorous union and the vices and passional aberrations of man. Had he known Ibn Hazm's book, Juan Ruiz would have had at his disposal a magnificent and inexhaustible source of ideas, reflections, suggestions, information to use in his «Buen amor». The Archpriest, capable of taking advantage of the poorest, most insipid and insignificant ultrapyrenean text, to exploit it boldly and to inject life and action into it, would have let pass before his eyes the rich source which springs up from each page of *The Dove's Ring;* he would have remained indifferent while before him was flowing, offering itself generously and abundantly the river, wealth of Ibn Hazm's expressions on love and his biographical notes, filled with life and human interest. Who can believe that it happened so?

The superficial approximations between some of the ideas of Ibn Hazm and of the Archpriest are the natural outcome of their confronting the same amorous themes. Although they should coincide, it would always be necessary to guard against deducing hasty conclusions. Men of different countries, times and cultures can conceive independently the same ideas and even the same metaphors.

The English heresiarch Wycliffe formulated about the Bible the same ideas attributed to the Caliph 'Umar about the Koran; ideas which would have led him to order the destruction of the library of Alexandria. Someone has singled out the relationship which connects some thoughts of the Oriental writer of the 10th century, Al-Mas'udi, with others of Montesquieu. I suppose that no one will dare to suspect any type of genetic connection between both pairs of Mussulmans and Christians. Dámaso Alonso has mentioned the analogy which ties the description of the cock by Ibn Billita, Toledan poet of the 11th century, and by the Cordovan poet of the 17th century, Góngora. Phrases of the Andalusian poet of the Caliphal period, Ibn Farach, about the radiating beauty of his beloved

have been compared with those of Calderón: «You can arise / and give happiness / to the most brilliant light», referring to a «human goddess». The impossibility that Góngora! and Calderón! should be inspired by Hispano-Arabic models is evident, when there were no more *Moriscos* in Spain. «God is sufficient unto me», Ibn Hazm writes; who will dare to believe that the identical phrase of Teresa of Ávila: «Only God suffices» goes back to that phrase of *The Dove's Ring.*

A slow parallel of *The Dove's Ring* and the «Buen amor» would force to reject the mere idea of their distant approximation or coincidence. The slight analogies that could approximate them could be attributed not only to the fact that they are both treatises about love, but to the integral Hispanicism of the Cordovan Moor and of the cleric of Hita. That integral Spanishness of Ibn Hazm has been bypassed. I pointed it out in some essays and lectures which I summarized in my *España musulmana.* It has just been accepted and stressed by García Gómez. Ibn Hazm and the Archpriest of Hita, Spaniards to the core, necessarily had to draw near, in some of their human vital reactions. That approximation is reduced to their similar literary centaurism.

There could have not existed either a direct or indirect connection between *The Dove's Ring* and *El libro de Buen Amor* —after I refuted it Gybbon-Monypenny and María Rosa Lida have also rejected it— and the creative sensibility of the Archpriest could have been Arabized. Somewhere else I have refuted one by one the very weak, and at times absurd, arguments with which they have pretended to demonstrate that Arabization and the Arabization of Juan Ruiz' work. The text of the same has been twisted. The historical reality in which the author lived has been distorted —they have spoken of harems and slave markets in Castile! They have seen disproportionate parallels. They have attributed Oriental origin to passages which according to the proofs of noted philologists, come from known Romanic texts. They have connected with Arabic literary forms, methods of creation of clear Western lineage. They have forgotten that in Romania and especially in Christian Spain, since for centuries, everybody was used to the humanization of animal beings. They have built more than amazing conclusions on innocuous phrases. They have bypassed Hispanic traditions which explain many supposed Arabisms of the Archpriest. They have proposed clear and evident contradictions... Slowly I have brought out such errors and have alleged the testimonies of noted Arabists about the divergences separating the poetry and the creative methods of the Archpriest from those peculiar to Arabic literature. I cannot repeat the slow string of proofs nor my answers to many themes in question. I am only going to show that two themes of the Archpriest are not necessarily of Islamic origin and to examine the most important problems of Juan Ruiz' literary creation.

After the publication of *Spain in its History* the ideas of its author have changed about the relation which in his opinion join *El libro de*

Buen Amor of Juan Ruiz and *The Dove's Ring* of Ibn Hazm. «It is a relation of structure, not of contents —he writes—. Thus Quijote is present in Daudet's *Tartarin* or in *The Idiot, Le Rouge et le Noir, Madame Bovary,* etc.» Is that new thesis in clear retrocession acceptable?

A work can be present in another either because the author of the most modern one has read the older one or because between both there is a process of literary creation which clearly connects them, through a series of known steps. Its presence must be notorious and be based on features whose discussion is beyond doubt.

Cervantes has been read and reread for centuries, and there is not doubt that the authors of the quoted contemporary novels read him and between the «Quijote» and them, there has been a well known process of literary creation which directly connects them. *The Dove's Ring* was barely read in Islamic Spain and there is no proof nor indication that it was read and known in Christian Spain; the Archpriest did not read it nor knew it indirectly and between Ibn Hazm and Juan Ruiz' works there did not exist intermediary steps that could have served as a connection between them.

The supposed relation of structure of *The Ring* with «Buen amor» is therefore, as incertain and unlikely as the direct influence of the Cordovan polygraph on the cleric of Hita.

3. Wine and drunkards in Arabized Andalusia

The criticism that the Archpriest makes of the abuse of drinking is not rooted, in all probabilities, in Islamic tradition. Along with the Holy Cross, ham and wine should have been the signs of Christianity in Spain of the Middle Ages, if the Spanish Mussulmans had not drunk wine with almost the same frequency as the polytheists —so did the Mohammedans, worshippers of the eternal and unique God, call the Trinitarians, faithful to the Church of Christ—. In Al-Ándalus the juice of the grape equally pleased the people and the magnates, it was tasted with pleasure by Caliphs and princes, sung without mystery by the poets, it intoxicated everywhere —including the Caliphal palace— those who used it excessively and it even managed to move the Cordovan judges or Cadis in charge of condemning the drunks, to benevolence.

Mohammed had prohibited the drinking of wine to the Mussulmans and had ordered the thrashing of a drunken man who had been presented to him. But the Prophet died without having mentioned the penalty that should be applied to drunkards. The disposition concerning the punishment dates back to the successors of Mohammed. The Caliph Abu Bakr was at a loss to determine it, he consulted 'Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, and 'Ali answered him thus: «He who drinks, becomes intoxicated; he who is intoxicated, does foolish things; he who does foolish things,

lies and he who lies must be punished. I believe that 80 lashes must be given to the one who drinks.» Mohammed's companions accepted the entertaining reasoning of his son-in-law and the penalty which was the punishment for the drunkards remained established since then. Abu Bakr, however, repented for having decided so lightly a question which Mohammed had forgotten to resolve and at his death, he publicly manifested his scruples. But it was already too late to turn back and for centuries and centuries Mussulman wine drinkers were condemned to receive 80 lashes. Better said, the Islamites who drank and disclosed their secret through the unmistakable signs with which wine favored those who tasted it excessively, because the prudent ones whose frequentation with grape juice could not be proven, were not, therefore, punished, at least by earthly authorities.

All the rigidity of Mussulman law towards the lovers of the delicious fruit of the grapevine was in vain in Islamic Spain. A handful of Mohammedans won it in a moment of civil discord, but that handful of Orientals and Berbers was soon conquered by women and Spanish wines. Peninsular people were converting more or less slowly to Islam and within a few generations there was barely any Arabic blood flowing through the veins of the Hispano-Mussulmans. How were those Spanish Islamites not to drink and not to get intoxicated, grandsons of Moslems and of Spaniards, or Spaniards through and through?

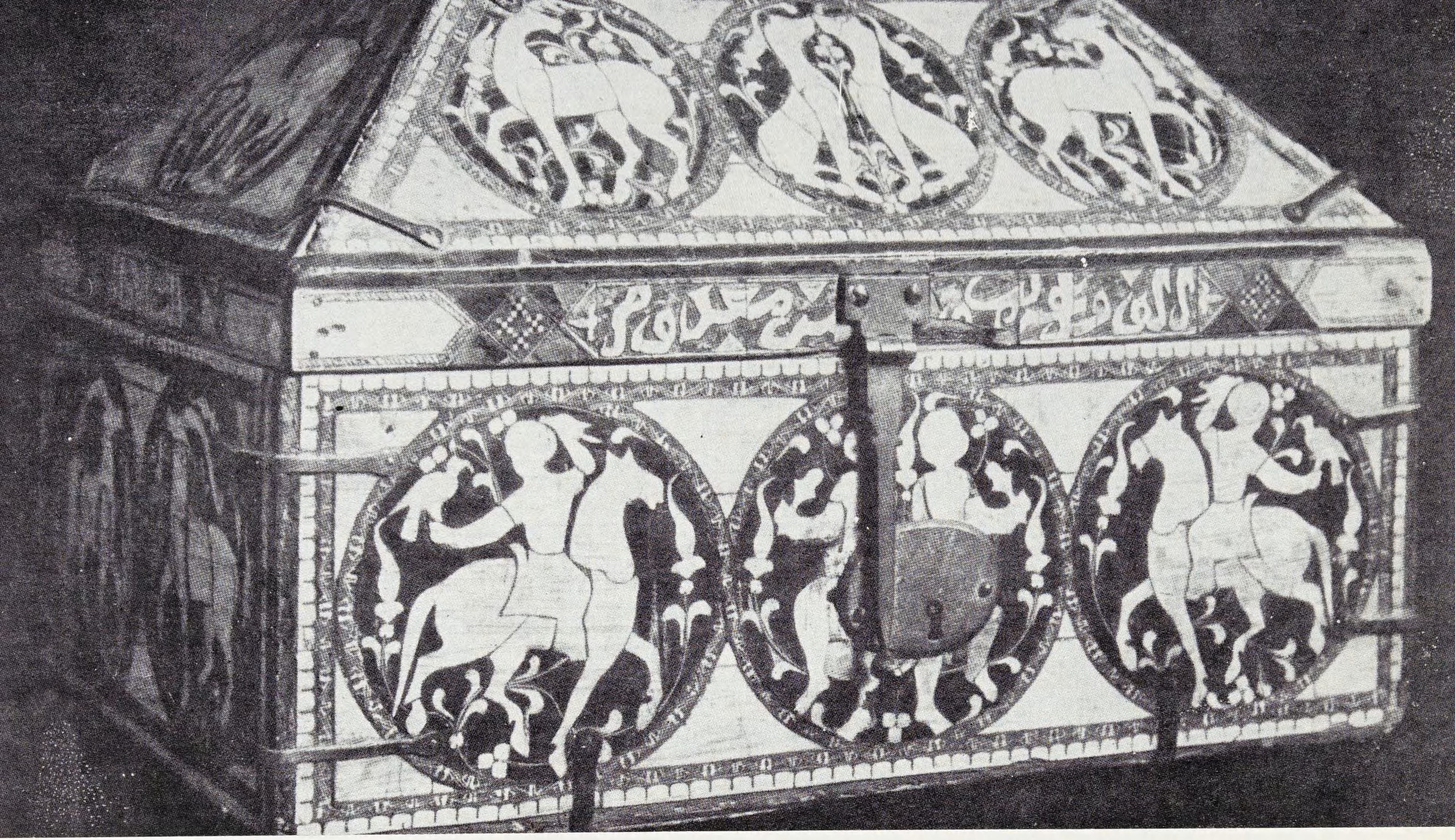
In Caliphal Cordova the lenity of the Cadis in charge of punishing the drunkards was frequent. Al-Juxani offers various picturesque testimonies of such a debility.

Judge Ahmad ben Baqi was riding with a friend through the streets of Cordova. A drunkard goes in front of him. The judge has seen him. Far from hurrying to order his detention, the Cadi, understanding the weakness of the Cordovan inebriate, pulls on the reins of his horse, to give time, so that the drunkard upon noticing the judge's presence, would avoid him and get away. But, the slower Cadi Ahmad rides, the more the drunkard stops, until the judge cannot help but run into him. The Cadi's friend who knows Ibn Baqi, says to himself, mentally: «Let us see how you are going to get out of this mess without ordering the whipping of the drunkard.» But the judge —did the Cordovan Cadi also enjoy the fruit of the grape?—, in running into the drunkard, turns to his friend and before the classical «s's» which wine forces all possessed to make, he says, as with compassion: «Look at this unfortunate passer-by, he must have lost his mind; let us ask Allah to return his reason to him.»

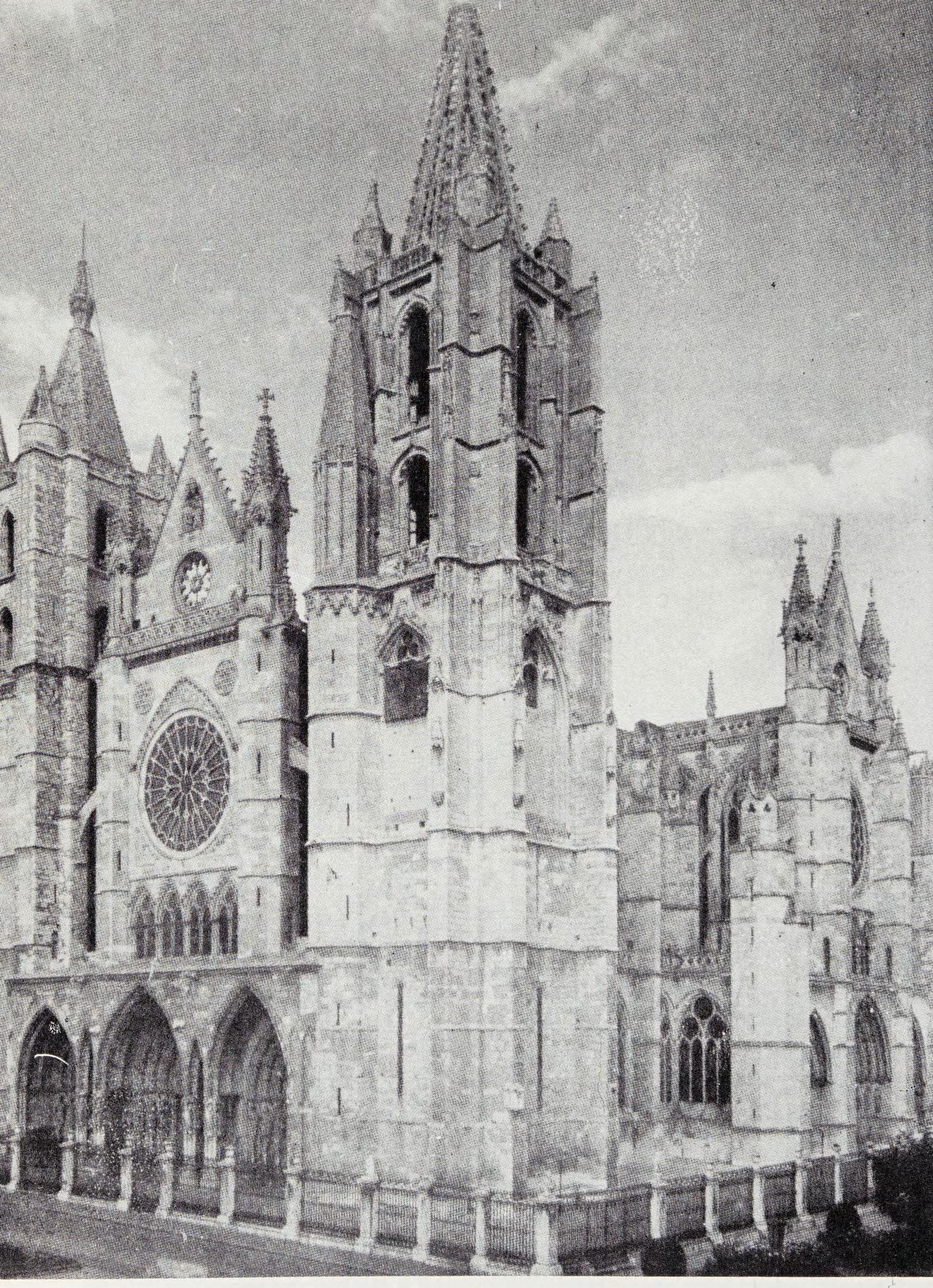
The judges presides in the mosque, listens to the litigators, the witnesses and the jurists, and he renders a verdict. The inspector brings before him a man accused of being drunk. The Cadi thinks: «For heaven sake, I am going to have to condemn him.» Although the drunkard smells of wine a mile away, the judge tells his secretary: «Smell him», with the hope that he will understand his reluctance to punish the drunken man.

67.—*Ferdinand III and his wife Beatrice of Swabia* in the *cloister of the cathedral of Burgos.* With the Holy King (1217-1252), Castile and León were definitively united and the borders of the monarchy reached as far as the Sierras of Granada. From him Alfonso the Learned inherited serious economic and social problems that provoked the sudden duplication of the national land. Because of the German blood that he received from his mother, Alfonso was called to the throne of the Empire.

68.—Miniature of realistic roughness representing *the passion of Our Lord (Bible of the Cathedral of Ávila,* 13th century). It recalls the rude realism of the contemporary poetic accounts of miracles by Berceo. If the latter presents Saint Domingo throwing a rope over the captive whom he wanted to free, the traitor Judas, upon kissing Jesus, here embraces him ingenuously in order not to let him escape.



69.—*Small Arabic chest* of the 13th century, still with anti-Koranic human figures. *Cathedral of Tortosa (Tarragona).* After keeping jewels and bottles of perfume in the courts of caliphs and sultans, these boxes served as reliquaries in Christian churches of Spain. Christ was triumphing over Allah, and the Latin West over the Arabic East. That triumph, definitive in Spain in the cited century, provoked a cultural current from the North to the South that initiated the Castilianization of Granada.



70.—Occidentalized Spain. *Exterior of the cathedral of León.* The purest Gothic of France transplanted to the wilderness of León and raised on the site of the ancient hot springs of the *Legio VII Gemina,* converted into a Mozarabic church during the 10th century. As in León, in all the Peninsula, the water spring of the West was superimposed over the other principal currents of *españolía.*

But the secretary does not discover the pleading gesture of the Cadi, and after smelling the accused, he responds: «Yes, he smells of wine.» The judge dispairs. «I am lost —he may think—; this idiotic secretary is going to force me to order him to be whipped.» But he is surrounded by the jurists of his court and among them is Asbag, his friend, and with a look on his face that leaves no doubt as to his intentions, he turns to the jurist and tells him: «Asbag, you smell him.» Asbag, who has guessed the Cadi's desires, approaches the drunken man's face and with a wink, he says to the judge: «Yes, he does smell of something, but I am not sure that he smells of a drink that can intoxicate.» A grateful smile lights up the Cadi's face and, with frank joy, he immediately tells the executioners: «Have him freed, since it is not proven that he has really committed any offense.»

How were the Cadis to punish the drunkards if in Cordova the young magnates were drinking when they met with dancers and singers at night in the orchards; they were drinking in the houses and in the palaces of viziers and princes and they were even drinking in the very palace of the Caliph?

As all despots, Al-Nasir is very moody, and one of his companions Ibn Salim, heard some harsh words from him not long ago. But 'Abd al-Rahman III is not cruel, and after the storm he repents of his behavior and his threats. It happened thus. Upon realizing that he has terrified Ibn Salim, he lowers his head in shame, recited a verse of the Koran, approached the awed courtier and spoke to him affectionately. Nevertheless Ibn Salim has gone through an anguishing moment; his nerves are shattered and to compose himself and overcome his fears, he has started to drink too much. The Caliph, kindly, to avoid his becoming drunk, tells him: «Little by little, Muhammad, do not drink so fast.» But he is soon intoxicated. The slaves on duty, accustomed perhaps to similar scenes rush towards him with a washbowl and some towels. Holding his head. Al-Nasir tells him: «Relieve your stomach, Muhammad.» At first the drunkard does not distinguish his sovereing's voice. But lifting his eyes in the end, and seeing the Caliph there at his side, he throws himself at his feet to thank him for his kindness. Al-Nasir answers him: «I am not doing too much; I have been harsh with you and frightened you.» Ibn Salim changes clothes, since his have suffered in the misfortune, and his head a little lighter, he leaves the palace, to sleep off at home his palace hangover.

It was not the first time for drinking in Cordovan palaces. Al-Nasir's grandfather, emir Muhammad had occupied the throne of Al-Ándalus in the place of his brother 'Abd Allah —destined to succeed his father 'Abd al-Rahman II, by the sultana Tarub— thanks to the fact that when the progenitor of the two expired in the arms of the eunuchs, 'Abd Allah was found drinking in the palace. While 'Abd Allah was drinking, his friends were drinking, and the guard at the door was drinking, Muhammad went by, wrapped in feminine veils, by the house of his brother, entered

by surprise in the palace and had himself sworn in that same night by the high officials of the government.

And as before Abd al-Rahman III they continued to drink in the Caliphal court after his death. Al-Maqqari tells that the great Almanzor, terrible scourge of Spanish Christianity during the last decades of the 10th century, drank until two years before his death.

Yes, in Mussulman Spain they were drinking everywhere a thousand years ago, and they were drinking immoderately in spite of Mohammed's prescriptions. Foreigners were amazed at the proportions reached by the use and abuse of wine in all of Andalusia and that everywhere people spoke of drinking openly and excused the drunkards. The Arabo-Spanish historians alluded, as to normal practices, to the libations of individuals and princes, and reported, quite naturally, scenes similar to the ones just related. Poets sang to wine with the same lyrical vein as to their favorites, and ordinarily at the same time. «The glass full of the red nectar —writes prince Marwan ben 'Abd al-Rahman— was, between her white fingers, like a dusk which appeared above a dawn. The sun came out of the wine and her mouth was the West, and the Orient the hand of the cupbearer, who while pouring, pronounced courteous phrases. And, with the setting of the sun on the delightful sunset of her lips, it left the dusk on her cheek.»

They drank more than ever and sang to wine at the fall of the Caliphate, in the courts of the learned and libertine Taifas of Al-Ándalus. Even the severe theologian and jurist Ibn Hazm was won over by the literary fashion and he intoned the praises of the fruit of the grape which he never tasted. Through him, we know that in the 11th century, wine was freely sold in Islamite Spain and a good tax was received from its sale. The Medinaceli jongleur, singer of the the Cid, when the Moors of Valencia went to besiege him after the conquest of Murviedro, puts these words on Rodrigo's lips: «We are in their lands and do all kinds of evil, we drink their wine and eat their bread.»

They continued to drink immoderately and continued to praise the delights of wine poetically during the dominion of Mussulman Spain by the two African empires of Almoravids and Almohads. The Sevillian doctor Ibn Zuhr declared that he wished. «A well supplied house, a door never closed, the large earthen jar and the jug and wine.» The fact that he could satisfy his taste for Andalusian wines is proven by these verses that he composed: «The light of dawn surprises us with our cheeks resting on the palms of our hands. During the whole night they had not stopped pouring the wine and I was drinking what was left in their own cups until I became as intoxicated as they were. But wine has had its revenge. I had it fall into my mouth and it made me fall.»

Just as in Seville they drank wine and sang to the fruit of the grapevine during the 12th century in Alcira, Valencia, Murcia, Ibiza and in all of Mussulman Spain. Delightful poets continued to create beautiful metaphors

about the glasses, the bottle, the bubbles... and describing Bacchic scenes. In one of those nocturnal orgies, when the young grandees were drinking in union with their lovers, their slaves, or their dancers and singers, while mysterious fountains were lamenting and magnolias or orange blossoms perfumed the air, some Hispanic Arab, with an artist's soul, lying on silk cushions and leaning back on his friend's chest, raising the crystalline glass filled with red wine, was able to improvise verses like those of Abu Zacariya: «The glass has caught on fire and has put on a tunic of flames. See how the bubbles come up. My eyes have never seen such marvels, above the burning coals, hailstones which exist because of them and proceed from them.»

The people also enjoyed wine and the popular poets loved it in such a way that the great *zéjel* writer Ibn Quzman expressed his last will so:

When I die these are my instructions for the burial:
I will sleep with a vineyard between my eyelids;
that I be wrapped in its leaves as in a shroud
that they place on my head a turban of young vine branches.

Forced to abandon Al-Ándalus before the pressure of the Christian armies, the emigrated poets, remembering, filled with nostalgia, their happy days in the Mussulman cities of Spain, always recalled their joyful libations in very soft nights of love and poetry. From Egypt, far into the 13th century, Ibn Sa'id wrote, remembering the Sevillian Guadalquivir:

How many light boats on its tranquil mirror
are seen, roaming at the sound of happy music!
The ears enjoy and even more the eyes
with the beautiful girls going in the little boats

Glasses with their sound, flowers with their aroma
Happiness to the soul bring, and languid pleasure.

Dreaming about Algeciras, he said:

On the lips wine and in the arms of my loved one
There of many dawns the light caught me
While, by the moon, with gold embroidered
The sea expanded the skirt of its blue tunic.

In recalling Malaga he wrote:

There, the cup full of generous wine
Towards the pure stars, many time I raised
And in the green grove, of amorous zephyr
On my forehead I listened to the quiet whisper.

Can we doubt that in the Archpriest's days Spanish Mussulmans continued to drink? Therefore, it is probable that Juan Ruiz did not gather his literary criticisms against the excesses of drinking from them.

It is certain that the Archpriest states some of the damages that a Catalan Jew of the 12th century had attributed to wine, but perhaps the Bacchic experience of the Mediterraneans had been commonplace topics for millenniums. Who could ignore among them that the abuse of drinking decreased the eyesight and damaged the brain and that it could lead to blindness and madness? More than a thousand years before the Catalan Jew referred to such dangers and about thirteen centuries before, another great Castilian poet insisted upon them, another Spaniard, famous for his poetic inspiration, Martial had naturalized them in some of his epigrams.

«Fryx, a famous drinker —he writes— was one-eyed and sick in the other. Heras, his doctor, told him: stop drinking or wine will make you lose your sight completely. Goodbye, I stayed without the eye!, exclaimed Fryx laughing and having many glasses poured. Do you wish to know the result? Fryx drank the wine and his eye the poison» (VI, 78).

«You, cobbler —he also says—, kinglet among the shoemakers, offers gladiators' combats and the cutting retiarius snatches away the products of your awl. You are a drunkard, and if wine had not made you lose your brain, cobbler, you would not have thought of gambling at the price of your leather» (III, 16).

Juan Ruiz could gather from the Western popular wisdom, as the Spanish Jews and Mussulmans, the tradition of the evils with which wine threatens those who drink excessively, and from it also he could have gathered the thought expressed in this cynical line:

«If you want to love a woman, keep away from wine.»

Martial had written addressing Rufus: «You put too much water in your wine... Did by chance, Nevia offer you a night of pleasure and you attempt to gather strength for surer pleasures by being sober?»

It is not permisible to forget the importance of the millenary Mediterranean tradition to explain many similarities between Spanish Christians and Mussulman Spaniards. In the 7th century around the same time as Mohammed founded Islamism, Saint Isidore mentioned in his *Sentenciae* II.43.1, drunkenness along with pride and fornication among the grave sins, and wrote about the abuse of wine: *perturbationem gignit mentis furorem cordis.*

More than being inspired by the Hispano-Islamic vital and literary forms about wine, the Archpriest inspired the *Moriscos* as demonstrated by the text of the Sermon of Ramadan alleged by Castro. Juan Ruiz's verses about the excesses of drinking cannot, therefore, serve to connect *El Libro de Buen Amor* with the religious and artistic experience of Hispanic Islam.

4. Trotaconventos in Spain

The frequent appearance of the theme of love procuring in the great symphony that we owe to the Archpriest does not seem to be a sure proof of the rooting of *El Libro de Buen Amor* in Hispano-Islamic literary tradition. Once again, the vital and cultural unity of the Mediterranean world has been forgotten. The eunuch, the pederast and the procurer or procuress belong to the vital and literary fauna of the people on the shore of the great sea which served as the axle of the ancient world. No one will be able to deny the Oriental origin of those three vile and miserable vices and professions —from some inscriptions, it seems that pederasty came to be a profession— of the *homo mediterraneus.* No ancient text connects them with the primitive roughness of the Western people, neither can we deny the prompt contagion of the physical and cultural miseries of the Orient. If not before Rome —Greeks and Phoenicians frequented the coasts of the Western Mediterranean Sea— at least since Rome, already Hellenized, and by Hellenization mixed with Orientalism, extended its life style to North Africa, Spain and the Gauls.

We possess various testimonies about the practice of procuring in Greece. Surprised by the subtlety of his counsels to obtain lovers, the courtisan Theodota proposed to Socrates to be her procurer.

Procuring must have been well established in the corrupt society of the first century of the Roman Empire. Procuresses appear in some Latin comedies and Martial mentions procurers in his epigrams.

«Poor and honest citizen, ingenuous and frank, you Fabian going to Rome, what is your purpose? You will not know how to be a procurer, nor a parasite...» and Martial continues to enumerate other sad professions which he supposes Fabian incapable of practicing (IV,5). In insulting Vacerra, he apostrophizes him thus: «Informer, slanderer, cheat, procurer, sponger... Being so many things, how come you are always without money?» (XI-66).

Paulo's *Sentencias* gathered in the *Digesto* XLVII, 11. L, 1 prove that procuring extended to such a degree that the jurisconsults and the State ended up by establishing whipping and deportation for those who seduced, for others, women or girls.

The bawdy function of masculine or feminine procuring was not introduced in the West by Islamites, nor in Spain. The type of Andalusian house, not few urban architectural characteristics, procurers and procuresses, pederasty, eunuchism, magic, the baths, the vulgar modes of expression, the lustful and even malodorous literary words and many practices, customs, uses, artistic forms, vices and virtues of Islamite Spain constitute a legacy, until now barely studied, of ancient life. It is amazing to what point men in general and Spaniards in particular have been faithful in conserving gestures and customs. Martial states that in the Rome of Domitian, they

called people with the peculiar sound obtained by the friction of the middle finger and the thumb (VI-89), as is still done in Spain. As today, then in the days of Martial, people insulted extending a finger in an obscene way, which few Spaniards ignore (VI-71).

Curtius has dedicated all his *Europäisches Literatur und lateiniches Literatur* to proving the continuation of the ancient themes through the Middle Ages. To those themes must be added that of love procuring.

Procuring —masculine or feminine— must have reached a greater degree and importance in the Peninsula, as in the whole West, as the renovation of morality through Christianity and the growing crisis of urban life and the subsequent decrease of social encounters, propitious for meetings and gallantry, were making more difficult, with greater obstacles each day, the free game of love.

The *Breviario* of Alarico reproduced the sentences of Paulo mentioned before; Saint Isidore did not forget in his «Etimologías» the *lenones* (pimps), panderers of procurers; Chindasvinto (642-655) punished the solicitors of wives, widows or girls. By that precept of *Lex Visigothorum*, III, 3, 11, we know that the following exercised amorous procuring: free men and women, ex-slaves male and female and servants. Chindasvinto condemned them and those who sent them *uxores, filias* or *viduas* to be delivered to the husbands, fathers or relatives of the seduced, so that they would do with them what they pleased.

Spain being conquered by Islam, the cloistering of women in harems, even naturally, before marriage, and the custom of marriages among people who at times had never seen each other until the day of the marriage, undoubtedly made of procuring a flourishing institution in Al-Ándalus, later accepted, if not favored, by social practices. The betrothed solicited their future spouses through the procuresses, from poor widows abundant in the houses of the Spanish Mussulmans .Through the references of women who entered into the most solitary corners of the harems, they knew the secrets and the intimacies of all the families and they carried, back and forth, news about the physical, moral and economic conditions of blossoming girls, the widowed and the divorced.

Along this honorable office, those procuresses, and the procurers, always exercised the baser one of procuring in the strict sense of the word. Ibn Hazm in the chapter «About the messenger» of *The Dove's Ring* writes: «The persons most employed by lovers, to communicate with those who love are, either well bred whom no one considers carefully and who do not arouse suspicions, because of their tender age, their miserable condition or because of the ignorance painted on their faces, or, on the contrary, respectable persons, beyond any suspicions because of their apparent piety or the advanced age they had reached. How many like that are there among women! Especially those who carry a stick, a rosary and two red adornments. I remember that in Cordova honest women avoided those that had such attributes, whereever they saw them. They also use persons who deal

with people, as are, among women, the offices of quacks, applier of cupping glasses, ambulatory saleswomen, brokers, hairdressers, mourners, singers, fortune tellers, voice teachers, errand girls, spinners, weavers and other analogous functions. Finally, they also used people related to the one to whom they are sent and who for that reason does not shun them. By these means, how many unapproachable people have become mild; difficult ones, easy; distant ones, close; sharp ones, kind! How many misfortunes have gone through the most protective veils, the thickest curtains, the most private offices and the most solid walls, through the lures of these people!»

«I would not have mentioned them if I did not want to draw attention to them. I have done so in order that no one considers them nor places any trust in them. Blessed is he who takes warning. May God run his protective veil upon us and not remove from us the shadow of salvation.»

To the items that Ibn Hazm gives about procurers and procuresses could be added that poem in which Abu Chafar Ahmad ben Sa'id (+1163) marvelously defines the Hispano-Mussulman panderer:

«*Procuress who glories in her infamy, darker than the night for the traveller.*
Enters every house, and no one knows to what point she penetrates in it.
Courteous, protective with the one she meets, her steps disturb no one.
Her cloak is never folded, more restless than a flag in battle.
She learned, ever since she discovered her usefulness, the difference between crime and cunning.
She ignores where the mosque is, but well knows the taverns.
She always smiles, she is very pious, knows many jokes and tales.
She knows mathematical sciences, and the industry of horoscopes and charms.
She cannot afford to buy shoes, but is rich in means of misery.
She will always be able by the suavity of her words, to mix water with fire.»

None of these Hispano-Arabic literary testimonies —I have reproduced them on purpose so that the reader may judge my words— could offer to the Archpriest unknown poetic material to compose the type of his Trotaconventos. The detailed items of *The Dove's Ring* could not teach Juan Ruiz anything that he did not know, that he was not tired of seeing around him every day. Ibn Hazm does not sketch even one profile of any of these procuresses that he quotes as possible messengers of the lovers. He limits himself to mentioning them along with the other intermediaries who were used: servants —the Roman tradition mentioned by Ovid continued—, parents and friends and even the carrier doves which he also mentions. The experts who have dealt with the studies of the Archpriest's literary sources have accumulated many testimonies of procuresses and even of

procurers from many diverse comedies, treatises, tales, poems, epistles... of the Middle Ages, beyond the Pyrenees. Lecoy has recorded them with his usual erudition and has pointed out in many of those procuresses the essential features which characterize Trotaconventos.

The Archpriest did not need to go to the Hispano-Mussulman panderers to give life and anchor the ultrapyrenean panderers in reality —he always did that with his literary models—. He could have transformed the Anus of the little novel *De Amore* into Trotaconventos and develop the theme of the old panderer in his «Book» by simply opening his eyes to the social reality of Castile of his times.

It would be ingenuous to suppose that the Spanish Christians had to learn the practice of procuring from the Islamites. If the cloistering of the Hispano-Mussulman women in harems contributed to the development of procuring of Mediterranean tradition in Al-Ándalus, its continuation in Christian Spain was favored by the growth of monastic cloistering and by the growing moral rigidity of a society in which the most vivid sense of honor predominated even in the people. If in the South the habitual buying of slaves was changed into procuring, in the North, the difficulties which the clergy encountered —more urged to the practice of the chastity of celibacy by canonical law— gave strength to its settling, and helped its diffusion, in mocking the new precepts and to satisfy their sensual appetites.

From Moslem Spain the Christians only accepted the name, not the institution as it occurred in the case of the *alcaldes* (mayors), term adopted in the North to designate some magistrates who could not exist in Al-Ándalus, where there never was even the shadow of municipal organization. After a semantic process which can be followed they accepted the name with which the Hispano-Arabs ended up baptizing the procurers, because the old Latin ways of *Sollicitatores* and *Interpellatores* were outmoded, because that of go-between had multiple and confusing meaning and perhaps because the baseness of the function moved them to baptize it with a derogatory designation taken from Arabic.

In the *Libro de los fueros de Castiella* compiled shortly after the conquest of Seville (1248) is recorded the item of a juridical case occurred in Belorado. «This is according to the *fuero* and *fasannia* (judicial case): the mayors and jurists of Belorado had Mary García of the district La Viña, caught, because they said that she was the procuress of Diego, the abbot, and of Giralt's wife, daughter of Diego Pasta, and that they found them both in Mary Garcia's house. Mary Garcia told the jurists that she told the woman to go to her house and that the abbot should give her a little bit of bread and that she kept them in her house. But they took her and punished her in the Square».

Belorado was a small town situated at the Oriental border of the land of Burgos, on the «French Road» or of Santiago, in a region without *mudejars*, according to the silence —in regards to them— in *Libro de los*

fueros de Castiella, in whose pages appear, Christians, Jews and pilgrims, but rarely *Moriscos.* How many Meri Garcias there must have been in the kingdoms of León and Castile, who, like the one of the Viña, concealed in their houses Archpriests and their lovers, or those who, without being clerics, felt the same temptations as the sensual abbot of Belorado, or as the happy Archpriest of Hita, for widows, married ones or single women! If there were no other collection of «cases» so eloquent as the ones recorded in various judicial cases in Burgos, we would see these panderers abounding in all the cities and towns of the monarchy, even obviously, in those which never suffered the contagion from Islamite life.

Fueros of the cities on the shores of the Duero: of Zamora & 79 and Soria & 539; of New Castile: Zorita & 268 and Cuenca & XI, 43, and of Estremadure: Coria & 374, Cáceres & 363 and Usagre & 385, and the *Fuero Real* of Castile IV, 10, 7 punished with distinct severity such go-betweens, panderers, procuresses, women dedicated to procuring. Sometimes, as the Gothic Law disposed they were delivered to the husband whose wife they had seduced —Soria and *Fuero Real*—; sometimes they were condemned to a whipping and being thrown out of the city —Zorita; sometimes they were threatened with being burned— Cuenca, Soria, Cáceres and Usagre. The fact that they were making a fortune in their office is proven by the monetary penalties with which they were punished by the *Fueros* of Soria, Coria and Usagre and by the *Fuero Real.* From those of Coria, Cáceres and Usagre and from the *Partida* VII, 22,2 we know that men were also used as messengers, traders or panderers and that they were condemned to the gallows.

Amorous procuring was already an old and well spread institution in Castile —even in the oldest Castile— when the Archpriest, simply by opening his eyes and contemplating the social reality in which he was, could give life to his Trotaconventos.

Some want to relate her to Hispano-Moslem tradition at any cost. «The old hag oscillates between the vague and abstract determination of a name and a figure... That figure (or intention of figure) is incarnated in different personal traits, it is one and varied, according to the Oriental model.» Neither the Hispano-Arabic panderers were in life or in literature vague, abstract, one and varied, neither is Trotaconventos «an intention of figure». The «hag» of the Archpriest is a real creature, filled with life and well anchored in reality, a human being, not a puppet like the Anus of the *Pamphilus de Amore;* a character with well marked profiles and with such vitality and realism that escaping from the pages of *El libro de Buen Amor,* she began to acquire bodily form and to become a real being for the Castilians. All efforts to make us see the migratory transmutations of the «hag» of Juan Ruiz are in vain. Spitzer has studied how Juan Ruiz poetically creates Trotaconventos. She neither changes person, nor type, nor office. The Archpriest delights in tracing her portrait. He baptizes her with a nickname: Trotaconventos, according to the custom of the Castilian

towns —custom which appears verified in the life of Juan Ruiz, by the census of urban goods of Ávila's Cathedral—, but he also records her first name: Urraca. He presents her in the variety of her activities, all connected with her multi-faceted profession, which could not be exercised as a rigid soldiery, but through that multiplicity of gestures and manners. Out of pure fancy he records the multitude of nicknames with which the people knew the panderers —those delightful enumerations are not exclusively Oriental— without this implying any magic transmutation of the mediating hag.

It has been said that the comical scene where Trotraconventos manages to separate Doña Endrina from her mother Doña Rama, is based on a Morisco wheedling, as if a wheedling were the personal patrimony of the Moors who earned their lives honorably among Castilians. In the roguish dialogue is well outlined an ingenious woman of Hita or of any other town of Castile, a woman who lives, vibrates and gesticulates as the women of *El Corbacho* and of Spanish reality. According to the thesis many times supported by the writer with whom we disagree, in Arabic literary tradition it was not conceivable that a character should form his own personality in connection with that of other men, and this is precisely what Trotaconventos does thanks to the novelistic and dramatic capacity of the Archpriest.

It has come to the extreme of relating the Islamic saying: «He who passionately falls in love, abstains and dies a virgin, dies martyr», with the words of the epitaph that the Archpriest dedicates to Trotaconventos:

Certainly in paradise you are settled!
by the martyrs you must be accompanied!
always in this world you were by God martyrized!

Is not that too much?

5. Realism of «Buen amor»

«We hear... for the first time in Castilian a poetic voice which speaks from the conscience of a person.» «Juan Ruiz brings out of preliterary silence in which it was buried the minute reality which epic poetry, religion or didactic had excluded.» «*El libro de Buen Amor* is the ambiguous fruit of vital happiness and moralizing curbs and both themes clashed and are interwoven into the complex play of his style.»

That triple characterization of the methods of poetic creation by the Archpriest was pointed out by Menéndez Pelayo. He frequently insists upon Juan Ruiz' capacity to seize the details of the daily life of Castilians to enliven his literary sources with details of the customs of his time; he says that his «intense visual grasp of material realities» is evident. «He is one of the authors —he writes later— in whom the epicurean enjoyment

of life is felt the most abundantly and fully.» He mentions his inclination to «give free rein to the happiness that filled his soul» and once he points out as an essential characteristic of the Archpriest, the «unbridled expansion of his joie de vivre, opposed to Christian asceticism.» «He placed himself completely in his book» he also says; «he left consigned in his book all (the items) we might want to know about his moral personality»; the whole work has as its center the personality of the poet and revolves around it; he insists on the strange vigor of the same and its reflection in «Buen amor» and gets to the point of wondering about the roots of the autobiographical form of Juan Ruiz' book, or what is the same, that way of speaking «from the conscience of a person».

These central ideas of Juan Ruiz' poetic creation have later been pointed out more than once by the various scholars who have studied *El libro de Buen Amor*. They have attempted to explain them by relating them to the literary currents of Western Europe or to the singularities of the Archpriest himself. Let us examine them one by one.

I have protested against the Arabo-Islamic origin of the appearance of minute details of life in Spanish literary works. Hispanic realism and Hispanic vulgarity do not owe their appearance to the supposed Arabesque without obstacles nor limits of Moslem existence. Much before the birth of Mohammed, primitive Hispanic authors already disclose a delightful love for realistic detail. More than once I have reproduced Massignon's thought about the inanimate and unreal aspects of Mussulman poetry and art in a continuous sleep-wakefulness. One has repeatedly insisted upon the journey of Moslems through a fleeting and apparential world and about the evanescence of artistic and literary creations of Islam. Those of Spaniards have their feet well on the ground of reality. I have studied the why of this origin and the continuation of that realism, and that of the connection of heroic and vulgar in Castilian ballads, conjunction caused by the desire of verism of the people for whom they were written. With greater right *El libro de Buen Amor* had to be filled with realism, destined by the Archpriest —«fables to be sung»— to be recited and sung by the jongleurs, for the consolation of the bourgeois of New Castile who, as we know from the *fuero* of Madrid, very much enjoyed such songs and recitations of the jongleurs, so much so that it was necessary to legally limit the amounts with which they could be rewarded.

The Archpriest himself discloses clearly his intention to write so that his work be recited aloud and come to the ears of the unlearned masse. Already in the preface of his book he writes: «I entreat and counsel he who sees and *hears* it.» Later, at the beginning of the poetic part, he repeatedly refers to his listeners:

> *He (God) may give me his grace and enlighten me*
> *So that I may rhyme a book of songs*
> *So that those who* hear it, may have consolation from it.

Juan Ruiz composed his work taking numerous and frequent loans from ultrapyrenean literary texts. He was able to give life, breath, and color to such adaptations because his human and poetic potential permitted him to realize that miracle. Moreover, consciously, he tried to saturate his «Book» with verism, thinking about his public in Toledo, Alcalá, Guadalajara, Hita... And he marvelously succeeded, through three different but coinciding ways: with geographical precisions, chronological concrete indications and by framing his supposed autobiography in an atmosphere with a realistic accent.

All the scholars of the Archpriest have pointed out the care with which Juan Ruiz situates the accounts that he takes from the most diverse sources of beyond the Pyrenees on Spanish lands and how he creates, to accomodate them, a precise and verist geography. He does that with *Pamphilus de Amore,* the *Bataille de Karesme et de Carnage,* the *Consultatio Sacerdotum*... His concrete chronological indications —the Archpriest dates the event narrated in the *Cantiga de los Clérigos de Talavera,* copied from *Consultatio*— have been alleged as proofs of the autobiographical character of «Buen amor». Lecoy still confronts this chronological problem because he has not stopped to connect it to the geographical and realistic zeal of Juan Ruiz. It will be difficult to connect the Archpriest's care for localization and dating of his narrations with the equalizing appraisal of the greatest and smallest things in the Islamic literary world or with the exposure of the contents of existential experience in Arabic literature, exposure and appraisal to which have been connected Hispanic realism and naturally the poetic realism of Juan Ruiz. Will I be accused of relating that realism with the Archpriest's precision in the geography and the chronology of «Buen amor» and of considering the three born from the same womb?

Even if an integral sense of estimative appraisal of the greatest and the smallest things had not triumphed in Islam, —it is important not to exaggerate the literary projections of that occasional approximation—, and even if Hispano-Arabic literature had not publicly exposed the contents of the existential experience —there is much generalizing hyperbole in this about Arabo-Hispanic literary realism—, Juan Ruiz would have written his autobiographical ballads the same way as he did: caring for the triple geographical, chronological and about the customs reality. In an other way, he could not have gone to the Castilian people by the path of the jongleurs nor would he have reached their approval. The vital contexture of the real man that the Archpriest was would have always impelled him towards that realistic conception of «Buen amor.»

The Spanish realism of souls and things triumphed in some Andalusian Mussulman authors of pure Hispanic lineage or vitally Hispanicized. We recall the realistic pruning by Moslem chroniclers and historians of Al-Ándalus of the legends with which their Oriental colleagues adorned the history of the Arab conquest of Spain, and the realistic overflows of

Ibn Hazm —search into the souls and taste for the reproduction of human gestures, sayings and events— and of Ibn Quzmān— a voice in the street which grasps and paints life in a city of Andalusia.

The realism of the Castilians, which along with their equalitarian social structure led to the verism of the epic poetry, that is to the surprising mixture of heroic and vulgar in the ballads, was projected in the 13th century in the other literary creations of Castile: legal and didactic prose —not only the municipal Statutes and *El Libro de los fueros de Castiella*— also the parts of the *Partidas* more rooted in the Castilian tradition, they are more than sprinkled with realistic expressions in which without mincing words, every «thing» is called by its name. In the narrative poetry of Berceo —it has been said before that the cleric from Rioja materialized the myth and saturated with vulgar details his accounts of miracles and that he had a special gift for grasping the details which the world and life offered him. And in various lyrical compositions, in Galician or the Castilian language but the work of poets born or formed in Castile, the Galician jongleur Da Ponte, according to Menéndez Pidal, «was a master in the humoristic poetization of daily trifles» of life, in the lands of Ferdinand III and of Alfonso the Learned.

The realism of such literary creations generally is shown, obviously, timidly, curtailed by the very nature of the compositions in which it appears. The autobiographical condition, at times of a poetic subject and at times of Juan Ruiz, but in any case of a happy, intelligent, restless and enamored Castilian cleric, situated *El libro de Buen Amor* in an exceptionally favorable climate to convert itself in the adequate image of the society in which the life of the author took place.

These people also grasped and reflected the society of their epoch: Ibn Hazm —the Caliphal Cordova of the year 1.000— and Ibn Quzmān —the Cordova of the middle of the 12th century. But in the supposed model of «Buen Amor», in *The Dove's Ring,* Juan Ruiz could not find the orgies of sensorial realism —visual, auditory, tactile...— with which he flooded his work, since the Spanish Ibn Hazm enjoyed distinct realistic perceptions, as has been said many times. Wisely so no one has raised the suspicion that the Archpriest had known the poems of Ibn Quzmān, in which tends to project the same trifling realities of the street life which Juan Ruiz took with delight to «Buen Amor».

To the double realistic tradition, vital and literary of Castile and to the favorable atmosphere which the autobiographical character of «Buen Amor» offered, was united the temperamental contexture of the Archpriest, as a decisive factor for the torrential irruption of reality in Castilian poetic creations. I am surprised that this conjunction has not been singled out before, because it is impossible to prescind from the psycho-physical formula of the author when one intends to discover the critical problems enclosed in his literary work. Everyone sees the role played in Juan Ruiz'

poetic creation by his personal inclination to humor. That inclination alone would have sufficed to move the Archpriest to observe the reality around him; humor and especially taciturn and crafty humor is always deeply rooted in the attentive contemplation of the world and of life. Another feature of his vital contexture, that is, of his character, accentuated the taste of the cleric of Hita for the grasp of the reality around him and pouring it back in torrents into his literary work. The overflowing sensorial power of Juan Ruiz enabled him to go through the world around with all five senses and to capture from it, with the help of each of them, the most complete, wealthy, varied and disconcerting collection of sensations, never gathered in a similar way —not even remotely similar— in Hispano-Arabic literature. His astute gift of observation and his vivid irony, placed at the service of his powerful intelligence, facilitated for him the captation of multiple and opposite facets of the life of the people among whom he lived. It is important to point out that the Archpriest not only seized minute realities, but also real human problems, and he not only took to «Buen Amor» the small vital things, but social themes which reflect the spiritual life of the community. He was able to seize and project them in his autobiographical book with a smile critical and benevolent, with a scoffing irony devoid of bitterness, which had no precedent in Ibn Hazm nor in the Islamite-Spanish literary tradition.

Juan Ruiz was a magnificent incarnation of what is Hispanic. His impetuous and overflowing ego stood up in the midst of the world, directed his glance —we should say his five senses— around himself, seized the surrounding reality —of other men and of all the things about him—, attracting it to himself, smiling and joking, instilling action and life in taking it to the pages of his «book».

There were many coinciding circumstances —unilateral explanations usually explain nothing— which, interfering, interweaving, combining, impelled the Archpriest to situate his feigned or authentic poetic autobiography in a thick atmosphere of realism; those that moved him to outline it on a background of geographical, chronological, human and material details. The jongleur-like purpose of his poetic autobiagraphy which forced him to verism, in order to catch the attention of the bourgeois masses, the temperamental tradition of the Castilian, who rejected the fantastically imaginative and enjoyed the objective detail, necessary to make the account likely, the clear realistic antecedent of the epic, lyric and didactic literature in Castile; the very nature of the ballads favorable to receiving the minute realities of life, and above all the very vital contexture of Juan Ruiz, rooted in the balance of the trilogy of his psychic forces, made of *El libro de buen amor*, what it really was: that magnificent picture of the customs of Castilian society of the 14th century. The Archpriest could then join the greatest and the smallest and bring out of preliterary silence the minute reality of the times without needing to seek his inspiration in Islamic models.

6. VITAL JOIE DE VIVRE AND MORALIZING CURBS

Vital joie de vivre and moralizing curbs? Yes, that twofold aspect of the poetic creation of the Archpriest is clearly reflected in *El Libro de Buen Amor*. Does that spiritual posture of Juan Ruiz necessarily imply his insertion into the Hispano-Mussulman literary tradition?

In the two cultural worlds in which the life of Hispanic Christianity had taken place, erotic poetry had been cultivated for some time. The Archpriest, therefore, could have been inspired by Christian as well as Islamic models to write about love.

«The medieval Christian did not abstain from living in the flesh and converted his sin into a theme for comic literature, but it never occurred to him to mix joie de vivre with morality. The norm when they spoke of moral themes was not to delight in the sensual charms of the world». Such affirmations contradict in part what has been said by other scholars. About the mixture of devotion and entertainment of many medieval authors comparable to the Archpriest Menéndez y Pelayo has already spoken. Menéndez Pidal has pointed out many common traits between «Buen Amor» and goliardic poetry. «One very important —he writes— is the delight in the harsh clash between religious and profane, serious and burlesque, between the moralizing sermon and the rebellious shout...» and he continues to mention the other many traits which approximate them.

Leo Spitzer has explained the literary game of the Archpriest as the product of the didactic character of «Buen Amor». Ethical laws have an objective reality in the Middle Ages but they do not determine abstractly what is good and bad; they mark distinct degrees and what is good in one can be bad in another, there is no *entweder-oder* but *sic et nunc*. «The problem of the medieval priest who tells merry stories... is simply a false problem: for the Middle Ages, sensuality was as susceptible of transcendence as the spirit. In order to be able to love God, it is necessary to live and to live one must love oneself». Thus, Gilson explains that Ovidian love can be reconciled with the love of God. The «madness is in the world and it does not get the *Ordo Dei* out of its hinges... The *Ars Amandi* and the moral purpose exclude each other only for us».

María Rosa Lida has pointed out how Western Christianity enjoyed the connection between the divine and the human and in giving each devout tale a clownish back side. «Thus —she writes— in all the medieval authors (Jean de Meung, Juan Ruiz, Chaucer, Villon) there is the same co-existence of the edifying and the joyful, justified in part as allegory and example».

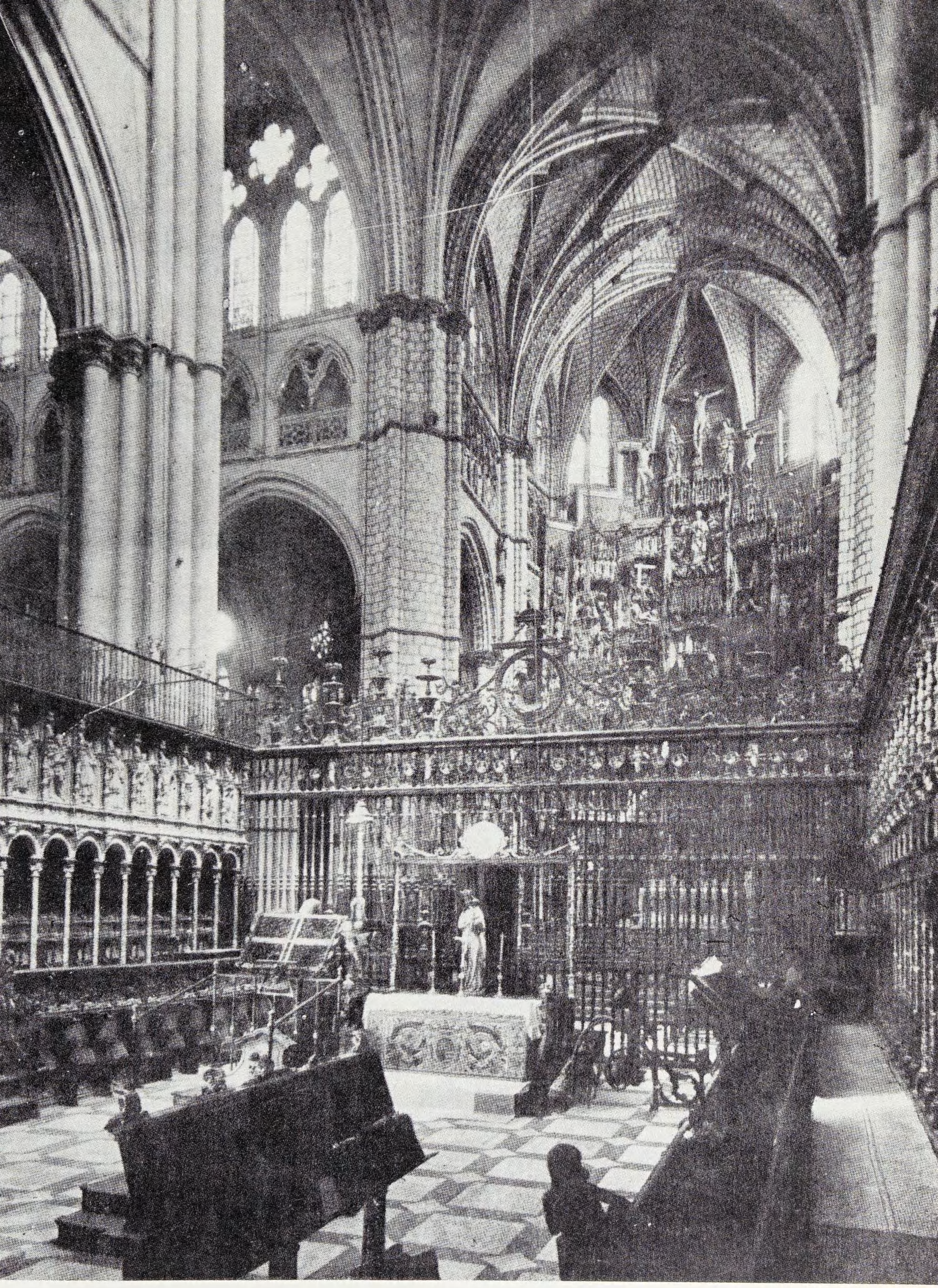
It is necessary to confess that Lecoy faces the problem as not resolved, with the joining of what is sensual and moralizing and he confronts it, naturally, from the visual angle from which he see «Buen Amor»: within the framework of Western literature. It is truly certain that the poetic game

of the Archpriest approaches the great ultrapyrenean literary currents but he does not allow himself to be included in any of them.

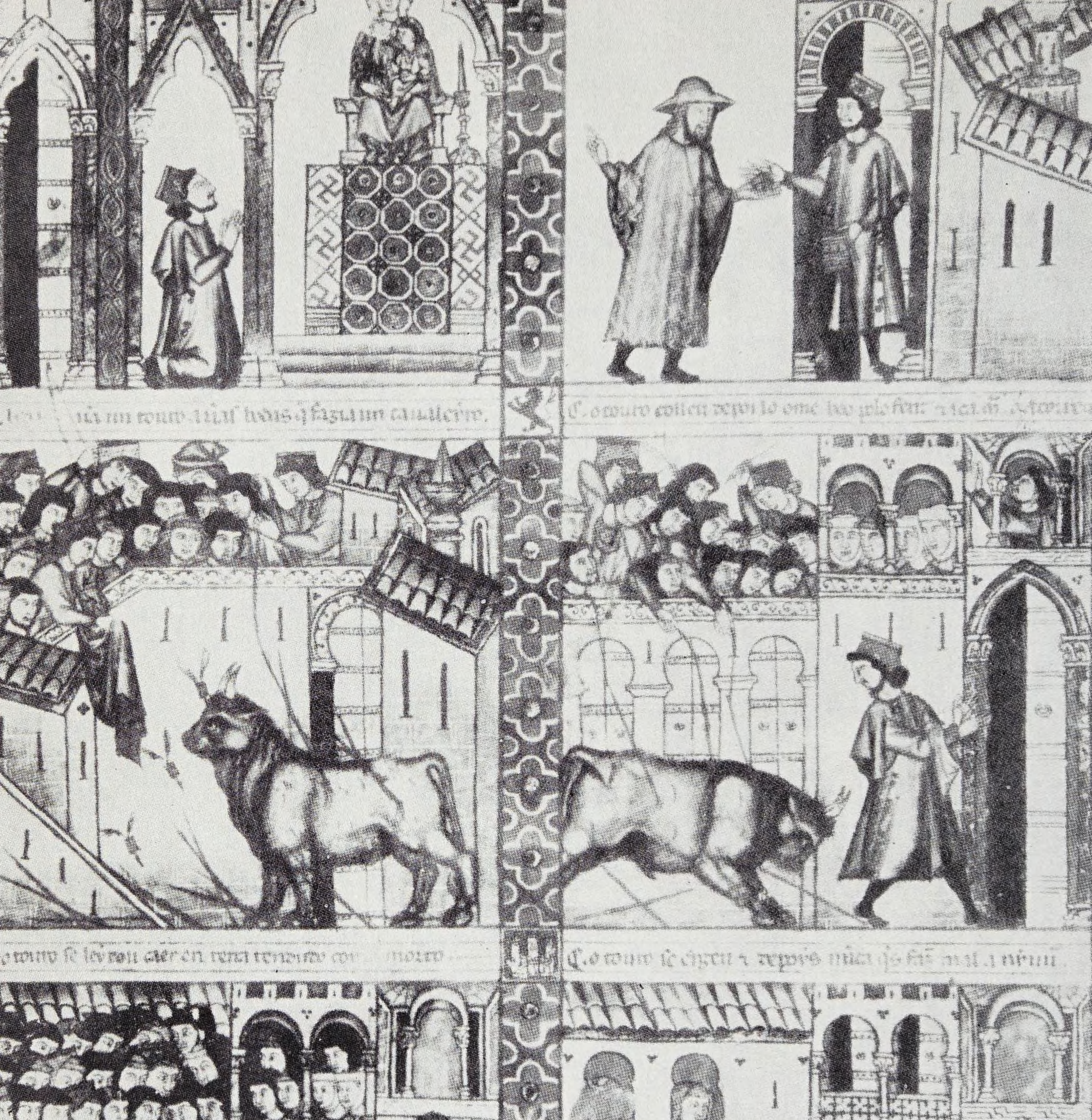
Spitzer writes: «What the poet wants to glorify is not the desire which launches men in the pursuit of women. Juan Ruiz does not wish to give us a Dionysiac lesson, in the Middle Ages that would be an... inconceivable lesson... What he wishes to relate is 'refined love' in general, naturally, and he finds no difficulty in including also 'mad love'... since it exists and since God judges it according to its merits». But Spitzer does not allege, nor can allege passages of «Buen Amor» to confirm his affirmation. The whole work of Juan Ruiz attests, on the contrary, that his clear, firm, conscious and sustained intention was very different. Refined love is absent from his book. The Archpriest's liminal words about his desire to forewarn against sin, disclosing its lures but offering formulas to sin for those who should so wish, and his repeated exoneration of sin by the weakness of the human condition, prove that *ab initio* he proposed to speak about «mad love» in his book; about the «mad love» by which he was obsessed since the first lines of his preface. Spitzer denies that the Archpriest was a hypocritical cleric who, with those words, would give himself a «passport» for his scandals. He did not need it, he says, because in the Middle Ages one went easily from one plane to another; it was understood in the same way as stupidity was necessary for the existence of wisdom, sin for that of virtue. If in fact one had gone effortlessly in the Middle Ages from the life in the flesh to life in the spirit, Juan Ruiz would have limited himself to spontaneouly going in that literary game and he would not have needed to obtain a passport for his scandals because he would not have scandalized anyone; he would not have written what he wrote to justify himself. When the Archpriest cured himself while he was healthy, as is commonly said, it was undoubtedly because he was aware of his roguish intention and that, at least in Castile, it was necessary, because there one did not go so smoothly from one plane to the other and because to the Castilians Juan Ruiz was truly a cynical and shameless priest.

The differences which separate the twofold side of Juan Ruiz' poetic creation from the Hispano-Islamic literary game have been pointed out. «If the Archpriest had been a Mussulman the continuous transition for one plane to another (from joie de vivre sensible, subjective, to moral transcendence) would have occurred with ingenuous simplicity, without surprise or effort». «Juan Ruiz reflects the contrast between sensible spontaneity and moral reflection and to unite the merry and moralizing trends, he spans a humoristic bridge between sensuality and morality». But that humorism which does not relate with Islamism, approximates, almost certainly, the comical or clownish aspects, pointed out by all as characteristic of European erotic poetry.

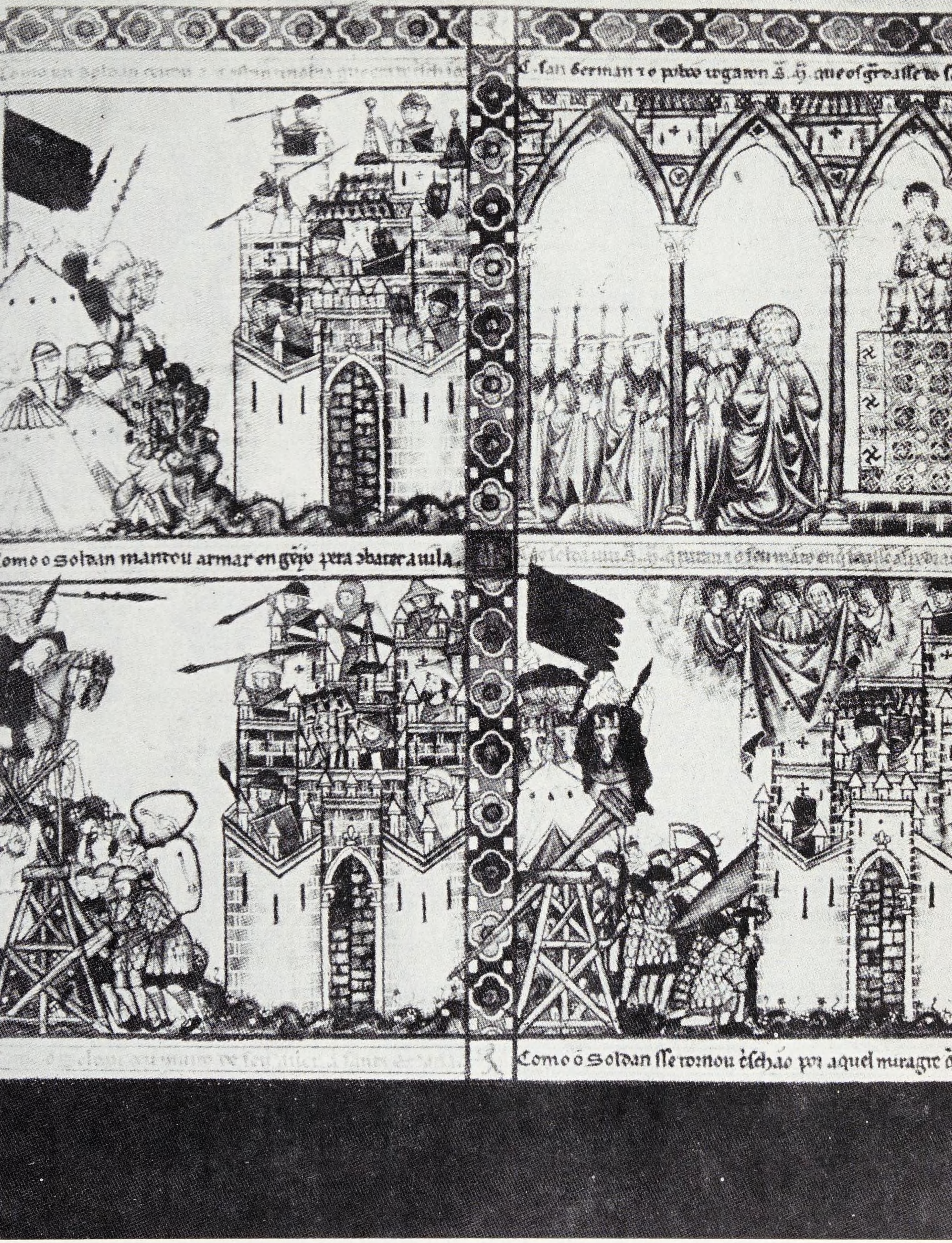
If the game between vital joie de vivre and moralizing curbs of «Buen Amor» is in someway related to the Islamite literary tradition, would Juan Ruiz have written: I attempt in this Book to forewarn against sin, but if



71.—*Central nave of the cathedral of Toledo from the choir.* Hispanicized Gothic. Old wine in new wine skins. Spain imposing its temperamental heritage on the imported architectural style: extreme complexity of the levels, robustness in the construction of the towers, pillars... interior compartmentalized, proliferation of ornamental elements, prebaroque overflowing of the sculptural and pictorial decoration, etc.



72.—Miracles, action and realism in the life, letters and art of Castile in the 13th century. If Alfonso X vitalized his accounts of Marian prodigies, action and realism transcend the miniatures that illustrate them. The one narrating how the Virgin saved one of her devotes from a brave bull serves as an example. The miniaturist discloses, as well, the remoteness among us of the art of bullfighting and the enthusiasm of the people for it. El Escorial. Manuscript of the *Cantigas. Marian miracle; miniature illustrating the Cantigas of Alfonso the Learned. (Library of El Escorial.)*



73.—In the *Cantigas* many Marian miracles are narrated in benefit of the cities and fortresses besieged by the Islamite armies. In the miniature that illustrate them can be seen as in these realistic details of the weapons, machines and war customs. The faith they disclose in the constant divine help to the Christians in their struggle against the Moors, explains the formation of our vassal Christianity. *Another Marian miracle from a different page of El Escorial manuscript of The Cantigas.*

74.—Synagogue of Toledo. Late 13th century, today Santa María la Blanca. It was built in one of the epochs of maximum euphoria for Castilian Jews, documents the wealth of the mosaic community of Toledo, capable of paying for it, and the Arabization of the Hebrew religious buildings, similar to the Arabization of the Judeo-Spanish culture, substantiated since before Ibn Paquda until after the Maimonids. *Santa María la Blanca, former Synagogue of Toledo.*

anyone wishes to sin he will find here pleasant recipes to do it? Do not these words categorically contradict the Moslem formula of connection between eroticism and morality? Does not the Aschpriest's wink constitute the antithesis of the continuous, fluid, natural, spontaneous transition from sensuality to asceticism in Mussulman literature? Are we not obliged to oppose Juan Ruiz' roguish declaration, clear indication of his spiritual attitude, to the flowing Arabesque between what is carnal and spiritual in Islamic tradition?

Since «The theme directly erotic did not dare to manifest itself —in *El Libro de Buen Amor*— except under the mask of comic poetry», would it not be more logical to connect the Archpriest's poetic game with the tendency of Western Europe to convert sinners of the flesh in themes of merry literature, without, therefore, renouncing the moral ideal of Christian life? María Rosa Lida has written: «The secure faith of the medieval centuries does not fear to accept in the book the unequal elements present in the world», and supposes therefore, «the variegated content of the medieval work of art reflects the variegated content of the world, work of God».

Nevertheless, I repeat again that in spite of this and of many other approximations of «Buen Amor» with the poetic currents of the West, the Archpriest's poetic creation is not delimited by them. I have alluded to the problems of the changes of school and to that of the stylistic changes which can frequently be recorded in the literary life of all the peoples. I wondered in meeting the theme, if exterior impulses have always been necessary for such novelties to occur. I repeat the disturbing question. Are such changes always the fruit of the imitation of historical models more or less remote?

Either I deceive myself or it is certain that many times the literary phenomena are not genetically related with old artistic formulas of neighboring peoples. On occasions they are the result of the eternal desire for new ideas by those who feel tortured by the vocational longing of the writer, in function of a singular spiritual climate, consequence of very complex crises —social, political, vital— and of the singular equation of the psychic potentials —reason, sensibility, instincts— of a superendowed man.

Was that game on a double fold, of erotism and morality, so incompatible with the Castile of the Archpriest, that it was necessarily the fruit of the imitation of foreign literary currents? Could it be the product of the conjunction —marvelous conjunction— of the real man, Juan Ruiz, with the cultural and vital milieu in which his life passed?

The person who, notwithstanding his priestly ministry and his archpriesthood, which gave him authority upon the clergy of the region, among the various literary themes valued during his time, his people and his generation, elects the erotic theme and ventures to write a book about carnal love, defines himself without subterfuge. The description that Tro-

taconventos makes of him to Doña Garoza is, clearly, of a robust, vigorous and sensual man. Some critics now pretend that that portrait is only the literary characterization of the generic type of sanguine men. Nevertheless, it offers so many details, so pleasing and so strange —in comparison with those that the Archpriest of Talavera outlines with definite purposes of typifying temperaments—, that it is licit to see a selfportrait in it. The person who disclosed so many details about his person and his condition could well have painted himself and Juan Ruiz would not be the first Spanish writer who enjoyed perpetuating with his pen his physical image. In it, such as we know it, a biologist could even discover the endocrinal formula of the Archpriest.

It has been said: «No ultrapyrenean Christian ascetic would have mixed the divine and the sexual nor would have adopted the literary attitude of Juan Ruiz: epicurean impulse and moralizing curbs». But the Archpriest was no ascete. He was a man filled with a vital joie de vivre —since Menéndez Pelayo, no one has come to contradict this reality— who was burning in the great blaze of passion. He was a jovial cleric who grasped only the happy side of life —even the penances, the Lenten vigils and the canonical hours moved him to joking— with a good palate and a better stomach —his savory palate shows in the evocation with delight of the combatants who participated in the struggle of Don Carnal and Doña Lent. He was a Castilian tortured by an uncontrollable sexual appetite —he insults Trotaconventos when she delays in procuring a fresh «hunt»— which frantically impelled him towards females. In the trilogy of his psychic forces his instints and his poetic sensibility triumphed.

Everything inclined the Archpriest to pour his vitality through erotic channels and into a cascade of merriment and jokes. His sexual appetite tortured him. He cannot live except in perpetual conversation with women. He possesses the most varied and the most complete experience of the most diverse women. He knows well the physical conditions which incline them to carnal love. He masters the art of praising them, making them fall in love and seducing them.

His eroticism is not inferior to his irony. He scoffs the canonical prayers, the fasts and the vigils; he ridicules penances and pilgrimages; parodies the chilvalrous courting, challenges and combats; he caricaturizes the mortuary *plants* in honor of the illustrious dead; he mock justice and the clergy, laughs at himself and entertains himself with his book.

Not even facing death could change his humor. Amidst his lugubrious apostrophes comes his mocking of his greedy relatives and of the good widow. When the moment for elegiac beauties has come, there is a sudden and unexpected transition and he happily begins the dithyramb of Trotaconventos; he supposes her accompanied by martyrs, praises her gifts as a procuress and composes a burlesque epitaph in which he wishes that God should allow a friend of hers to pray a Pater Norter for Trotacon-

ventos. Juan Ruiz even allows himself to ironize about the Cross through an impious play on words

But Juan Ruiz was a Castilian of the 14th century and a cleric, even an Archpriest —a double condition which included him within the mark of the vital and cultural contexture of the West— and even though no one until then in the Peninsula or outside had intercrossed humoristically the epicurean longing and the moral sense, we may suspect that he would have arrived at the same literary formula by the contradiction between his biological impulses and the intra and circumpersonal curbs which confronted and limited them at the same time. Because «he was an original and powerful artist», who «appears behind a poetry with a strong human flavor», and in which «the impression of personalism... comes out of each line». A man with such a vital and literary vigor, could he not be able to initiate a decisive turn in the poetic currents of his homeland? «His art —it has been said— rests upon vital situations, upon how the person is and what he is going to do» and for that reason he had to reflect in his work, his own confrontation in his life of his epicurean impulse, with the inhibitive messages which came to him from the thick atmosphere, vital and spiritual in which he was immersed.

The moral rigidity of Castile prior to the Archpriest has been reported. Although no one suspects it, it has hidden roots in the most remote centuries, since the Latin authors already pointed out with amazement the purity of the customs of the dwellers in the Celtiberian zone of Tarragona: «You know —Pliny writes, for example— what is the reputation of this province and what severity of customs dominates there». The exaltation of the religious sensibility of the Castilians, because of the prolonged divine war against the Mussulmans and the normal reaction of the mind of Hispanic Christianity against Islamic sensuality, increased the ethical rigor of the historical community to which Juan Ruiz belonged.

Thus, the vital and cultural atmosphere of Castile came to be saturated with inhibitions and moral preoccupations, to such an extent that sexual weakness was severely penalized by law, that vengeance by noblemen and common people was exempt of guilt and that the very people punished the sins of the impudic sisters, as occurred in León. So much so that, way into the 15th century, Gutierre Díaz de Games, in recalling the life of Don Pero Niño and his host in France, declared that the latter was under the sign of Venus, no doubt in comparing the French society with the Castilian one before his eyes, and to such an extreme, that the rigid morality of medieval Castile has projected its shadow onto the Castilian cities of today still anchored in the past.

That dense atmosphere of inhibitions and moral preoccupations was not, nevertheless, capable of smothering the literature that we could call of the jongleurs, or picaresque. Menéndez Pidal has taken to task the Boccaccio-like tales mentioned before Alfonso VII and the mocking songs of many jongleurs at the service of the kings of Castile and who lived in Castile.

He has proven the diffusion there of those mocking songs in no way peaceful, quoting the frequent prescriptions against them which are included into many municipal statutes— some, I point out, of lands not far from Hita. He has translated some passages that Martín Soarez placed on the lips of Alfonso Eañez de Cotón, who finding himself happy in Castile was refusing to fight on the front; passages of such impudence and vulgarity that they surpass those of the Archpriest.

Castilian moral sternness in the first part of the 14th century was going through a stage of evident laxity. A wave of sensuality and violence flooded Castile during the reigns of Alfonso XI and of Peter I. That wave had accentuated the ethical relaxation of the clergy to judge by the repeated agreements of councils and synods meeting in Valladolid (1332), Toledo (1324), Salamanca (1335), Toledo (1339 and 1342) and Alcalá de Henares (1345 and 1347) and by the treatise *De planctu Ecclesiae*, of Alvar Peláez (1335-1340).

In writing the picaresque *Libro de Buen Amor*, Juan Ruiz did not break with rigorous moral traditions either as a Castilian or as a cleric. Perhaps that double position intervened on the way of his literary eroticism and moved him to compensate his roguish buffoonery by his continuous moral sermonizing. Perhaps he had to listen to frequent inhibitory messages coming to him from his subconscious, dominated by the traditional moral rigor of Castile and by his strong and vigorous faith.

The frequency of the conciliar condemnations against the weaknesses of the clergy proves the liveliness of the struggle between the claudications of the behavior and the firmness of the ideal of life. The Archpriest himself compares Andalusian sensuality with severe Castilian customs which leads us to imagine that the ideal of life was real in the lands where Juan Ruiz lived. The chronicles of Alfonso XI and Peter I disclose that the public opinion of Castile, especially the feeling of the people, did not favor the frivolity of the kings, the aristrocracy nor of the clergy.

In the path of his goliardic freedom rose, at times confusedly, at times clearly, the logical projections of his sincere Christian faith.

Kellermann has exaggerated the rôle played in the poetic game of the Archpriest by the firm rooting in his soul of the rigid Christian concept of sin; but we must not ignore its importance.

Juan Ruiz often calls himself a sinner. When, incarcerated because of «traitors» and «agitators», he asks Saint Mary to free him: «From that pain, that I feel / in prison without deserving it», he confesses his condition as such with sincere words. There is no doubt that at times a feeling of guilt tortured him. When he contemplates Doña Garoza and desires her, he writes:

But that would be a sin against my Lord
The sin of a nun and a man who is a woman-chaser;

Oh, my God! I was that sinner,
Who was doing penance for having committed that sin!

He does not think about death as a liberation from the earthly evils and from the supposed prison of this world to which some commentators erroneously suppose him to make references. He would never have written as Saint Teresa of Ávila: «I die because I am not dying»; or as Luis de León: «When is it that I can / free from that prison / fly to heaven?» Before death, he says with fear:

Death, for you is made that infernal place!
For a man living always in the terrestrial world
Would not fear you nor this evil place,
Nor would he fear your coming in the flesh.
.....
God wants to defend us against your evil,
He who watched over us and does not keep from you:
.....
I commend myself to God, that I not fail him
That He defend me from your mortal coming.

The disproportionate death worried him because of the accounting, and confession of sins is the unique theme which he did not dare to mock, because of that confession and of the help of Mary he hoped for the pardon of his flirting, at the service of «mad love», and that of his happy erotic and parodic slips in the course of his «Book»

Apart from those inhibitive subconscious messages, did he receive calls to order, from his lucid conscience? The fear of losing public credibility and that of incurring canonical sanctions must have worried him. Three times he seems preoccupied by good or bad fame in the brief prologue of «Buen Amor»: «It is very cruel —he writes in one of them— to underrate one's fame.» His jongleur-like poetry, the mirror of his life, could bring him dishonor; the *Partidas* VII, 6, 4 and others, declared the jongleurs to be infamous. The danger of incurring canonical sanctions for his literary shamefulness was not negligible. The Council of Valladolid of 1322 threatened libidinous clerics with excommunication, loss of benefice and prison.

The confrontation between his sensual impulse and those inhibitive subconscious messages and those conscious calls to order never came to the point of creating an anguishing interior battle for Juan Ruiz, because he never dramatized his intimate contradiction and because ordinarily he smothered it between jokes and smiles, but it was probably sufficient to influence in his poetic creation. Not without reason is the Archpriest made the remote ancestor of Lope de Vega, in whom the intimate fight between

his vital overflows and his religious curbs is at times converted into a painful drama.

An ascetic would not have written a book about carnal love; a goliardic ultrapyrenean cleric would not have been stopped by moralizing curbs. Juan Ruiz, the epicurean and happy Castilian cleric, perhaps felt pulled by his vital impulse and at the same time curbed by the subconscious inhibitions and by conscious fears; by the inhibitions which the moral heritage of Castile and the ethical projections of his sincere and robust faith dictated to him; and by the fears of earthly dangers to which his personal and rhetorical immorality could expose him. Therefore, the Archpriest stops at the last step of the slope, when he has been dragged by his vital overflows —sensual and jovial— at the very edge of the salacious account of the lewd acts of sexual love. For that reason he softens his Epicureanism with his religious poems and his frequent moral sermon, the same that he found in the didactic books in use at the time, to which he desired to approximate his own, influenced by the reputation they had in the West, too overwhelming for an Archpriest, however shameless and merry he may be, to be able to refrain from it.

But he had barely started this motion backward on his path, barely begun to go through the monotonous path of Western Christian didacticism, barely pleasant, even though Spitzer denies it —of magistral and sermonizing teaching, barely joined his hands in a gesture of devout prayer before the Mother of God to whom he had directed pious dirges, barely written some measured and pious words, barely confessed his preoccupation about sin and death, that immediately his carnal appetite returned to triumph in him, pressing on the accelerator, packing with a superficial smile for the real road of sensuality and picaresque joie de vivre and to near again the precipice of salaciousness and obscenity.

That game is continuously repeated. The architecture of *El libro de buen amor* enables us to single out this coming and going of Epicureanism to religion and from sensuality to asceticism, not in a capricious and purely decorative Arabesque, but in a calculating pulling and loosening, to compensate his merry and shameless eroticism with the proof of his devotion and of his moralizing purposes. In a frustrated attempt to deceive God, to deceive the world, himself and Archbishop Don Gil de Albornoz who, as was believed in the past, and as G. Menéndez Pidal, Kellermann and Dámaso Alonso prove, ended up by incarcerating him.

The Archpriest fears that his true intentions may be discovered, that his marked sliding towards the carnal may be noticed —when he abandons the epicurean or humoristic themes, his pen becomes harder and his creational vigor fails—, hence his repeated affirmation about the exemplariness of his purposes. Be careful, do not misinterpret my book. It always has a mysterious meaning, a moral projection, even when my sensuality has overflown and I have not been able to curtail my eroticism, there is

a moralizing intention hidden. Meditate upon my words and you will find an attempt to make sin hateful.

But, not even then can he overcome his temperamental inclination, and smiling and crafty, he says of his book, of the same that he has presented as an antidote against mad love and as a «great lesson book» of sanctity, which also served for those who wanted to sin and which was a «small breviary» of games and jokes. In the end, his vital impulses always triumphed in the frequent encounters against the ethical rigor of the Castilian society in which Juan Ruiz had been born and lived, against his total faith which created a clear conscience of sin; perhaps, also, against the far away but unavoidable final accounting and undoubtedly, against the close and dangerous threat of Don Gil de Albornoz' clerical discipline, who because of his personal virtue pursued the shamelessness of his clerics.

For that reason, it is possible and impossible to speak of hypocrisy in mentioning the double side of *El libro de buen amor*. The Spaniard in whom intercross, more or less confusedly, a firm religiosity, a rigid idea of moral life and an extreme sensuality, must not be called a hyprocrite; the sinner is not a hypocrite except when hiding the claudication of his fall he wishes to show virtues that he does not have, and that, the Archpriest never did. In opposing his moral sermon to the excesses of his vital joie de vivre, induced by the firmness of his faith and his consciousness of sin, he was not being hypocritical, he followed temperamental Hispanic currents which were flowing through the river of Spanish Catholic life. We cannot call a hypocrite a man who, by the law of life, forced to avoid misery or jail, but not incurring in adulatory obsequiousness; otherwise there would be dozens of millions of hypocrites in the world today. Such was not Juan Ruiz' case, since in the ballad of the clerics of Talavera he even rose against the archbishop who had him jailed. But he did border on hypocrisy and finally fell in it when, to protect himself, he declared many times that his book had a mysterious double meaning.

These declarations about the double meaning of his book could be related to the Western Christian practice of interpreting and commenting on the literary texts, as a projection of the continuous scrutinizing of the exact meaning of the sacred book, the Bible, before the fear of erring in the exegesis, because of the difficulties which the finite spirit of man encounters in understanding the word of God. That zeal of the Christian West to search the interpretation and commentary of the texts could undoubtedly influence in the Archpriest's mind and move him to reiterate his declarations about the hidden meaning of «Buen amor», in an attempt to approach the serious books of Western Christianity, similar to that which induced him into the moral sermon. I do not know, but I tend to believe that the essential motive of his declarations about the meaning of his work was something else. Adverse judgment could cost him dearly —let us recall the precepts of the *Partidas* and of the councils and the

moral rigidity of Castile— and his freedom and ecclesiastical benefice were well worth these hypocritical reiterations for the Archpriest. I will deal with the theme later.

He was sincere, on the other hand, when he wrote, to provisionally conclude his book:

Lords, I have served you, with little knowledge
In giving you only fables in ballads
A reward I ask of you: that for the sake of heaven, in pilgrimage
You pray one Paternoster and one Ave Maria for me.

He had gone overboard in his authentic bend towards the erotic and jovial side of his «Book», he had attempted in vain to curb and hide such outpourings but his condition of cleric and Castilian moved him in the end to ask for a prayer in order to obtain the forgiveness of his sins.

Epicurean longing and moral sense? Yes, but as the result of the struggle between the psycho-physical balance of the real man and the intra and circumpersonal curbs which limited and fought his vital authenticity, not because Juan Ruiz knew and imitated *The Dove's Ring* of Ibn Hazm and found himself connected with the literary tradition of Moorish Spain. It has been written: «Ibn Hazm speaks of some lives, his and others', immersed in love, and of the final renunciation of its deceiving sweetness.» As has been said, what mattered to the Archpriest was his own amorous life and he never thought of renouncing its sweetness —for him it was something more than the sweetness— deceiving —but for him it was not deceiving, but delightful— of love.

The literary phenomenon of the twofold side —vital joie de vivre and moralizing curb— reflected clearly in the Archpriest's poetic creation, could arise in the literary climate of Castile without any genetic tie with Hispano-Mussulman models. It could be the product of the marvelous conjunction between the singular temperamental equation of Juan Ruiz and the spiritual climate of his people, his epoch, his generation and the class to which he belonged. It must have been so because of the enormous differences that separate *El libro de buen amor* from the Hispano-Arabic works on erotic themes and because of those that separate Ibn Hazm's attitude and in general that of the Islamic writers from that of the roguish and devout Archpriest.

Because this influx and reflux from Epicureanism to asceticism is doubled in *El libro de buen amor* with another literary game: with that which leads from the sacrilegious parody and the cynical scoffing of the clergy to the religious dictates, praises, joys or canticles. The saturation of human life in Islam by the vital and cultural transcendence of belief makes the appearance of impious parodies of Mussulman cult and of its servants impossible under the Moslem religious dome. Is there in the Hispano-Islamic literary tradition anything similar to the Archpriest's leaps

from sacrilegious parody of the canonical hours —which had Western precedents but which he vitalized by his poetic genius— to the devout praise of the Most High; from the merry scoffing of pious labors: penances, fasts, vigils, pilgrimages... to the fervent songs about the redemptive work of Christ; and from the cynical scoffing of those consecrated to the worship of the divinity —in the reception of Don Amor and the ballad of the clerics of Talavera inspired from ultrapyrenean texts but Castilianized by him— to the pious poems praising the Virgin? How can one relate with Hispano-Arabic poetic models those slips from grotesque satire of the sacred to the lyrical overflows in honor of Jesus or Mary? And since this change from parodies and jokes to their edifying counterparts coincides with the frequent interweaving, on the double slope, of sensuality and morality, is it not permissible to conclude that this double play —that conscious game of the roguish but Christian Archpriest— has nothing to do with the Hispano-Islamic literary models and that it truly derives from the conjunction of the vital and psychic personality of Juan Ruiz and the curbs which Castilian society and his religious position imposed upon him? Conjunction favored, naturally, by the example and the reputation of European didactic literature of the time.

7. Autobiographism of the Archpriest

Menéndez Pelayo had written of the Archpriest: «He placed himself entirely in his book», «all his work —he adds— has as its center the poet's personality and it revolves around it», then he wonders about the roots of that autobiographism of «Buen amor».

Spitzer denies the autobiographical items of «Buen amor», judges that the Archpriest's ego is the medieval ego common to all creatures, a collective ego, and he does not solve the problem raised by the why of the poet's autobiographism, real or feigned.

María Rosa Lida, following closely Spitzer's theory, believes that she can define the personality which appears in «Buen amor» this way: «It is the ego of the master, which, for greater effectiveness, presents the abstract case upon which he dogmatizes as lived and observed in his own person. Such an ego —she says— is found in didactic literature of all times and places.» She alleges Greco-Roman literary and biblical texts to sustain her affirmation, but she cannot present any example from medieval didactic fictions. So the question which tormented Menéndez Pelayo remains.

Kellermann goes further in accepting the autobiographism of «Buen amor». He acknowledges the authenticity of some autobiographical data of Juan Ruiz his jailing among others. He points out how the relating ego of the Archpriest frequently converts into the actor's ego. He warns that this ego appears in texts such as the *Vetula* and the *Consultatio* that

Juan Ruiz amplifies and enlivens and in those where, in the end, he personally appears. His great success, he says, is to have gathered, through the thread of his ego, so many matters and genres as «Buen amor» encompasses. In the end he wonders why the author fictitiously enters into the account and makes literature out of his experience.

«Autobiographical form —it has been said— as such has nothing to do with the didacticism of the Christian Middle Ages, but it is the stylized form of expression of Arabic literature.

A first objection comes to my mind. Juan Ruiz was not the first medieval European, nor even the first peninsular Christian to pour his intimacy into autobiographical confessions nor the only one on either side of the Pyrenees to expose his existential experience. María Rosa Lida has written a new study on the Archpriest: «The didactic use of the first person... is well shown in many works familiar to the learned of the Middle Ages.» Among some examples, she cites: the *Ars Amandi* of Ovid, Saint Agustine's *Confessions,* Boecio's *Consolatio philosophiae,* and *De vita sua* of Guibert de Nogent. About the *Confessions* she said that it must have predisposed Western clergy to welcoming autobiography whose purpose is to edify the reader by exposing one's errors. In Spain some jongleurs of the Northwest had already opened the valves of their inner lives, Don James the Conquistador, Alfonso the Learned, Raymond Lully and in Juan Ruiz' times, Don Juan Manuel. Under the shield of various literary creations, many autobiographical confessions escaped in Western Europe in many authors; some of Joinville have been cited. In the 13th century in Castile, the ego of the author had interfered with the ego of his character in the Alfonso version of the *Metamorfosis,* as María Rosa Lida has reported. In the West, the erotic autobiographical paths were not unknown; Gibbon Monypenny has mentioned those of Ulrich von Lichtenstein, Dante, Nicole de Mergival. Will someone dare to consider all that inclination to confidence which appears already in the 13th century in Western Christianity and which is going to greatly expand in Spain and outside as derived from Hispano-Arabic autobiographism? Will someone intend to prove such a derivation? It is difficult if not impossible to connect with Islamic culture, and even more with the autobiographical confessions of the Hispano Mussulmans, the confessions of some Spanish and non-Spanish authors.

It has been affirmed that Juan Ruiz would have based his book on his vital experience, as three centuries before the great Cordovan poet, Ibn Hazm, had done. The latter had written about the effects produced in his integral life by what was happening in his soul, and the Archpriest would have done the same. Because Ibn Hazm had made lyrical confessions of his intimacy —of his existential authenticity— Juan Ruiz would have given an autobiographical slant to «Buen amor».

The proven fact that the Archpriest did not know *The Dove's Ring* destroys such an argumentation in its basis. Nothing approximates, con-

nects, relates or unites in reality the persons, nor the works of Ibn Hazm and Juan Ruiz. It has been said that their remote concordances derive from the identical condition of books on love that the two works had in common and what was Spanish in both authors. It is possible to write about love in many different ways. Can one compose authentic art of love except by exposing the contents of existential experience? «Vsus opus monet hoc; uati parete perito», is read at the very beginning of *Ars Amandi.* Ovid confessed then that he owed his book to experience and invited his readers to listen to a poet instructed by practice. Until now, possessors of esthetic and literary formulas very varied and very complex, rare are the cases of those who have written about love without their existential ego entangling them at each step in the amorous arts. In the distant Spain of Ibn Hazm and of Juan Ruiz, autobiographism, true or feigned, was the indispensable platform for the launching of a treatise on the ways of love. And it was so: because of the simplicity of the esthetic and literary formulas at their disposal, because of the Hispanic realism into which they were both immersed and because the Cordovan poet and the cleric of Hita coincided in something: in having a very strong personality, an impetuous and explosive ego. Both had to enter totally into their works, even if one had not been Islamite and the other had lived before the birth of Mohammed, and even if before Juan Ruiz, the West had not known the clear and multiple autobiographical antecedents, reported a while ago.

Once again we meet the problem of poetic creation. «The literary creator always acts as a shuttle between the phrase that he is creating —it has been written— and the distant world in which his pen is sunk.» True, but we cannot forget the personality of the creator of the phrase, moving the pen. From the world, far and near, the poet receives ideas, concepts, themes, words, esthetic formulas, expressive turns, impulses, inhibitions... But the authentic poet is not a puppet whose strings are pulled by a being abstracted from the vital and cultural contexture of a people, an epoch, a generation. Creative sensibility is his; it is connected with the singular balance of the trilogy of his psychic forces. It is not proper for the literary critic to prescind from that temperamental equation of the artist to explain himself and his work.

It is undoubtedly a truism, but in a world of such subtle exegetes as is the world of today, these humble and obvious truths are often neglected. Man is history and he cannot be understood except in the flowing world of historical happening, within the cultural and vital framework of the community to which he belongs. Human groups have only been able to advance, change, transform themselves; there has only been history thanks to the creational impetus of exceptional individuals. Man is history, but man makes history, therefore we cannot prescind from the real man that exists in each writer in studying his literary creations, especially when that man has a very strong and singular personality, capable of confronting

the surrounding world and of impelling, from the past to the future, the past world of distances.

Because Ibn Hazm and Juan Ruiz were such, they wrote in the most personal way possible at the time, getting, the first to the intimate confessions of *The Dove's Ring* and of *Los caracteres y la conducta* and the second in keeping with the literary modules of poetic autobiography. The Hispanic appetite for verism must have facilitated for both, the sliding towards those esthetic forms which opened a way to communication of their existential experience. The overflowing unfolding of the Hispanic ego of both must have contributed to the entanglement of their personalities in their creations, as had occurred many centuries before the birth of Ibn Hazm to the Spanish Seneca and the Spanish Martial, and two centuries before Juan Ruiz, also to the Spanish Ibn Quzmān.

García Gómez has just written that the author of *The Dove's Ring* is the exponent of the Cordovan literary school, nationalist because it tended to ignore Oriental models, and personal, because —«perhaps due to the infiltration of Western spirit»— it wanted to be based upon the writer's temperament. «In fact —says the famous treatise of Ibn Hazm *The Dove's Ring*—, it is —as is known— dedicated to report personal experiences, of his friends, of ancient characters, all mostly Andalusian.» He does mention, he adds, only one source written in the Orient: the *Kitab al-Zahra,* but such a work, he concludes, has little in common with the *Tawq al-hamama.* «The Oriental source, is above all, an anthology of verses about love, while the Andalusian one is a psychological treatise, with pretenses of philosophy; the former is filled with affectation and effeminate pedantry, while the latter is natural, human, direct and warm.» He adds that Ibn Hazm assimilated and transformed Oriental materials «giving them a new spirit, a distinct form and a different vitality.»

The Archpriest did the same with the ultrapyrenean materials that he adopted, trasnformed, Hispanicizing and giving them a new spirit, a distinct form and a different vitality. The poetic art of Juan Ruiz is also based on the personal temperament of the author and for that reason the «Buen amor» is likewise natural and human, direct and warm.

The problem of autobiographism of «Buen amor» seems to me to be in the interpretation that must be given to the Archpriest's poetic power. Naturally, Juan Ruiz was a man of his time and he could not anticipate in centuries the psychic realities of the West. But within his epoch and marked by the spiritual framework of the 14th century, the Archpriest's ego was capable of breaking the literary models of beyond the Pyrenees without knowing Ibn Hazm and without being inspired by the Hispano-Arabic tradition. By what was Castilian in Juan Ruiz, since in Castile had matured the entire man who did not fit within the framework of Western and ultrapyrenean life and culture; the entire man who projected himself into adventure moved by frantic overflows, by the singularity of his own personality, impetuous and explosive, ready to go through the world

about like a dagger or a lance, capable of opening the way of reality and appropiating it into a magic sensorial orgy, so filled with humanity and life that it got to enlivening and humanizing even gestures and things. Can it be surprising that the man gifted with such personal and literary vigor, that «artist original and powerful» who appears behind a poetry with a strong human flavor in which the «impression of personality... appears at every line»; a man whose art «rests upon vital situations about how the person is and what he is going to do», should open the valves of his intimacy impelled by the violent pressure of his potential power of life, and by an invincible inclination towards personal and poetic extroversion?

Let us recall the contrast mentioned before between Arabic and Spanish: «When the Moor expressed the conscience of his life it appeared as seeing itself flow, as if carried by a world flowing also and without stable firmness». «The direction of his vital interest urged the Arab to pour himself into the object exterior to him» «The importance which the Spaniard gave to the person as one of the poles of his existence has led him to make of it a center of attraction and of reference for what exists in and around him. Thus there arises a sort of imperialism of the person.»

«The Mussulman feels himself in things, the Hispano Christian feels things in him.» «The peculiar function of his structure of life consists (for the Spaniard) in bringing the world to himself, not in disolving his person into his contacts with the world.»

«For the Mussulman, everything was reduced to letting himself live within Allah's will; for the Spaniard undoubtedly 'what God wills' was very important. But almost as imperative as the will of God was 'what I want'. With the worship of God, the Spaniard combined the homage to self.»

«The Arab does not conceive that a person forms his own personality in connection with that of other men.» «Epic poetry, the novel and drama manifest the importance granted (by Spaniards) to what concerns him.»

That contrast should suffice for us to refuse to consider Juan Ruiz and other great Spanish literary figures as projecting through the centuries a peculiar form of artistic creation of Arabic origin.

Besides, many Spaniards of before yesterday, of yesterday, of today and of always —Cervantes, Lope, Quevedo, Velázquez, Goya...— have known, as Juan Ruiz, how to break with the literary or artistic tradition in which they found themselves, how to break the cables which bound them to the cultural world of their time, and through audacious rudder changes, how to open for Hispanic letters and arts, courses which anticipated future literary and artistic voyages, only after decades on both sides of the Pyrenees. All have achieved their creations by putting into play the strength and vital projections of the integral man about themes concerning them and by pouring into them what they themselves were.

A parallel would have been decisive to judge the modules of artistic

creation and the personality of the Archpriest. I am referring to the contrast, careful and free from prejudices, of the European sources —better Western— that Juan Ruiz used and the pages in which he transforms them. One has noticed the abyss that separates the French debate of «Karesme et de Charnage» and the battle of Don Carnal and Doña Lent.», but they have limited themselves to writing: «Under each thing, each musical instrument, each animal, each food... breathes the spirit of the Islamic God.» It would have been better to go deeply into the observation of the intense life and the dramatic action which brings into the account, after attracting and humanizing it, we might say, each one of the animals and foods. Behind each one, the old Islamic god does not appear but instead the robust personality of the Archpriest and the crafty Castilian Juan Ruiz, the man endowed with such vigor of humanity that he enlivened, humanized, the abstract battle of the meats and the fishes; and the humorist ready for the bourgeois joke of chivalry.

The Archpriest also instilled realism and life —Fernando Lázaro has pointed it out— in translating the little novel *De Amore* into the long episode of the loves of Doña Endrina and Don Melon de la Huerta. The Islamic god was placidly asleep when Juan Ruiz —the Castilian with an incisive and explosive ego, baptized in Alcalá or Hita— entertained himself by enlivening the three main characters of the fable. He was asleep when the Archpriest injected vitality in the three characters of his tale in such a way that they ended up by slipping from his hand and by beginning to live their own lives in the squares and streets of New Castile, that is, the Castile of the Tagus.

«It suffices to see —Spitzer has written— how the proper name *Trotaconventos* develops in the work slowly starting from a generic appellative in the plural *(the trotaconventos)*... for us to grasp alive the extent of Juan Ruiz's mind going from the generic to the individual, from a colorless model to his creation so full of life, from the description of a collectivity of procuresses to the evocation of a unique personality.»

The same parallel could be drawn between other Western literary models of the Archpriest —the passages of «Buen amor» of Oriental origin are minimal— and their poetic developments enlivened by Juan Ruiz: fables, tales, anecdotes, accounts, ballads, allegories...

All the pages of «Buen amor» project life and action, whatever the vital anemia and the arteriosclerotic ankylosis of their sources may have been. That injection of life and of action cannot be related to pure Arabic-Islamic, which only after suffering the magic change of Hispanization —Ibn Hazm, Ibn Quzmān and Ibn'Arabi— acquires human warmth and life.

Among the jongleur clerics of beyond the Pyrenees and the protean manner, as Spitzer rightly defines the Archpriest of Hita, there was no interposition of the Islamic god dignifying «equally the flight towards mystical sublimation and the act of cleaning oneself after exonerating the

stomach, ritually prescribed in the *hadices* of Mohammed». Neither the mystical flight nor the malodorous vulgarity attracted Juan Ruiz. Between him and the roguish jongleurs beyond the Pyrenees, rises the vital tradition of a Castile shaken by a tortured and violent impetus, of a Castile rough and harsh in which was formed and matured the strange man who must have seen his days go by under the thick atmosphere of roughness and exaltation of the human person.

When that people allowed their nerves to relax and abandoned the tragic buskin and felt the throbbing of an impetus of youthful joie de vivre and found themselves moved by a longing for laughter and enjoyment, the faucets of their vitality opened up and as before through epic channels, now through torrents of popular and roguish comic leaps, they let the strength of their eruptive personalities overflow.

That demonic pride which led the people of Salamanca to answer to Texufin that they were all chiefs and masters of their own destiny, and the knights of Avila to help their enemies threatened by the Moors in order to be able to kill them themselves, that cruel cult of honor which impelled a Castilian family to pull on the rope strangling their son and which impelled the deceived peasants to kill the adulterers with their own hands; those tremendous insults coupled with the most fierce and brutal jokes with which they insulted each other; those overflows of energy which spilled, every moment, into a ferocious fight with other men, and at times, into a demanding a miracle of God, lord and patron whom they served —I have already studied some of those themes and will study the others later—, provoked the birth of the new literary phenomenon to which *El libro de buen amor* belongs, as soon as the dikes, which until then had kept his human impetus as well as his poetic potential calmed, broke down.

From the joining of the vital and the cultural into the creational flow of the past was born the poetic voice which speaks to us from the conscience of a man; from the conscience of a personality that anticipates the Renaissance, in culminating in a superendowed poet, in a historical moment more than favorable, the entire man that the singular history of Castile had formed in the course of the centuries.

The hyperindividualism, incredible if it were not real, the frantic impetus of all Castilians, nobles and peasants, their violent roughness intermingled with their proud and inflexible rigidity, were like taut springs ready to explode in the individual souls of everyone. Those springs were projecting Castilians towards different adventures, according to the algebraic equation of their temperamental contexture. They could not impel the crafty clergyman, jovial and sensual towards bellicose enterprises nor towards any kind of rash and violent gestures. In exploding inside, when Castile began to feel in itself a desire of pubescent and frollisome joy, liberated from the weight of its epic and didactic austerity, those springs forced him to the extroverted projection of his existential experience, of

the orgiastic wealth of his sensorial and psychic observations and even of the processes of his conscience. Through the channels, naturally, of the cultural mark of his time, theocentric, transcendental and moralizing, and curtailed by the personal and collective inhibitions which rose on his way and by the very newness of his poetic adventure. With his cunning irony, he managed to avoid the difficulties which opposed the extroversion of his explosive Castilian ego: the necessary channel through which it had to be projected and the invincible inhibitions which assailed him from his incoercible subconscious and from his sharp reasoning. The result was a poetic book of a ballad, inlaid in a humoristic autobiography, in turn within the frame of an ascetic and moral sermonizing.

The entire man formed during the Reconquest, the epic-heroic cascade barely calmed through which he had poured his vital impetus and barely discovered the new lyrico-burlesque wedge through which it could come, poured into it «his impressive personality». Before the Archpriest and around the same time, other peninsular people had found other literary cracks —historical, didactico-juridical and didactico-political— through which to project in spiritual adventures, the explosive ego of the entire Castilian. That ego which anticipated or intuitively perceived the Renaissance, but could not reach the promised land, precisely because in its intimate explosions it had melted the fuses which could have taken its vital energy through the channels of reason and immanence.

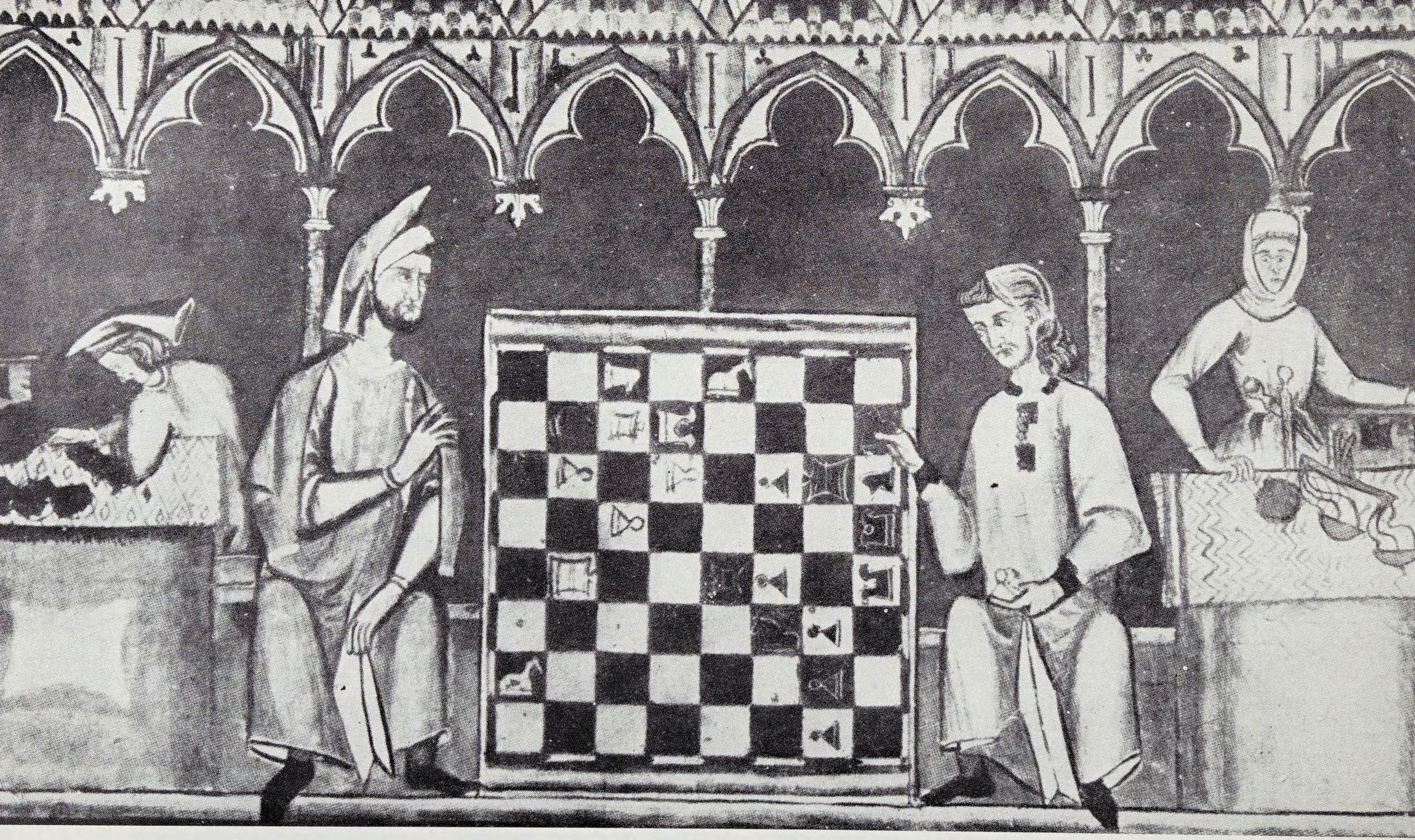
8. Juan Ruiz and mad love

I have attempted to single out that what we know of Hispanic Islam contradicts the supposed living of the Moslem watching the shadows among which he has been supposed to advance through the world.

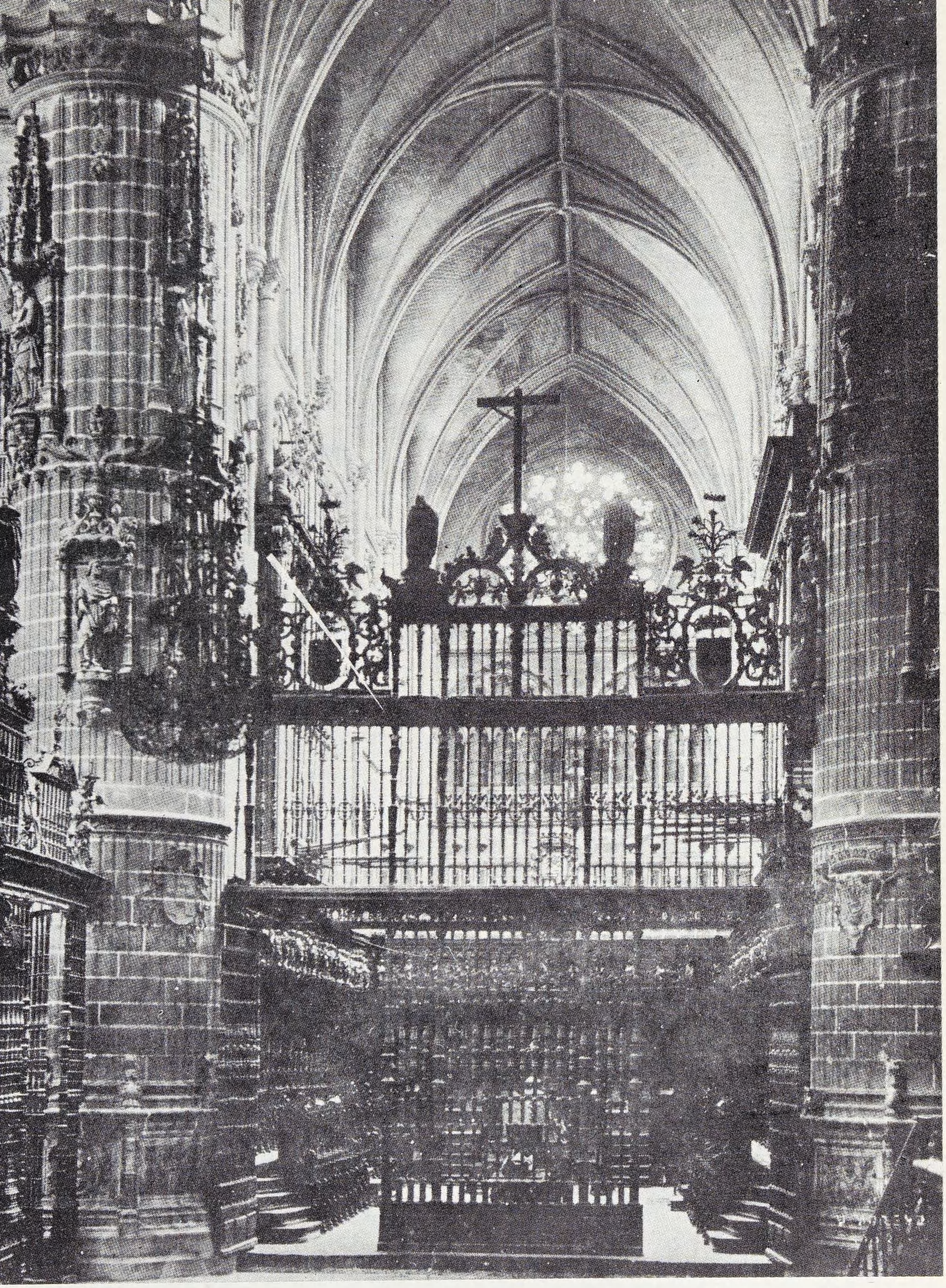
I have pointed out the inanity of the arguments with which has been defended the supposed coincidence between the esoterism of life in Islamic Spain and the esoterism of the sacred book of Islam. Asín's studies force us to deny that Spanish Mussulmans believed in the allegorical interpretation of the sacred book. The meaning and the characteristics of Arabo-Andalusian lyric poetry prevent from basing uncertain conclusions about the esoterism of life among the Islamites of Al-Ándalus upon the metaphorical games of the poets. Ibn-Hazm's *The Dove's Ring*, the book which best enables us to know them, precisely contradicts this supposed way of the Hispanic Moslems to pass through a world of shadows and of symbols. He presents them going firmly and with certainty, moved by warm and profoundly human feelings and in an atmosphere saturated with realism —spiritual realism which searches the souls, vital realism which gathers and perpetuates gestures and sayings of women and men and of rough and vulgar realism which reflects the lewdness and misery.

It seems to me certain that the poetic structure of «Buen amor» does

75.—Castilian naves of the 13th century, according to the «manuscrito escurialense de las *Cantigas*» of the Learned King. In that century and in part through the economic policy of Alfonso X, the navy of Castile thrives and prospers. People from Vizcaya, Cantabria and Galicia cut across the sea, trade with France, Flanders and England and, if the situation arises, battle enemy fleets. A Castilian squadron went up the Thames in the direction of London during the «Hundred Year War». *Castilian Nave; miniature of The Cantigas of Alfonso the Learned. (Library of El Escorial.)*



76.—Although the browbeaten Spanish Christians did not have too much additional activity, they gave way to the ineludible desires of the *homo ludens* that is in all attending the games and recitations of the jongleurs... and, by Oriental influence, playing chess. Let us recall the anecdote that presents «Ben Amar» saving the kingdom of Seville from the demands of Alfonso VI through such a noble game. Beautiful miniatures of the 13th century illustrate the theory of the game. *Chess Players; Miniature of «Libro de los Juegos» (Library of El Escorial).*



77.—The florid transept of the Cathedral of Burgos. From being the *Caput Castellae*, this city became the mercantile capital of the kingdom during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Its relations with Flanders and the western and northern coasts of France became both intense and permanent. The wealth and splendor of this city for merchant knights in the florid Middle Ages imposed their stamp on the termination and restoration of the Cathedral of Burgos.

78.—A late image of Sancho IV (1284-1295) in the Cathedral of Toledo. Was the sculptor aware of the history of this weak and violent king —they called him the Fierce— who was carried to an early grave by tuberculosis? Was he aware that he upset the whole kingdom in order to succeed his father, Alfonso X, the Learned; and bequeathed a chaotic kingdom to his son Ferdinand IV, the Summoned? That he allowed himself, and Castile, to be governed by a favorite; and that, in a fit of rage, had him executed later? Or that, after stirring up the masses, he was cruel with them? Or that, when allying with France against Aragón, he awakened the hostility of the neighboring and fraternal kingdom?

not offer a necessary connection with the supposed watching of Mohammedans in search of the interpretation of the Koran and of life, in search of the ultimate reality of the Unique and Eternal one.

Juan Ruiz reports that Trotaconventos in order not to disclose her intention to Doña Endrina's mother, told her a string of lies which determined her to leave her alone with the daughter: «Then the procuress began to give her other advices / changing around the first reasons», continues to expose the talk of the «hag» of the Archpriest with the young widow of Calatayud. Can anyone believe that Trotaconventos' change of conversation or the innocuous allusion to the fruitful graft of the trees —«graft the trees with some bark»— in outlining a vived picture of agrarian life in the allegory of the months, are indications of a continuous mysterious alternance and have something to do with the interpretation by the Moslems of the esoterism of their sacred book and with their supposed life among shadows without reaching the ultimate and essential reality? Who can connect with that sense of life supposed to rule in the whole Islamic world from the shores of the Ganges to the estuary of the Tagus, the phrases with which Juan Ruiz attempts to prove that his book must be interpreted as a guide for sinners and not as a lesson of jokes? Because, in truth, this supposed sliding licence of «Buen amor», of supposed Mohammedan tradition, is reduced to the Archpriest's struggle to convince his readers and his listeners of the purity of his intention, that he intended to moralize, making sin hateful.

The Archpriest was a roguish jongleur who proposed to clearly write and «ab initio» not a moralizing book, but a merry work for the entertainment of the people who would read it or hear it recited. Juan Ruiz declares many times —Kellermann has pointed it out— that «Buen Amor» was to serve as consolation, joke, game and he speaks of his joyful reason and of his speaking on purpose. The whole book is enclosed within these two declarations: one liminal: «if you want, sirs, to hear a good consolation». and the other, final: «to give you consolation I will speak to you all as jongleurs». Yes, the Archpriest proposed to write a work, not Dionysiac, obviously, but merry and in jest, a work in which he sang and exalted «mad love», as he calls carnal love, and scoffs the divine and the human. His overflowing sensuality and his torrential irony —they have been reported— were incompatible with the composition of a moralizing and didactic book.

«Buen amor» moralizing and didactic! No. A Castilian cleric could not in 1330 nor in 1343 write clearly and legally an *Ars Amandi* without surrounding his work, for reasons already exposed, by an excessive foliage of examples and moral counsels. But Juan Ruiz' book is in fact a recipe book of formulas to flatter, court, seduce and deceive the *dueñas* whose talents and secrets he knew marvelously well, a ballad to love and life, supreme targets of the arrows of his sensibility, and an orgy of jokes, jests,

mockery, scoffing, taunts and parodies of the society of his time: of religious as much as civil life.

The duality —so Spanish— of his human condition: vital joie de vivre and moralizing inhibitions, the claudications which his clerical hierarchy imposed on his pen before the feared loss of his benefice and even of his freedom and the prestige of the didactic works, with moralizing trends in the Castile of his time, softened his extravagance as we could say in a phrase of Machado. It is difficult to explain otherwise that an authentic moralist would pack crosscountry through the fallows of sensuality, as did Juan Ruiz. To admit that the Archpriest proposed ab initio to exemplify would be to erase the best part and the best pages of «Buen amor».

Juan Ruiz writes with vigor when he happily swims on the ocean of the salacious and of the burlesque. Outside of that wide sea there only stand out some beautiful ballads to our Lady and his confrontation of death. As a Spaniard his craftiness and his impudence were in the end compatible with a fervent devotion to Mary, and the theme of death has exalted the *homo hispanus* of old. His frequent moral admonition does not always fall into coldness and monotony because the Archpriest was a great poet. Compare, nevertheless, «What arms must every Christian use to conquer the devil, the world and the flesh» with «the qualities that the duennas must have» and with his clownish portrait of Don Furon —they are contiguous in the Book— and the stylistic distance which separates the moralizing from the roguish will be perceived.

The same Juan Ruiz declares: «I, with little knowledge and great roughness... composed this new book, in which are written some ways, instructions and deceitful subtleties of the mad love of the world, which some use in order to sin». We cannot hesitate before those words; he did not intend to deal with the «good love» of God, nor with the «refined love» of the courts for woman. He adds that he proposes to speak of sinful love with moral ends. But he himself discloses the insincerity of such an affirmation.

After declaring in his brief preface, with the appearance of a psalmodic hum, how the soul desirous of salvation hates the mad love of this world and «loves the good love which is that of God», Juan Ruiz initiates, insinuatingly the exoneration of sin. Man, he says, cannot free himself of it because of the weakness of the human condition. He corroborates this statement with words of Cato, Job and the Psalmist and with his own reasons: «He cannot love the good nor remember it to do it», he says: «Human nature... is more equipped and inclined to evil than to good». It is possible that such ideas rooted in the canonical theoretics do not signify the beginning of the justification of his merry purposes, but the suspicion, also fits, that in stating man's tendency to sin, he should let slip the first indications of his fears of being dishonored by the vulgarity of his book.

After exposing his supposed moralizing intention and his desire to keep from sin, those who, fearful of God and zealous for his honor, should read him, he sketches the cynical declaration to which I have alluded before many times: «But, because sinning is a very human thing, if some (which I do not advise) should wish to use mad love, here they will find some manners of doing it». I do not succeed in explaining to myself, neither has anyone explained yet, nor will anyone explain tomorrow, how such words can fit the intention of keeping his readers off the wrong path. In the course of time, the moral ideas of men have changed and will keep on changing and their psychic projections upon the relations of good and evil will also change, but man is history and he will continue to be history. I will not deny the reality of medieval degrees and dualism. But the words of the Archpriest do not leave room for doubts; for him there existed a sharp opposition between good and bad love. Yesterday as today and today as tomorrow antitheses have been, are and will be difficult to reconcile.

Right after his cynical words, Juan Ruiz feels the subconscious pull of his inhibitions as a Castilian cleric —firm faith, complex of sin, insecurity before the final judgment— and the call to order from his fears for the loss of his reputation —three times he had already alluded to the damage to honor which sinning occasioned— and the fear of the loss of his ecclesiastical benefice —which could not leave him indifferent— and he begings his justification without delay; that is to say, he begins to obtain a passport for his scandals as Spitzer would say, or to seek the cure while in good health, as would be said in Castile today.

There is no transition between his knavish and clownish invitation to use the ways that his book offered to sin and that intent to protect himself. «And I beg and advise —he says— the one who sees and hears it... that he should understand and well judge my intention in doing it and the moral of what I say there, instead of judging the ugly sound of the words: secondly, the words serve the purpose and not the purpose the words». And he repeats again and again that he was writing to bring people to do good.

He must have feared intensely that people would not believe him when he insists so much upon his moralizing intention. He really must have feared that his authentic purpose would be found out since, right after the beginning of his work, he writes again:

It is a beautiful saying to know without sin,
Reason is pleased, to speak behind.
.....
Do not consider this a book of bad entertainment
Nor consider as jokes what in it you might read:
For in the same way as there is good money among brokers,
So in an ugly book, there can be good knowledge.

He continues with the couplets in which he points out the qualities and the virtues that are hidden under deceiving appearances. In vain does one seek an oscillating concept of the world in them. With less subtlety, the Archpriest limits himself to continuing his attempt to hide his salacious merchandise and to justify himself before the moral judgment of others and God.

His solid faith, his complex of sin, his fear of the final judgment, that is, his intimate reactions as a Castilian —which were not and are not compatible with the overflows of sensuality and with the roughness of language or pen— move at this point the Archpriest to intercalate a few pious «couplets of Saint Mary». Until there he had been careful of securing his reputation. Now he tried, in the Spanish style, to obtain the help of the Virgin to be granted the forgiveness of his sins —three times he calls himself a sinner in the couplets—, sins to which he was going to add a serious one: his *Ars amandi.*

Confident in Mary's help, but unsure that men would believe in the moral purpose with which he wanted to disguise his jovial book on mad love, he inserts: «The controversy that the Greeks and the Romans heard about one.» The zealous and subtle —too zealous and too subtle— exegetes of the Archpriest can continue to argue —they will never do it with the irony with which Juan Ruiz paraphrases his ultrapyrenean source— about the meaning of the «controversy». By including it in «Buen amor», Juan Ruiz did want to point out, as Spitzer affirms, that every human action is ambiguous and can have different meanings, not that the ambiguity prevents from reporting as a norm a determined action.

The Archpriest places such a controversy as the introduction of his poetic narration to continue to hide his authentic intention. By the same signs, the Greek wiseman and the cunning Roman understood different things. Be careful, so it can happen with my book, says Juan Ruiz and for that reason he writes:

Understand well what I say and think about the judgment,
that it may not happen to you as with the Greek doctor...

Nevertheless, immediately, his playful and roguish joie de vivre takes over and again he discloses his real purpose when he says:

Understand well my book: and you will have a beautiful woman.
The scoff that you hear: do not think it to be base;
Understand the subtle way of the book...

Once again, he intends to cover himself and declares:

The purposes of Good Love are veiled
Concentrate on the parts where you find sure sings;

If you understand the purpose, and your mind is on the right track,
You will not speak evil of the book which you are refuting now...

I have mentioned it before, the final phrase of the couplet discloses the clear resolution of the Archpriest in including the «controversy» in his book. He wished that people would not speak against his book, that they would not disapprove of it. Another time Juan Ruiz insists on the need to properly interpret his words, fearful that his feigned moralizing intention would not be believed in the light of the boldness and the buffoonery of his book and that his real jolly and roguish purpose of entertaining his listeners more than his readers, would be discovered —half a dozen times he had already alluded to these—, in his treatise on mad love.

The Archpriest adds a new sibylline couplet about the double interpretation of his work —might not one suspect that in it he made fun of the troubadour— and believing himself covered, secure with his passport, and cured while in health, he begins his poetic game with the stanzas entitled: «Here it deals with how according to nature men and the other animals like to be in the company of females.» And he writes, happily and merrily:

As Aristotle says, it is a true thing:
The world works for two things: the first,
To have sustenance; the other thing was
To have union with a merry female.

But immediately he remembers his intention to pass for a well intentioned man and he adds:

If the saying were mine, I would be guilty;
A great philosopher says it: I am not to be challenged...

This «I am not to be challenged» discloses his sudden fear and his dread of appearing... as he was in truth. And with the same intention of giving a cat for a hare, he ends the item with a gesture of penitent who is repenting.

And I, because I am a man, like others, a sinner,
Have known, at times, great love from women:
Man is not worse for having tasted things,
And to know good and evil, and use what is better.

He is going to accelerate and go into the merry and roguish account of his feigned or authentic amorous autobiography and again he blesses himself, fearful and cautious.

Timorously he initiates the account of his amorous adventures: «once a duenna caught me...» and immediately he stops to justify his love for women: «That all things of the world are vanity...» «Except the love of God, all are fickleness.» But the duennas are the work of the Most High, who gave them to men as companions, in them are pleasure and joie de vivre.

However saintly one may be, I do not know of any one,
Who does not wish for company, if one remains alone.

Therefore, he says, he decided to insist on the one who had fallen in love with him; sends her a messenger; the latter took his place and enjoyed her; indignant, the Archpriest, then, writes his impious and sacrilegious ballad: «Cross, crusade, baker's wife», but he always worried about the danger to his reputation, he intends to cover himself for having written it and declares:

I did this vulgar song with great concern;
Let not the woman who hears it, hate me:
For they should consider me a fool more than the most stupid animal
If of such a great jest, I should not sing in scoff.

Without delay he inserts in his book his example on the firmness of the decrees of the stars —Moors and Christians equally believed in astrology in Spain at the time—, with the same intention of assuring himself against possible dangerous censorship. Only God can interrupt the action of the heavenly bodies upon men. Man is a prisoner of his celestial fate. Those who are born under the sign of Venus are condemned by fate to love women, and I was born under it. I am not, therefore, responsible to see myself forced to serve duennas. He breathes again satisfied by his astuteness.

It is too strong a chain of reservations and careful efforts to placate his subconscious inhibitions and to keep his reputation and his benefice, in a Castile too rigid in its theoretical morality. A chain that does not close until the end of the «Book».

When he is about to report his adventures with the shepherdesses, he again takes a passport for his salaciousness, now leaning on some words of Saint Paul to the Thessalonians, V, 21, and he writes:

To try all things is the precept of the Apostle
I went to try the sierra and I made a mad request.

When in his burlesque *planctu* he weeps about the death of the procuress and gets to say of her: «Surely in paradise, you are settled / by

the martyrs you must be accompanied!», he fears the adverse reaction of the public before his jest and writes:

Women, do not accuse me nor call me a fool!

I consider very probable that if at the end of the second composition of «Buen amor» he added the «Ballad of the clerics of Talavera» it was to prove that all were like him or worse.

Continuously, after getting into the jovial and roguish accounts, or lewd and salacious, he insists on his justification and under its shield he repeats his warning about the hidden meaning of the «book», similar to that of all things.

In a couplet he discloses again his preoccupation about the adverse criticism of which his book could be the object:

Until you understand the book, do not speak well or evil of it
Because you will understand one thing and the book will say another.

When at the end of «Buen amor» he writes «about each word another thing is meant», again he lets his fear appear when he says:

Of much sanctity it is a great *lesson book;*
But of game and joke it is a little *breviary.*

He continues to worry about what people will say and contrasts the great importance of his book as a moral guide and the insignificance of the burlesque part of the same.

Always, and always Juan Ruiz is securing his passport for his knavish autobiography, covering himself with ability, curing himself in health. If the Archpriest had not really been the roguish cleric that he was, if in truth he had intented to moralize, to make sin hateful in his humoristic autobiography, Juan Ruiz would not have insisted, again and again in the first pages nor would he have again insisted many times throughout his work, upon his pious intention, his non-responsibility and the double meaning of «Buen amor». The truth of his noble purposes would have been so evident that his sincerity could not have been doubted. It would have been sufficient for the Archpriest to declare his intention once in the preface, without a psalmodic admonition and without repeated exonerations, which accuse him, and in reality men of then would have been able to see, and some of us now perceived at least, the authentic path by which this supposed guide for sinners by Juan Ruiz, separated listeners and readers from mad love. I have serious doubts —my apologies to the exegetes of the Archpriest; by him I consider myself forgiven with an understanding wink— that any sinner would truly avoid his lewd conversations with women after reading the great lesson book of sanctity! of the jovial cleric

of Hita. He well knew it and for that reason roguishly said: «Interpret my book well and you will have beautiful women»; and, therefore, declared ironically that his book would at least move to piety those of his listeners who had ugly wives or base husbands.

The whole series of couplets that the Archpriest uses to prove that things have pros and cons, that they possess contradictory qualities, conceal unsuspected beauties or offer difficulties in understanding, have, therefore, nothing to do with the supposed walking among the symbols of Mohammedans. With them Juan Ruiz ingeniously attempts to convince us that his book or his words can have opposite qualities, can possess non-evident beauties, can lead not to sin but to virtue. Any subtle genius before the birth of the Prophet or in the most remote cities of Germany or Scandinavia where the influence of Islam had not come could have written —and perhaps did— exactly the same; and I am convinced that examples about the validity of this affirmation could be found. I cannot hesitate: the Archpriest resorts to such poetic games to convince us that his word or his book had a moral aim which in fact it did not have.

9. The bourgeois smile of the Archpriest

It is very probable that Juan Ruiz received some impact from the Hispano-Moslem and that some wind of those of the Orient should reach as far as his «book». But there is a colossal difference between receiving that impact and those breezes and the thesis about the Arabization of Juan Ruiz' sensibility and about the enclosing of the essential traits of «Buen amor» within the confines of the Arabo-Spanish tradition. In truth the hyperbolic theory of the thesis here disputed has disturbed the crystalline source in which we could have discovered the rill of the Hispano-Moslem which could have fertilized the Archpriest's orchard. Today we do not know what areas of the person or work of Juan Ruiz were illumined by the sun of Levant. Will we know it some day to uncover the enigma? It is necessary to curb the colt of genius and to go at the prosaic pace of the brown mule of doubt and only thus shall we be able to grasp what the Archpriest really owes to Hispanic Moslems. Let us not forget that in the whole Archpriesthood of Hita ruled by Juan Ruiz there were not more than two or three dozen *mudéjares* in the 14th century. Let us not forget the minimal figures of the population of Islamic origin in Castile in the days of the Archpriest, undoubtedly inferior to 1,5 % of the Christian inhabitants of the country since it reached that proportion only after the incorporation into its ranks of the *Moriscos* from Granada. And let us not forget the inferior social condition of that minority, because of their style of life —they were mostly artisans and peasants—, hardly capable of exercising a spiritual leadership and having much of an impact on the temperamental structure of their dominators.

After the appearance of *España en su historia,* Dámaso Alonso declared his belief in the connection of the Archpriest with what is Western and in a lecture that he delivered in Buenos Aires he said of «Buen amor»: «It is a book that confuses, with undecipherable irony, so modern!, we still do not know —we will perhaps never know— what there is in the depths of its waters.» I am not sufficiently daring to dive into them. Let these pages of mine serve as a spur to Romanists and Arabists to confront Juan Ruiz again, without forgetting the singularities of the Spanish Middle Ages and especially in Castile, but without distorting them, and without disdaining the slow observation of the very man that the Archpriest was. I wish to offer them one more suggestion. I tend to believe that Juan Ruiz' irony has been left aside as an essential aspect of «Buen amor». No one has thought, for example, in relating it with a first lightning of the bourgeois spirit in the Castile of the time, and yet, it seems to me that Juan Ruiz initiated that change in Castilian literary sensibility and I believe that the consideration of his work in that light would assist in understanding it.

In what it had of dissidence, rupture, newness opposite the theocentric, chivalrous, vassal, lordly... bourgeois spirit began to manifest itself through jokes, more or less vivid, about all that had until then been the focus of medieval life, through jokes coming from men restless and filled with humor, who in contemplating the world about felt within them the explosion of the burst of laughter, more benevolent than fierce, before ideas, institutions, practices, usages, formulas... until then anchored in the common assent, but which were beginning to lose vital authenticity. They were grasping the beginning of this caducity: fall of prestige, the loss of their internal substance, their separation from the solid ground of general assent... They were grasping it when the lights of the dawn of the new historical journey had not yet broken through. They were beginning to see the comic and clownish facets of the present consecrated by the respect of those who were not capable of critically rising against what had been received from the previous generations. Only restlessness and irony could send infrared rays towards the tissues which were beginning to degenerate in the substructure of the social body, still in full activity.

The dynamic restlessness which spurred his powerful personality and his strange and formidable burlesque potential enabled Juan Ruiz to look about him, to guess how much was comical in the life of the society of his time, on the verge of a slow sliding towards the still far away Modern Ages. If he had been a man settled in the main estates of the national community, perhaps his irony would have gone through a different course. Born perhaps in a town like Alcalá, already bourgeois for some time, and archpriest in another urban center away from the chivalrous clamor, he lived in a Castile which after the heroic poems, was beginning to open us to a new life. Juan Ruiz belonged, besides, to a generation which had witnessed the lethargy of the Reconquest, the disasters of civil war, the

ascent of the people to the first plane of political life and the economic unfolding of the kingdom. His psycho-physical equation could pour itself into the cascade of the bourgeois mockery of everything and everyone.

Juan Ruiz illumined with his smile not at all furious the great human comedy of his epoch and he made fun of religious and chivalrous life, of the pious practices, the armies and the battles, justice, the clergy, the moral theoretical rigors and even of good love. With «Buen amor», blows upon Castile for the first time, the bourgeois spirit in what it had of a critical rupture against the ideas, institutions, norms, values, the formulas consecrated by tradition; in what it had of a comic captation of the initial caducity of many aspects of medieval life. I feel like seeing in the Archpriest's poetic game something, perhaps conscious —the inaugural changes of course are not usually so— but undoubtedly new lightening of the roads of Castile, towards the formation of a bourgeois conscience still nebulous. In causing the laughter of the people about the ideas, values, institutions... chivalrous and ecclesiastical, he was placing them in judgment, depriving them of their prestige in the eyes of the masses, he was causing them to lose their age-old communal reputation and in the minds and hearts of the inhabitants of the towns, he was planting, along with the seeds of his disdain for the traditional contexture of life, an impulse towards the search and the estimation of new ways, new possibilities, that is to say, he was giving birth in them to a new conscience.

The modernism of Juan Ruiz' irony precisely lies in his clownish confrontation of a society on the initial verge of a crisis, as was ours —I write, was, because the crisis is well advanced now and does not lend itself to burlesque criticism— when contemporary humor confronted it. Under the reign of Alfonso XI (+1350), the decisive turn towards a new society started. Many ideas and values immovable and apparently eternal before, began to perish. With his parodies the Archpriest turned the knife in the wound. Hence, his success with the people, with the people less rough and cruel and fierce than before, but more certain of the staggering of clerical and chivalrous towers —until then very solid— before the blows of the ram of the monarchy. We observe that royalty against which epic poems had risen, escapes almost completely the Archpriest's mockery of everything and everyone and is even invoked by him as the supreme example of appellation against the Archbishop Gil de Albornoz.

Juan Ruiz, through whose pen the bourgeois masses laughed and joked —bourgeois in the sense of living in burghs— guessed that the royal institution was impelling the chivalrous and ecclesiastical crisis towards its final act. The defeat of the monarchy in Montiel affirmed for some time the old lordly and ecclesiastical framework, and the nascent bourgeoisie could not unfold its wings rapidly, and neither could the bourgeois conscience that Juan Ruiz had begun to pull out of the germinal stage in which it was, with his torrent of jokes and jests, mature rapidly.

At the head of the scarce literature with a bourgeois stamp which

Castile knew —mostly works of converted Jews as we will see later— must figure «Buen amor». By its liminal condition and still initial of what it could be and was not, it is still very anchored in the past and laden with old substance. To the double side of Juan Ruiz' book: joie de vivre and moralizing curbs, another dualism will have to be added: between sarcastic jokes and theocentric inhibitions.

Will not that smile of the roguish Juan Ruiz —bourgeois «avant la ligne»— that crafty mockery of a society on the initial verge of a crisis, explain the modernism that Dámaso Alonso discovers in the humorism of «Buen amor»? Will not the relationship between his criticism approximate him to us in our custom —old and every day less feasible— of laughing about what seems comical to us, because of its dying, in the millenary society in which we live?

It seems certain to me that mischief of guessing an embryonic bourgeois sensibility in Juan Ruiz would leave him gaping if he could read me, but that little after knowing what the birth of the bourgeois spirit signified in the medieval world, he would not be indignant at the suggestion that I offer to the future exegetes of his «Book». I fear, on the contrary that the merry, crafty, roguish and clownish Archpriest would smile if he could read the interpretative subtleties with which critics have embroidered a new and marvelous «Buen amor» which was never written, just as he laughed about the one he really wrote, especially in the clownish colophon which he consecrated to his readers of then and of always. His book will serve, he says, so that those married to ugly women or base husbands will tend to virtue. Let him who can add to or amend it if he «knows how to sing», «he who goes from woman to woman as a ball», «let him do it who can», and «improve it in a good way» if he can. The Archpriest gave carte blanche to his future exegetes —did he suspect that they were going to be numerous and sagacious?— and he will not be able to be indignant if everyone has amended it according to his whim.

Although Spanish until the marrow of my bones and perhaps because of it and even at the risk of being called Sancho, I do not see in the windmills anything other than what they really were, nor do I see in the flocks of merino sheep anything other than hordes of nomadic sheep and I do not confuse the basin of a barber with the helmet of Mambrino, and, therefore, I refuse to follow through the paths of interpretative fantasy of what in the end the armies of enchanters have not managed in metamorphosing through the arts of magic, on the new roads of the Mancha of Aragón, enchanters who have stirred the fickle dust of criticism.

Chapter IX

LITERATURE AND LIFE AFTER THE ARCHPRIEST

1. Don Sem Tob in his time

The literary problems which await the historian of literature as soon as he foldes the sheet of his study on the Archpriest are enormous. Those that arise before an inquisitive study of the historical enigma of Spain are not as numerous because not all of them fall into the formation of what is Hispanic nor can they be exponents of the Hispanic vital con-texture in its stage of crystallization. Even so, they are too numerous for me to consider them all here exhaustively. Many of them have attracted my attention. I have only decided to confront those that do not seem explainable by simple literary novations: some that I find connected with the historical life of Spain and others whose projections in the genesis of the Spanish functional structure have been erroneously hypertrophied. Among the latter figures the hyperbolic judgment that an author, not too well defined, of the 14th century has deserved; I am referring to Don Sem Tob.

Someone has suggested that a decisive turn in Spanish literary history originated with the rabbi of Carrión, Don Sem Tob. «We find ourselves —its has been said— before the great portico of Spanish lyric poetry.» His *Proverbios,* he says later, initiate the process which is to lead to the asceticism of the 16th century and to the picaresque novel.

What is there behind such affirmations? Don Sem Tob writes in the dedicatory words of his *Proverbios* to Don Peter the Cruel, this graceful lyrical couplet:

5 **When the rose is dry,**
there remains the fragrant water,
which comes out in its time
rose-scented, which is worth more.

The good Jew of Carrión perhaps would have been amazed that from those verses in which he describes a physical phenomenon, the fragrance

of the water perfumed by the dry petals of a rose, should have a connection with the anguish of a 20th century philologist.

Hebraists and Arabists are today bringing back to life a lyric poetry in Romance of a remote Hispano-Latin heritage. They have already offered to those who like primitive poetry, couplets from which comes a clear brook of human emotion.

Whatever the poetic hierarchy of Berceo may be, in many of his beautiful stanzas —one century before the *Proverbios*— I already find there a vivid spring of lyricism. Before me others have delighted in the poet from Rioja: Rubén Darío, Machado and Pérez de Ayala, great lyricists of our days.

Who would dare to deny to Don Sem Tob his conditions as a great and admirable Castilian poet? But I allow myself to doubt that he would be admitted into the great portico of Spanish lyricism.

The same doubt assails me about the accuracy of the moral portrait given of the rabbi of Carrión and the validity of the characterization of the *Proverbios*. Don Sem Tob has been considered later as a «refined rationalist»; from him are these couplets:

183 In the right judgment
He aims well,
Favored by God
and not because of his good sense.

184 To do what pleases God
Man does not do anything
In all circumstances,
Through his own judgment.

185 If by chance one does
They say it is through good sense
What pleases him
And his knowledge.

At every moment the *Proverbios* disclose the same faith of Don Sem Tob in the decisive action of the divine will:

380 If God looks over our heads
Not a single hair will fall.

643 The mercy of God alone
Is there any other in the world
Gives complete confidence:
Which does not deceive?

644 From what pleases God,
All that He does is well,
Let us not be concerned,
And we do not understand it.

It has been supposed that Don Sem Tob was Islamized. It would have been more correct to consider him under the influence of Oriental culture, as were really all the learned peninsular people of his generation. Nonetheless, he is the first of the great Spanish Hebrew poets to write in Castilian and who in writing about profane themes does not use the classical thematic repertoire of Hispano-Arabic poetry.

The cultural Arabization of the Jews who lived in Mussulman Spain is evident and it is certain that in some way that Arabization would be reflected in the Hebrews who were living in Christian Spain, above all

when the Almoravid and Almohad persecutions of the 12th century forced the Andalusian Jews to take refuge in the kingdom of Castile. Most of those Jews who emigrated to the North, bearers of the essences of the Hispano-Islamite civilization, settled in the valley of the Tagus. Through documents of the end of the 11th century we know of the abundance of Hebrews in the lands of Carrión and it is, therefore, fitting to suspect that the poet-rabbi came from Israelites who had been residents of the small city in the most Northern part of León and Castile since the 10th century. When Peter the Cruel ascended to the throne (1350), the Jewish community of Carrión had probably been living among Castilians and people from León for 400 years. Will I be blamed for refusing to deny the efficacy of such a long human contact?

I do not believe that anyone will dare to sustain that the Jews, Arabized in Moslem Spain in less than three centuries, did not receive some vital influence from Northern Christians in the course of 400 years. No historical minority, however impermeable to foreign influences it may be, has managed in the long run to avoid the impact of the national community among which it has lived for centuries.

The mastery of Don Sem Tob over the language and the popular sayings of Castile —he adorns his sentences with them many times— does not leave any doubts as to his intensive vital Castilianization. It overflowed into the confines of the exterior signs of life and penetrated deeply into the intimate regions of our poet's soul. He seems won over by the impetuous tension of the Castilian towards passionate and vehement action:

169 He who through his own judgment
One time out of a hundred
Wants to complete something,
He will not benefit:

170 For in adventures
And with madness
The pledged profit lies dead,
The profit is reduced.

171 He who doubts of things
From whatever he covets,
Will never convince us;
He will finish very little.

172 By too much prudence
Since in adventure
The benefit is disturbed,
Benefit must be risked.

He continues to praise determined action, a praise that ends up sliding into the criticism of hesitation and doubt.

«In adventure the advantage is kept», could have said with Don Sem Tob any authentic Castilian of his generation. With him too he could have written the same disdainful words against the difficult profit in coming and going through the markets.

251 To the wise man
Why he did not work
His disciple asked one day,
With some merchandise,

252 And to go do business
In order to become rich
From place to place
And to obtain some profit.

253 The wise man answered him
He would not be offended
That to obtain something,
To begin with begging.

Don Sem Tob confesses afterwards, a strong admiration for the man, who, enjoying free life, was living in leisure, free from care, satisfied in his poverty and eating and drinking when chance happened to help him:

402 A vulgar and vile man
He lives licentiously:
Such that he does not have shame,
That does not bother him,

403 Never to be worth more
To have bad clothes
Does not make him suffer
Stealing from the market

404 He is happy with two loaves
And in each tavern
And some fruit that he steals
He drinks until he has enough.

405 Only he in the world
Lives a pleasing life.

A little before Don Sem Tob envied the «happy life» of that «vile» but free man, the Archpriest of Hita had written:

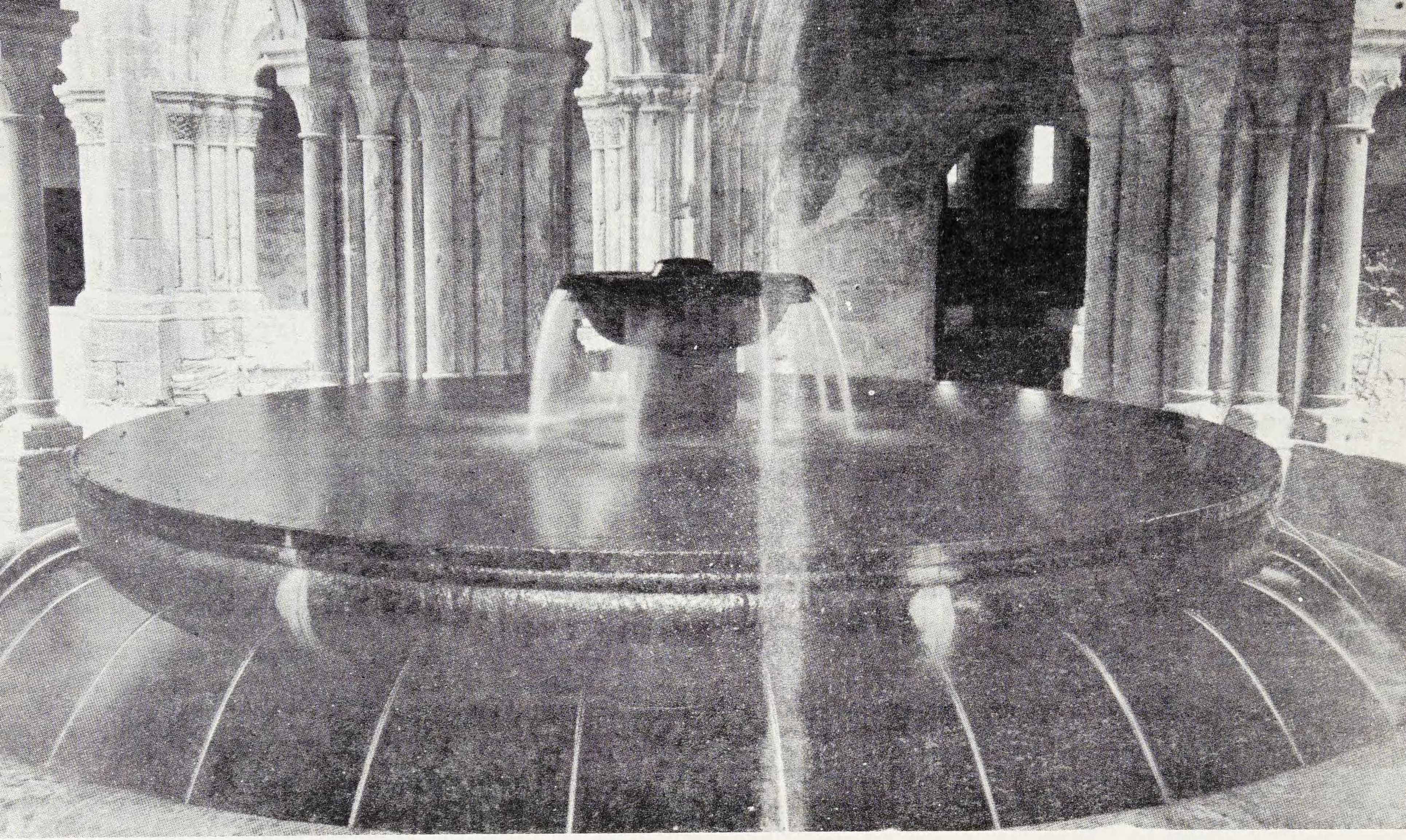
206 He who can be his own man, let him not be of another;
He who does not have a bond, let him not seek to have a bond:
Freedom and liberty cannot be bought by gold.

That human type that the rabbi of Carrión portrays with liking, could well have pronounced the same sentence —«in my hunger, I give the orders»— which came from the lips of a proud Castilian vagabond of our days.

It is difficult to connect to the psychic tradition of medieval Jewish people the praise of passionate adventurous work, disdain for becoming rich in difficult work, and the admiration for the vile man who lives freely and happily in leisure and in poverty.

Either I am very mistaken or in Don Sem Tob the vital and psychic structures of the Hebraic and Castilian people converge and are interwoven. Such a convergence and an intercrossing cannot be surprising. The profane poetry of En Vidas (Mesul-lam ben Selomó de Piera), Hebrew poet of the peninsular Northeast of the second half of the 13th century, shows, according to Millás Vallicrosa, the impact of Arabic poetry and the poetry of the troubadours. In the middle of the 14th century, when Hispano-Arabic poetry was exhausted and was bursting as an irisdescent bubble against the kilns of the Alhambra, as García Gómez has said, a Jew from the mountains of León and Castile could only indirectly be related to Arabo-Spanish culture. All the more so because a century before, En Vidas had to sink the roots of his sensibility, not only in Hebraic tradition, but also in that of Christian people, in whose vital area he lived.

Yes; either I am very mistaken or the spiritual traditions of Jewish and Castilian people converge and intermingle in Don Sem Tob, and they



79.—Fourteenth and fifteenth-century fountain from the Gothic cloister of Poblet (Tarragona). In this monastery, which served as the pantheon for the count-kings of the Crown of Aragón, the ones who first extended their domains to Provence and later carved out a Mediterranean empire, that font of Roman-Arabic tradition, reminds us that Catalonia is a part of Spain.

80.—The life of Ramón Llull permits us to consider him the Don Quixote of the Gothic era. In his own way he travelled around the Mediterranean, righting injustices in adventures, at times hardly less fantastic than those of Cervantes' hero. He wanted to change the world to his own design. His contemporaries never ceased to point out the bellicose and knightly nature of his intellectual endeavors. And, just like battles, they illustrated them in the allegories of his «Daily Life».

struggle. Yes; struggle. It is not difficult to find traces of that struggle in the *Proverbios.* Complex and contradictory personality of Don Sem Tob. He is seduced by the «loathsome» life in leisure, but he also makes a fervent praise of work, to which these couplets belong:

127 Peace is not reached
One does not reach rest,
If it is not in war:
Except with work.

163 He who wants to relax
If he wishes to reach peace,
Must work first:
He must first make war.

Don Sem Tob puts an end to the prologue of his *Proverbios* with these humble words:

45 I have died my white hair
Nor to deny its existence
Not because I hate it,
Nor to look like a youth;

46 But because of the proud fear
An old mind in me,
Of men who would seek
And will not find it.

And more than once he condemns pride, once this way:

281 He who speaks surely about himself
Surely shows that in his head
Maintaining pride
There is little common sense:

The rabbi from Carrión who declares having dyed his hair, humbly convinced that he lacked the mental maturity of the old man, and who bitterly condemns arrogance in the cited couplet, discloses many times that he was not really humble and that he frequently gave in to pride. He considers himself wise and moderate, and despises fools, stupid people, impertinent babblers, the ignorant, greedy, generous or privileged and the peasants. Here is how harshly he censures the stupid person:

341 A stupid man is
Which is in the world:
The worst animal
this is certain, without fail.

Of the peasant he writes:

287 His condition as peasant:
And haughty and bold
He makes himself small with the great
With the little ones.

289 When he is bad
When he is good
He is lower than the ground,
He wants to war even with heaven.

291 He does nothing by entreaty
Punish him, then
He will consent if one pushes him
He will obey you.

Rather than listening to a constant babbler:

548 He wants to carry on his shoulders A saddlepack willingly!

He critizes greed with harshness and with beautiful words. As other Spanish Jews —Baer points them out— he seems to write sadly about what at the time moved many men of his race. But he critizes with as much impetuosity the privileged or generous person, moved perhaps by the saving tradition of the medieval Hebrews:

143 As the very candle
Generous: that it burns
So is man
To give light to another man.

144 Only the king can afford
Because he is assured
To use generosity
That he will not fall into poverty.

His intimate contradictions do not cease here. He praises silence in delightful plethoric couplets filled with wit, and immediately after, with no less wit, sharp and subtle, he sketches the warmest dithyramb of the talker and of the strength of words.

Don Sem Tob was not a rationalist, but he was an intellectual in the strict sense of the word, a man who had read and meditated. It has been written: «Don Sem Tob's verses are the only text prior to the 15th century with some references, not only about knowledge or doctrine, but purely intellectual, to what we would call, culture, today.» In the *Partidas*, in the works of Don Juan Manuel and in those of Chancellor Ayala appear also references to similar themes. But in none is sketched such a beautiful praise of knowledge and of books as in the *Proverbios* of the rabbi of Carrión. But, let us be careful; it does not seem licit to consider such a devotion as a pure result of the cultural tradition or Arabs and Jews, who in pouring out in Castilian verses through the pen of Don Sem Tob, came to revolutionize the stagnant waters of Christian thought, projected towards other horizons.

Even though the testimonies of the *Partidas*, the *Libro de los Estados*, and *El libro infinido* of Don Juan Manuel, the *Rimado de Palacio* of Chancellor Ayala should be lacking, it would suffice to prove that preoccupation for culture existed among Castilians, to read the words in which the jovial Archpriest of Hita, apologizes for his ignorance, although he was much more knowledgeable than he leads to believe in confessing his admiration for the knowledge of others.

Don Sem Tob was a pure intellectual. Don Juan Manuel and Chancellor Ayala were men of action along with being men of letters; the Archpriest was a happy restless cleric, great lover of life, and gifted with a great poetic talent; Don Sem Tob was a man totally consecrated to reading and meditation. His work naturally reflected that singular condition of the rabbi of Carrión. In it, and not only in his Semitic race and culture, must be sought many of the central ideas and the cultural direction about which the *Proverbios* were written.

Don Sem Tob was not a merchant nor did he like commerce; remember his answer to a disciple inciting him to become rich by travelling

from place to place. He was not greedy as is proven by his praise of the person who conformed himself with a medium way and his sour criticism against avarice. Although a firm believer, he did not feel moved by fervent piety which would fill his life; this is verified by the small number and the lack of vigor of his religious poems. From all his work we can deduce that he was not a man tortured by human passions and that the serenity of the just man presided over his life. He had more than sufficient time for pure spiritual enjoyment, reading, studying, reflection. Because he had excessive leisure, the leisure of the intellectual, he wrote the *Proverbios*, according to his own words:

47 Since my work is not much
Some profit, I will give
Where there can be
Something of my knowledge.

Don Sem Tob was a pure intellectual, because he was, and not because he was an Islamized Jew —no other Spanish Hebrew wrote with the same fervor and devotion about cultural topics—, he loved knowledge and venerated books and dedicated the slow hours of his monotonous existence to observing the world around him. As a pure intellectual he took time to analyze the pros and cons of ideas, values, feelings and passions. Hence, his contradictions and his delight in exhausting, wittily, the light and shadow of the themes that came to him: leisure and work, greed and moderation, friendship and disloyalty, knowledge and ignorance, nobleness and baseness, good and bad action and above all words and writing, being silent or speaking. He is a forerunner of modern essay writers in his outlining, with penetrating subtlety and very sharp wit, the parallel between the cultural value of speaking and keeping silent, and in describing with skillful and beautiful words, the marvelous force of the written and of the spoken word.

By his ingenious and incisive analysis he came to conceive of a subjective explanation of life and of things, and anticipated a philosophical system which was very acceptable a few decades ago. A Machado of the 16th century could have said to Don Sem Tob what the great Spanish lyric poet of the 20th century said to Ortega y Gasset, contradicting that philosophical theory:

The eye that you see is not
Eye because you see it;
It is an eye because it sees you.

Yes, because in contemplating reality, Don Sem Tob believed in the idea that everything was according to the vision and the judgment of the one confronting reality:

73 The measuring stick is shorter
Is much longer
As the buyer sees it,
When seen by the seller.

72 What one insults
What one approves
I see another praise it;
I see another criticize it.

That permanent contradiction in judging life, values and things which Don Sem Tob observes all along, that considering things, values and life according to the crystal with which they were looked at, moved him to get into integral relativism. Nothing was solid and clear, everything was moving into an eternal bisector.

80 Sun makes salt insipid
It makes the cheek dark
And fishes tender
And linen whiter.

92 If it is profit to someone
If weight praises it
To another it seems expensive
The arch makes it look badly.

The proof of that eternal transformation and changing by the assiduous reader of *Eclesiastés* that Don Sem Tob was —many parallels between his verses and the versicles of the sacred book can be seen (Prov. 84=Ecl. III. 16)— confirmed in him the belief in the mutability and change of everything in life and led him to think that it would be convenient that man should change also day by day.

147 If one wants to keep from
He must change frequently
Cunning men,
His manners.

153 Fierce today, tomorrow gentle
Plentiful today, tomorrow rare,
Simple today, tomorrow bold;
Today a hill, tomorrow a plain.

154 Once humility
A time for vengeance,
Another time bold,
A time for pardon.

Don Juan Manuel and Don Pero López de Ayala moralize in passing, under the shield of their marked public life and thinking about the problems of the restless and dramatic moment which they live; Don Sem Tob, pure intellectual, observes and meditates slowly and takes pleasure in criticism, contradiction, analysis and games of the mind. He has the talents and the weaknesses of men of his type. He prefigures a style of life, rare then but frequent today. For that reason, his *Proverbios* have an undeniable flavor of modernism, because their author is closer to us, lived more like us than the «son of the infante Don Manuel» or the Chancellor of Castile —men of action and in their leisure, men of letters—, whose hearts were beating at different rhythms from ours. There are in the *Proverbios* spiritual ideas and aptitudes which if they did not surprise Castilians, coming from the lips or pen of a Jew, indeed must have clashed with their traditional sensibility. Presumably they were amazed by these words of the rabbi of Carrión:

166 In order to work
To go from place to place
God had men born
And look for protection

Because in Castile they had other ideas of the purposes of the divine creation of the first human couple and it is doubtful that any Castilian

believed that God had made man to go from «fair to fair and look for shelter».

However fashionable adulation of the king may have been, Castilians must have been surprised by the dithyrambical words of Don Sem Tob about Alfonso XI.

715 If he alone of all the world
I believed, that of a thousand kings,
Were the right hand,
There would be not need for the left.

In the *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*, written in honor of the monarch so praised by Don Sem Tob, we only read:

403 High king, of great nobleness,
Real Lord,
Castile was favored
The day you were born.

Its author had the warriors who saw the king fight in Salado simply exclaim:

What a good lord,
And what a noble knight,
With the help of God, what a good fighter,
With the help of God, what a royal strong arm!

The roguish and clownish Archpriest of Hita would not have been surprised by such extremes, because thinking about them, he had written:

He who does not have honey in the crock, has it on his lips.

Many other *Proverbios* of Don Sem Tob would also shock Castilian sensibility: those censuring frankness or generosity, or upbraiding pride, more than those dedicated to the praise of knowledge, books or the learned, whose reputation among Castilians in the 14th century, no one will dare deny. More those which advised men to change their way of being daily, than those dedicated to exalting the value of work, because there already was in Castile a saying: «It is better to rush for a moment than to spend a whole lazy day» and the Archpriest had already written —excellent at grasping the popular feeling:

611 Much work always conquers everything...
804 Much work fulfills what desires are,
Many times accumulating many riches.

Whatever may be the novelty that these or other affirmations of Don Sem Tob may have represented in the ideological milieu of Castile, something seems certain to me: the noble moral doctrine that he develops in

his *Proverbios* could not have sounded new to Castilians of the start of Don Peter the Cruel's reign as Castro wants, nor even the one which inspires an ascetic concept of life.

Who can believe that before the middle of the 14th century in Castile, no one had criticized greed, idleness, envy, disloyalty, foolishness, baseness, and that virtue, good works, moderation, loyalty, friendship, sharpness, justice and nobleness had not been praised? Can one believe, that with a Bible as the light of life and a guide for behavior, Castilians would not have heard and read many times many similar maxims about the misery of the human condition compared to divinity, about the finiteness of all that is earthly and in favor of disdaining human honors and escaping from the world? I am sure of an affirmative answer.

One of the great Hispano-Hebrew thinkers and poets, Yehudá ha-Leví, in his famous apologetic work *El Kuzarí,* subordinates humility to the fulfillment of practices and rites and thinks that renouncing riches does not mean adequate service to God, and neither does a devout and ascetic life; in the *Discurso Tercero* of the book, he writes, according to Millás Vallicrosa, that in Judaism, man does not abandon the world as if it were a burden, nor does he hate life. Ibn Gabirol, Ibn Paquda and all the peninsular Jewish thinkers exteriorized similar ideas about this feeling of devotion for material things of Yehudá ha-Leví. The slow comparative study of the two currents of Hebraic and Christian thought in which must have been rooted that of Don Sem Tob, perhaps would permit to determine the certain Western origin, that is, Castilian of a good part of the moral and ascetic doctrines of the rabbi of Carrión, ideas and doctrines that Castro supposes new in the Castile of the middle of the 14th century.

Although related to the tradition of the wisdom poetry of the Spanish Hebrews, not even Don Sem Tob's sententious tone could be a novelty in a people among whom popular knowledge was already expressed in moral proverbs whose compilation would constitute a true code of thought and behavior of the Castile of the time, because no one will be bold enough to venture that Castilians were sententious because of the influence of the rabbi's poetic work, or because of the influence of the wisdom poetry in Hebrew of some racial brothers of Don Sem Tob.

The best proof that the moral doctrine of Don Sem Tob was not new in Castile is in the fact that many of the ideas of the *Proverbios* appear in *El libro de buen amor.* The merry, sensual and non-ascetic Archpriest of Hita, who wrote it seems before the rabbi of Carrión, sprinkles his work with maxims that the latter could subscribe to and did place in his couplets.

I have filled pages of my original work with the moral counsels which can easily be taken from the first part of *El libro de buen amor.* The source is inexhaustible. In truth we owe to the Archpriest's bold pen a wealth of proverbs almost comparable to the series of Don Sem Tob. That abundance of maxims and sentences in Juan Ruiz' book, that of popular

sayings, of similar value, in the Castile of the time, abundance proven by its reproduction in the works of the cleric and the rabbi, the insertion of new strings of moral and ascetic proverbs in *Rimado de Palacio,* the rapid diffusion of the *Libro de los Proverbios* in Castile and its merry imitation by the Castilian poets of the 15th century, enable us to suspect that Don Sem Tob was right in reflecting the sententious spirit of a people in whom predominated the powers of the will over that of the spirit, predominance whose first consequence was the victory of the desire of salvation over intellectual curiosity and of moral over philosophy, and finally the pre-occupation to establish popular knowledge into norms of conduct, regulating life.

Neither could Don Sem Tob's morality sound new in the Castile of Don Peter the Cruel, nor are the first sparks of Spanish asceticism of the 16th century found in his *Proverbios.*

The Archpriest who reproduces so many moral maxims in his *Libro de buen amor,* barely mentions proverbs along the ascetic line in it. Asceticism could not find a frequent echo in the merry cleric of Hita, great lover of life. Juan Ruiz could not find a great inclination to flee from a world whose pleasures seduced him with violence, nor could he renounce honors he never reached, and about which he surely did not care. Although he did not doubt the baseness of the human condition compared to the divinity and the caducity of what is earthly, he was too caught up between the mesh of human pleasures and was too clownish and jovial to stop to write as the intellectual from Palencia, Don Sem Tob, could do.

But a noble magnate, although younger, a contemporary of the rabbi of Carrión, a great lord of Castile who ended up dominating fortune though not without having suffered two hard blows and two captivities, a great Castilian writer whom Providence allowed to live sufficiently to have time to judge life when life could not longer hold him captive in the prison of its pleasures, Chancellor Ayala sprinkled his *Rimado de Palacio* with frequent ascetic maxims.

7 **Thinking about life, from this mortal world,**
I find it little and dangerous, and filled with much evil.

Don Pero López de Ayala decided to make his confession of sins public and he did so with such gloomy colors that it is usually considered hyperbolic. With that same spirit, he wrote against greed, anger, pride and hypocrisy —Don Sem Tob did not censure hypocrites— and against the abuse of power and bad government. Being a statesman, the Chancellor repeatedly insisted upon those two themes that did not interest in the least the shameless Archpriest of Hita and to which the rabbi of Carrión dedicated little attention. Repentent sinner, he attacked sin, praised virtue and proclaimed his confidence in the divine pardon. In a different tone

from that of Don Sem Tob and Juan Ruiz, he poured his criticisms, his praises and his hopes in poetic maxims whose collection would constitute a third cento of moral proverbs written in verse in the Castile of the 14th century.

But Chancellor Ayala, tormented by anguish and sadness during his captivity in Portugal, taught by his active participation in the public life of one of the most restless periods of Castilian history, during which many noble heads had rolled, and many high human towers had fallen, and fearful of God's punishment due to the heavy load of his sins, accompanies his series of poetic moral maxims with a long series of ascetic proverbs about the caducity of all that is earthly, the baseness of the human condition, the scorn for honors and riches and the flight from the world as a sure refuge of consolation and peace; I have reproduced them somewhere else.

Neither the Archpriest of Hita, for having written before Don Sem Tob, nor Pero López de Ayala because of his furious disdain for the Jews, owed their tastes for moral or ascetic proverbs nor the ideas that they put into them to the rabbi of Carrión.

If we do not forget what was said before about the doctrines of the great Hispano-Jewish thinkers —opposed to renouncing riches and withdrawing from the world and the love for life—, that is to say, if we do not forget the Hebraic-Spanish tradition opposed to asceticism —only some weak voices rose from among Spanish Jews against the thirst for honor, power and treasures of many peninsular Hebrews—, and if we recall that Chancellor Ayala's culture was Western, and not Hispano-Arabic, nor Hispano-Hebrew —everyone considers him to be the first modern Spaniard—, we will be able to judge with accuracy the roots of Don Sem Tob's thought. Again, it will be necessary to conclude that the Jewish poet of the North of Castile, much more than the first reading of his *Proverbios* teaches and than Castro believes, depends upon the wealth of ideas floating in the minds of the Castilians of his age, rooted in the biblical tradition, common to Christians and Jews, and upon *De contemptu mundi.*

No medieval Jew could feel satisfied with his situation in the social hierarchy of the kingdom in which he was living; not even those that reached greater power and wealth around the Ommiads of Cordova, the Zirids of Granada and the sovereigns of Castile or Aragón. Their wealth and their power were hanging by the tenuous thread of the most capricious fortune. Neither royal favor, so fragile in itself, could assure them of the continuation of their privileged positions. Their very lives were in danger. Hebrews very favored by the Islamite or Christian Spanish princes fell by the dagge of an assassin. We can suppose that Don Sem Tob did not feel secure in his situation as rabbi of Carrión of the Counts. But within that uneasiness and malaise, general with all medieval Hebrews, it seems

doubtful to me that the poet from Palencia felt a particular affliction and even less that he showed it in his *Proverbios.*

393 Three are those who live
And about whom
With worries, as I believe,
All must have compassion:

394 The *hidalgo* who needs
And lowering himself
To resort to the peasant,
Has to come into his hands

395 —The *hidalgo* by nature
And bad luck brought him
Having abused of his generosity,
Into the hands of the peasants!—

396 And the just, ordered
Is forced to do it;
By a tormenting man
And the third one,

397 A wise man, who through pressure
Any other work
Must serve a foolish lord;
Is preferable to this great service.

Don Sem Tob would have declared himself noble, just, wise and would have alluded to how thankless was his situation in life. But the couplet: «*Hidalgo* of nature / exhausted by his generosity / whom fortune had brought / into the hands of baseness», clearly refers to the *hidalgo* ruined because of his frankness or his generosity; to the *hidalgo* whose bad luck had forced him to seek help from a peasant. And such was obviously not the case of the rabbi of Carrión whom we cannot imagine destitute for excess of «frankness» since he had written against it and had come to say that only the king could be generous, because only he could be sure of «not falling into poverty». It would be more logical to see in that couplet an allusion to an empoverished *hidalgo* who had to lower himself to the vileness of usury.

No: it is not permissible to consider the copied coplets aas autobiographical confessions. Don Sem Tob enjoyed those diptychs and triptychs in which he compares or enumerates qualities, weaknesses or human pains.

Before he had compared the moderate, courteous man satisfied with his good or bad fortune, with the peasant, now humble and low, now haughty and daring (285-289); the wise lover of science and books, with the foolish and stupid ignorant person (326-346) and the friend of telling the truth with a fan of lies (347-353).

A bit after he likewise compares the «vile» man who lives happily in his poverty (402-404), with the «walking fool», who: «like the fish in the river / At ease and laughing, / Does not know, the inanity / The net that they are weaving!» (409).

The comparative and descriptive dipthychs and triptychs are abundant in the *Proverbios.* It is not right to glean autobiographical declarations every time that Don Sem Tob censures, criticizes, praises, applauds, relates or describes. We would end up by outlining a monstruous portrait by dint of luminosity or contradictions.

The rabbi of Carrión lacked honey in the crock, he had it on his lips as the Archpriest would say, and for that reason he writes apparently very humbly his well known couplets:

63 For having being born in thorns,
Less, nor good wine
The rose is not worth
For coming out of the shoot

64 The goshawk is not worth less
Nor good examples
For being born of a bad nest,
For being said by a Jew.

But immediately he recapacitates, is firm again and discloses his pride:

65 Do not disdain me as foolish
Would not measure up to me
That many smart Jews
In doing what I do.

70 I want to speak of the world
And how much I doubt of it
And of its ways
Very skillful words.

These are not the words of a man on the defensive. On the defensive, Don Sem Tob, who, lance at rest attacks Tyrians and Trojans well protected by his criticism of human weaknesses? On the defensive the man who, as proven before, gives in his *Proverbios* repeated examples of his pride? He neither placed himself on the defensive, nor appeared anguished before life:

96 I never have quarrels
Have complaints about it
About the world, and many do
And are very badly injured.

105 When I make an effort
With the sadness of others
I would be very happy
That I see every day.

392 What greater vengeance could one
More than he is sad [wish
Of the envious person,
While you are happy?

479 I do not feel sadness
Than to be certain that pleasure
Which consumes me more
Which is going to end.

And he counts with the favor and the help of the monarch:

57 That I am no less
Who had very good
Than others of my law
Gifts from the King

725 And the favor that the noble
He will give, as he should
Father of the King has promised,
To Sem Tob, the Jew.

I insist on what I have said before: Don Sem Tob was a pure intellectual. Before the spectacle of the world, he hesitates, turns to God and anchors himself in studying and working, but he opens his eyes and he sees life with its panorama of human types. His mind is filled with the moral ideas of the Castilians of his time, and the contemplation of the virtues, talents, weaknesses or miseries of his contemporaries now moves

him to admiration and liking, now arouses his disdain or irritation, but never incites him to anger or rage. He stops at his ingenious games and his subtleties of words. From time to time, a little thread of melancholy appears between his criticisms or applause in seeing the evil or baseness of men. He discloses his vanity as an intellectual under suave words and insincere expressions of humility. But it is difficult to see among the echoes that the *Proverbios* send to us an authentic note of dramatic anguish which would let us imagine Don «Sem Tob» saddened by a tragic meaning of life, nor even tormented by a vivid bitterness.

2. The tragic meaning of life in Spain

A great poet, a pure intellectual, Don Sem Tob did not cause a permanent turn in the thought and sensibility of Castile. Whatever the newness of his moral and ascetic ideas, and his attitude before the life of the mind may have been, and it is demonstrated that they were rooted in the Castilian tradition no less than in the Arabo-Hebraic tradition, the rabbi of Carrión could never have decisively influenced the Castile of his time. More than because of the heavy weight of his Jewish origin, weight that must not be neglected in evaluating the efficacy of his influence on Castilian letters and ideology, because of his lack of genius and because of the limitation of his literary resources It is important not to disorb the profiles of the authentic figure of Don Sem Tob. His situation as a pure intellectual does approximate him to us and merits our attention, his themes interest in a singular way, but he lacked the ideological strength and the vital impetus necessary for his *Proverbios* to decisively influence the Castilian psyche. In the century during which Don Juan Manuel, the Archpriest, and Chancellor Ayala wrote, the Jew of Carrión can only aspire to a place in the choir.

It is, therefore, amazing that someone has intented to explain Castilian literature subsequent to the *Proverbios* in light of the ideas and the vital attitude of Don Sem Tob, to come to sustain that the bitterness of the Jew of Carrión led him «to the evaluation of the inferior man situated at the margin of society; a mark that includes the Squire of Lazarillo and Lazarillo». «We see in Dom Sem Tob the first gloomy sparks of the asceticism of the 16th century, of Guzmán de Alfarache and of Quevedo.»

To prove his first affirmation, they have permitted the mutilation of a couplet, place the verses selected from it before another couplet that belongs to a previous cycle and different from the one including the mutilated couplet and which has nothing to do with it. Don Sem Tob, out of repulsion for greedy men, never satisfied with his fate and overwhelmed by the weight of his own worries, feels liking for the man who is happy in his poverty and at the same time free from ambitions, and he outlines his image with words reproduced before. Later, the Jew of Carrión insists

upon a theme which appears many times in the *Proverbios*: that of the preoccupations of the noble or rich man. They have used two verses of this cycle and placed them before a couplet of the other thus:

> the desire of the hidalgo / suffers in his worries (422)
> Vile vulgar man, / such that he has no shame (402)
> the latter lives in ease, / he does not think, nor dreams.

Thanks to this ingenuous artifice, Don Sem Tob has been presented as prefiguring Lázaro and the squire whom he served in Toledo. No, Lázaro and the squire owe nothing to the rabbi of Carrión. In contemplating the human comedy of the Castile of his time, Don Sem Tob saw passing through the highroads and the squares of Castile, the poor, roamer, the lover of free life, satisfied with his poverty, who was getting his fill of fruit and of wine and who did not think nor dream. The contrast between his life style and the urgency of the intellectual and moral problems with which the rabbi lived, caused his admiration for the happy man, free from cares and who, without effort, satisfied the most minimal necessities of his body and spirit. Who can recognize in that portrait of Don Sem Tob, of the man who lived at ease without thinking nor dreaming, the worn out and hungry Lázaro, smart and restless, always unhappy about his fate and always dreaming? We cannot compare either the miserable proud squire master of Lázaro with the *hidalgos* of Don Sem Tob: the rich, filled with worries and the one ruined because of his generosity, whom bad luck forced to resort to villainy and vile usury.

Among the brief and stammering ascetic expressions of Don Sem Tob, an awkward reproduction of topics very generalized in the Castile of the reign of Peter I, and Spanish asceticism of the 17th century, there is a long time filled with history. It is difficult to affirm the foundation of Hispanic ascetic thought of the Golden Age in the few couplets of the *Proverbios* which have been given the high honor of supposing to serve as the embryo. Therefore, to establish the genetic bond between Don Sem Tob and classic asceticism of post-Tridentine Spain, it has been necessary to hypertrophy the literature of the Jews converted to Christianity —beginning with 1391— and distort and exaggerate the ideological fruits of that literature.

To support the disorbed thesis about the action of bitterness and anguish of the Spanish converts in the sensibility of the Spain of the 16th century, it is necessary to demonstrate the reality of that sad and desperate situation of the Spanish Hebrews who had accepted the faith of Christ after the terrible persecutions of 1391. A couplet of Juan de Mena repeating the worn out image of life as a dream, wind or shadow of the moon; the merry confrontation of the old man in love with the miseries of his age, by Rodrigo de Cota; some words of Diego de Valera about the consequences of human passions; the insistence upon the thankless portrait of old age and the occasional report of the sadness and injustices of life by Hernando

del Pulgar, and the last tragic notes of Melibea's father upon knowing the death of his daughter, have been alleged. Who can believe that these texts are sufficient to sustain that the Castilian converts of the 15th century lived in tormented and desperate anguish? The words of Melibea's sad father lack probatory value. Although written by the convert Fernando de Rojas, they reflect the despair of a man before the tragic end of his daughter, not that of a Hebrew before a racial situation. They would have come from anybody's pen, who, with the same literary vigor, had faced the same human tragedy. Bataillon has refuted the supposed semitism of such a lament.

It seems certain that Juan de Mena as not of Hebraic origin, but even if he had been, his couplets could not be alleged in proof of the discussed thesis. He who reads Juan de Mena without passion and free from prejudices will not find reflected in his work the anguish, anxiety or bitterness which have been attributed to him. Why would the favorite poet of the court of John II have felt them? Rosa Lida in her magnificent study of Juan de Mena's works has not suspected that anguish and anxiety that Castro attributes to him. I doubt that anyone can accept that Juan de Mena belonged to a cast of desperate men for having written these couplets:

Blind behind blind, mad behind mad,
thus we go looking for fortune;
when we have more, then we have less,
thus as in dreams and shadow of the moon...
So, you, little worm...
dream and wind, corrupt thing,
don't you see how little you are?

The poetic image which compares life with dream, as all know, was already old in Spain and outside and did not have Hispano-Jewish roots. Its diffusion among us, as that of the poetic comparison of human existence with the wheel of fortune, is connected with the triumph of stoicism in the Peninsula after the «discovery» of Seneca.

The race of the desperate would be infinite if it included all those who have written similar words to the innocuous one just quoted by Juan de Mena. In it would have to be included Antonio de Guevara who wrote: «I find that everything that the world has is a dream» and «my days have not been years, but troublesome dreams»; many Spanish stoics who repeated many times the same image; Shakespeare, author of these words: «we are made of the stuff of dreams», and naturally Calderón for whom life was a frenzy, an illusion, a dream.

The gloomy portrait of the evils of old age cannot serve either to prove the desperate anguish of the Hebrew converts. It was a very fashionable theme at the time in Western literature and even in Castilian

literature. Outside the circle of the poets and writers of Jewish origin it appears for example in the *Corbacho* and with no less realism nor more euphemism than in the *Diálogo del amor y de un viejo* of Rodrigo de Cota.

I trust that no one will suspect the Archpriest of Talavera of being Hebrew, who thus defined phlegmatic men: «Neither are they for laughter nor for crying, cold, icy-cold, of few words, solitary, half mute, firmly but roughly made, suspicious, not meddlesome, not very learned, not very bright, Jews by heart and much more by their actions.»

If it had not come from the pen of the very Archpriest of Talavera, the following passage of the *Corbacho* about the physiological miseries caused by sexual enjoyment would have «fit like a glove» to show the gloomy subjects which preoccupied Castilian converts.

Love «kills the body and condemns the soul when the body involved in lust suffers in all five natural senses. First it causes the loss of sight and decreases the natural sense of smell of the nose, so that man does not smell as he did; the sense of taste of the mouth and of all food is lost; hearing dies so that it seems that he hears bees in his ears; his hands and whole body lose their coordination and they begin to tremble. Then his powers of the soul, all three are disturbed, so that he barely has any intelligence, memory or remembrance...»

As proof of the Jewish origin of Mosén Diego de Valera and of his desperate anguish, have been alleged some words of his about the effects of human passions, much less expressive than those of the not in the least anguised, but jovial Archpriest of Talavera. He who dared to write irreverent parodies and a chronicle like *Memorial de diversas hazañas,* did not show anguished restlessness about destiny. Favored by fortune and having reached great improvement, it was not logical for Valera to feel tormented by the tragic meaning of life.

«The negativism of Pulgar extends to everything», has been said with evident hyperbole. It is important to distinguish the times in the complex biography of the chronicler of the Catholic Kings. During the first part of his literary life, his step was strong, he felt secure and euphoric. Under the shield of that euphoria and that security, he gives freen rein to his proud and sarcastic spirit with a boldness that borders on provocation. With caustic irony he censures anarchy, misrule and the vices of the time of Henry; *nominatim* reports the magnates in revolt; he criticizes the lack of efficaciousness of the institutions... Then he is bold enough to rebuke cuttingly and shamelessly the Archbishop of Toledo, the king of Portugal and he even makes observations about queen Isabel. He arrogantly confronts those who in Toledo were criticizing the ascent to the first political plane of the new Christians. He writes to Cardinal Mendoza disdainfully mocking the agreements made against the converts by the Basques, whose sons served in the houses of the richest and most illustrious of them. He writes a sharp and firm letter to the Archbishop of Seville

against the Inquisition's procedures in Andalusia, letter in which he does not hesitate in censuring the old Christians. In another marvelous one, he defends himself against an anonymous writer who had responded with fury to his first cutting epistle. In his response he dares to say that perhaps the queen had made a mistake in entrusting the matter to those whom she chose.

Are that attitude and language those of a man anguished and concerned, of a desperate man, gloomily pessimistic or of a man who is sure and strong and who does not fear nor tremble before destiny? The storm that provoked his attack against the Inquisition and the impact that the events of Seville had upon him, nevertheless changed his vital situation. We notice that he is overwhelmed by uneasiness and sadness and although he attempts to conceal them, but they are permeating his soul. It is then that in writing to Count of Tendilla, his messianic providentialism —no attention has been paid to this— moves him to write that God is irritated with humanity, and it is then that in his long epistle to his daugther he discloses his disappointment and his bitterness. He is afraid; and in the first edition of his letters of 1486 he suppresses the one addressed to the Archbishop of Seville about some events out of which came bad times for the converts of Segovia, Jaén and Cordova. He is becoming sour and he, usually benevolent in his judgment and even prone to adulation in the *Claros varones de Castilla* writes addressing the prior of Paso: «As you know, all of you religious, are as enemies of giving as you are friends of taking.»

The cruel moments had arrived. Then indeed converts began to feel restless and worried. Before it had not occurred except in some cities like Toledo, and there, because of their excessive confidence in the firmness of their situation. They had obtained pontifical and royal specifications that granted them all the rights; they had accumulated great wealth; they had married into families of noble descent; they had dared everything —they caused the riots such as that of Toledo of 1467, in murdering one of the keepers of the chief in the cathedral; they had been everything—; the four trustworthy secretaries of the Catholic Queen were converts and during the years when the infanta Catalina was in a very difficult situation in England, the ambassador of Spain to London was a convert, Dr. Pablos. There was no reason for them to suffer from anguished pessimism, that desperate anguish which they suffered, according to Castro. Bernáldez supposes them to be moved by arrogance and from what we know of Santa María, Cota and Pulgar and from those who were not writers but were businessmen, this affirmation appears to be exact. The pride of Hernando del Pulgar has been proven —numerous testimonies along with those already reported could be alleged to prove his arrogance. Rodrigo de Cota attacked fiercely –pen at rest— Diego Arias Dávila, because he had not invited him to his son's wedding with a relative of Cardinal Mendoza. Montoro, clothier of Cordova, wrote disdainfully about the

humble parents —a town crier and a waitress— of another poet-convert, Juan de Valladolid.

Arrogance and anguish, of course, are not incompatible, but they do not go well together. Converts ceased to be proud of their condition when the cruel moments of the inquisitional persecution and the cleaning of blood came.

The psychic problem of the converts is very complex. Many opposite currents intercrossed in it, some of them not suspected until now. Converts of the lowest conditions —Montor, Juan de Valladolid— or of the harshest character—Rodrigo de Cota— wrote very sour social satires. It has been said that social satire was not the patrimony of the Hebrews in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. Besides the satire which came from the pens of some converts was the Spanish equivalent of contemporary bourgeois literature, which reached great heights beyond the Pyrenees and which could not mature in Spain, due to the rachitic condition of our bourgeoisie and the triumph, even in towns and cities, and even among Jews and converts, of the ideals of aristocracy. The bold poetry of the cited poets of Hebrew origin cannot even characterize a «vital situation». It responded to their peculiar posture in the social hierarchy more than to the desperate irritation of their souls tortured by a complex of racial inferiority.

When the cruel moments came for the converts, they defended themselves as best they could. Many managed to escape from the big flood. Quite a few were businessmen —for example Alonso de Benavente, Rodrigo Dueñas among others—, they accumulated great fortunes, built beautiful buildings, were favored by the princes —Dueñas got to be Treasury Advisor for Philip II still regent— and no vital anguish appears in their conduct nor in their rôles. Some were advisors and secretaries of the kings —Gonzalo Pérez and Antonio Pérez were probably of Hebraic origin— confessors or royal preachers. Others participated actively in the Erasmus movement, and then in the literary life; they were among the first in the Company of Jesus, they triumphed in Trent, worked in the Academy of Philip II; they were successful in letters and professorships. However, they never formed a spiritual minority so exemplary and of action so subtle and decisive as to be able to cause a change in the sensibility of Castile and of Spain. The most illustrious among them did not suffer from the anguished desperation that has been supposed. Who will be able to demonstrate the anguished despair of blessed Juan of Avila, Laínez, of Saint Teresa, Jorge de Montemayor and so many more or less distant descendents of new Christians? In the Spanish letters of the Golden Age there is not one echo of the desperate canticle that the peninsular converts of that century are supposed to have sung.

Michael Servetus who was not of Hebraic origin and who, at the age of 14, left Spain, never to return, who could not be infected by that supposed gloomy Spanish atmosphere, bound without reason to the Judaic

81.—The *castle of Peñafiel (Valladolid)* of Don Juan Manuel (1282-1349), grandson of kings and in his epoch the best writer and the most restless Castilian magnate. With the infante Don Juan, Don Juan the One Eyed and Don Juan Núñez de Lara, he was one of the political Don Juans who stained Castile with blood. A great lord, he was able to go from the borders of Navarre to Granada, spending every night in one of his own castles. He felt, as few did, the whiplashes of haughtiness and honor.

82.—As Spaniards, Catalans moved by the uncontrollable appetite for adventures that jolts all Hispanic people as soon as a propitious historical climate permits to undertake them, after securing the dominion of Sicily, undertaking their expedition to the Orient. People of Athens, going up to the Acropolis prayed to Saint Mary in the Parthenon, «the most precious jewel» of the world, according to declarations heard mass in the temple of the Sun of Cuzco. *General view of the Acropolis of Athens.*

anguish, in his annotations to the *Geography of Ptolomey* uses sarcasms worthy of Quevedo and at times is invaded by evident pessimism.

It has not been possible to prove —there are not even indications of consideration— that converts created the gloomy asceticism, the negative vision that appears in some thinkers of Baroque Spain. It is necessary to distinguish between the times in Spain. It is impossible to prove that the Spaniards of the days of Charles V and of the first years of Philip were tortured by anguished pessimism and suffered anguishing sadness, with the exception of a few emigrated Erasmians who judged with painful, although unjust harshness, the ignorance of their compatriots; of the handful of converts involved in the enlightened movement of the illuminati —to them belonged Doctor Cazalla who called Isabel the Catholic and the empress Isabel, vipers— and those new Christians who, suspected of propagating the Lutheran heresy, were the first to suffer the first inquisitional rigors at the beginning of the second half of the century.

I also believe that there has been an unnecessary exaggeration of the contrast between the serenity of Castilian medieval letters and the dramatic anguish of Spanish literature of the new times. There could be many testimonies of the serene spiritual life of most of the Hispanic writers of the 16th century. It would not be difficult to bring them to task as anyone averagely familiar with the Spanish literature prior to the Baroque period could do, and as Dámaso Alonso has done in what concerns poets.

On the other hand, it will be very difficult to demonstrate that Spanish poets and prose writers of such a time, be they or not of Jewish origin, wrote in that desperate style of the supposed Hebrew tradition. Will one prove the despair before death of Saint Teresa of Avila who died because she was not dying, that of the still anonymous author of the sonnet «My God, it does not move me to love you», that of John of the Cross whose soul was looking for the loved one on the hills, that of Fray Luis de León who longed for «freedom from that prison to fly to heaven» —to the physical and metaphysical heaven, coinciding for art and letters for the Spaniards— and that of so many other Hispanic writers contemporaries of the ones cited?

To prove the refuted hypothesis, the 16th century has been bypassed, from the 15th century to the Baroque period and the negative and gloomy attitude of the convert Mateo Alemán, of Quevedo himself before the world and life have been cited. The bridge thus spanned is too long to be safe.

That negation of the world would have been a necessary consequence of the sufferings and bitterness endured by peninsular converts. The pain of feeling immersed in a society suspicious and hostile could provoke diverse psychic chain reactions. It could go into bitterness, bitterness into restlessness, restlessness into anguish and anguish into despair. But at the same time, it could translate itself into bitterness, bitterness into anger, anger into rage, rage into an impulse of criticism or even an impulse of

action. There are examples of those two series of psychic reactions in the chain that the pain of peninsular converts could unleash. The Spain of Philip II had to confront the two attitudes and it was not the most dangerous one for it that which ended up with the rage that induced to espionage and to the hostile economic action.

Neither of the two —the second one less that the first one— concludes nevertheless, necessarily, in what has been called «negation of the world close to total nihilism». Along with that attitude for the earthly there is on the contrary, the same attitude of Spanish society towards converts. Because the former was moved with ultraterrestrial fervor, burning with passion for life of the other world, it was suspicious and hostile towards new Christians. It did not trust the authenticity of their Catholicism, and not without reason, since many times their fidelity to their Hebraic rites had been proven, they had been seen participating in initial movements of propagation of new religious doctrines and they had come to be considered dangerous disolving elements of the sacred unity of their faith.

The persecutions of the converts, far from causing the negation of the world, «close to total nihilism» of peninsular Christianity, were in reality provoked because in it triumphed that strange concept of life. Ganivet has said that Kempis and Proudhon were psychically identical. The full renounciation to the world was not, therefore, a creation of the Spanish mind, impulsed, by an absurd mimetism to receiving the negative posture of the converts. The *Imitation of Christ,* where medieval asceticism culminates —I trust that its author, whoever he may have been, will not be considered a Hebrew convert— translated into Spanish circulated already in Spain before 1493, was printed again many times, again translated by Fray Luis de Granada, in 1536, was liked by Saint Ignatius of Loyola, was read by the great, the learned and the people, taken in journeys for reading in the inns and continued to be printed and diffused throughout the Peninsula with fervent zeal. Bataillon has said that from the days of Isabel the Catholic, Spaniards were very sensitive to the *Imitation of Christ* and to works of similar atmosphere and intention, which Bataillon himself reports. Spanish Catholicism, archsensitized by its struggles on two fronts against Islamites and Jews, received the theoretics of that ascetic movement of the European medieval sunset and cultivated it passionately, at the same time as it allowed itself to be corrupted by the orthodox or heretical mystique of the *Moriscos,* which also gave the old Christians, among whom they were living, a spiritual tonic of heavenly flight.

That double reality has been forgotten: the Renaissance exalted the human person and impelled his creative possibilities, launching him onto the free road of his individual affirmation and giving to the activity of natural man a freedom of development which separated him from the divine center of life, but they are characteristic notes of the Baroque: contrast between the dignity and the misery of the human condition, and also pessimism, melancholy and disillusion.

Weissbach writes: «The optimistic meaning of the world and the consciouness of freedom of the autonomous personality, which weighed so heavily on the spiritual life and the culture of the Renaissance, received a heavy blow from the fate that befell Italy, Rome and Europe in the first half of the 16th century. The human will and the will of the Church saw rising before them difficulties and obstacles in which they were destroyed and annulled...; all that caused a profound commotion and made the stability of the essential and traditional values appear to be in danger within the Catholic world. Under the impression of afflictive circumstance... a current of pessimism took place which was one of the incentives most worthy of notice in the culture of the second half of the 16th century... Characteristically enough to define the profile of the time is the fact that the first of the two *Diálogos* of Andrea Gilio de Fabriano (1564) is one of the most famous writings and which had the most influence in the Counter-Reformation and it begins with a lament on decadence and misery; the happiness and the greatness of the past are opposed to the unhappiness and the paltriness of the present. The feelings of resignation, scepticism, bitterness were the ground on which sprung the seed of the Catholic reform».

The same Weissbach has pointed out that in the *Ejercicios* of Saint Ignatius, before getting to «Consolatio», it was necessary to uproot all impulse towards joy, because of the human inclination to sin. The meditation of the infernal torments had to lead to a total giving into paroxysm and to horror.

It has also been pointed out that the mystique of the Counter Reformation led to the total withdrawal from the world and to a fundamental pessimism about all the earthly.

Pascal picked up with insistence the idea of the contrast between the greatness and the misery of man. «What is man in nature? A nothingness in comparison —he writes— with the infinite, an everything compared with a nothingness, a point between nothingness and everything». Leibnitz points to finitude as the «metaphysical ailment», says Frutos. «About the Baroque —he adds— gravitates the anguish of that finitude... The aspiration to the Infinite is translated into the cosmic concept, into the image of space... If the concept of space reveals and impels the pride of man, that of time corrects it with his humility. In function of a fixed horizon —the eternal— man feels the inevitable senescence of himself and of all things. Fugacity and eternity. Man feels both fugacious and eternal and from the summit of his eternity he laments what is perishing in him and in things».

In those ideas and feelings of the Counter-Reformation and of the Baroque are the seeds of that vital anguish which leads to the negation of the world close to total nihilism which appears during the hallucinated Spanish 17th century. Foreseeing, perhaps, that objection, the attitudes of Spanish and French Christianity of the 17th century have been compared

to the earthly values, and the differences that separate them have been emphasized. But it seems to be forgotten that the contrast between French and Spanish is quite anterior to 1600 and even to 1391, when the conversions en masse of the peninsular Jews started. The opposition between the reasoned French serenity and the passionate Hispanic impetus since the 11th century have been pointed out. The two Christianities, ultra and cispyrenean, had to reflect, after centuries, the vital differences between the two peoples.

Also forgotten are two causes which contributed to accentuate such differences. The prolongation of medieval spirit through modern Spain —prolongation noted by Menéndez Pelayo and not due to peninsular converts, but the result of the singular functional structure of the Spaniards of our Middle Ages, fruit of their long struggle against Islam, seems certain to me. Also forgotten is the gigantic historical shortcircuit —I will speak later about it but it is well known by historians— caused by the two twists that our history suffered starting with the discovery of America and the coming to Spain of the Austrians; the shortcircuit in which burned many of the possible new ideas which the tide of Modernism had being throwing on the beaches of the West.

The singularities of religious and vital sensibility of Spanish people during the Middle Ages and that double and coinciding conjunction of slowing factors, made that melancholy, disillusion of life, meditation upon the misery and finitude of man and of the world which the Counter-Reformation caused and which the Baroque exalted, catch on in Spain as fire in ripe wheat.

Almost eight centuries of divine war had forced the peninsular people and Castilians in particular, to feel with violence the essential problem of man's relationships with the divinity, always anchored in the conscience of the *homo hispanus* and they had sharpened in them the consideration of the fugacity of the earthly path of man towards eternity. which Christianity had caused. The two feelings had been general in the Middle Ages, but they existed before: their hypertrophy, vividness and continuation South of the Pyrenees and also their strange historical projections.

I have singled out the fruitfulness of the union of the Hispanic land and history; between a poor land, stepmother more than mother to millions of Spaniards, forcing them to an uprooted life, seed of roguishness; and I will note later the triumph of a peculiar balance of the power, wealth and work, incompatible with the bourgeois form of society and which also led to picaresque life.

The exaltation of the whole man that the Spaniard had come to be after his long history against the grain, in combat with adverse destiny on a rough land and forced to a bold existence, is evident.

In no other country of Europe could take root, flourish, mature and produce, as in Spain, the feelings with which the Counter Reformation confronted the spirit of optimistic creative liberty of the human person

characteristic of the Renaissance. Those peculiar feelings of the Counter Reformation which the Baroque hypertrophied could not triumph in Italy —craddle of the new forms of renascent life—, nor in France, —in accelerated bourgeois and rationalistic fermentation—, in the same way as they triumphed in Spain, imbued with medievalism. In a Spain that not even in art or letters easily opened up to the spiritual currents of the Renaissance, as Lafuente Ferrari and Blecua have noted, and where the very roughness of life inclined the soul towards the consideration of the misery of the earthly crawling of man.

The discussed writer has lended little attention to the intensity and to the depth of the stoic feeling in Spain. It is possible to find its first peninsular shoots before the Moslem invasion and its survival in Northern Christians and even among Hispano-Mussulmans. In the 14th century the influence of Seneca in Spanish thought is accentuated; during the 15th century, the «discovery» of Seneca produced a strong current towards his stoic doctrine especially in the erudite and intellectual circles of Catalonia and Castile. Montolíu studied the reflection of that doctrine on the writers and scholars of both peoples along that century; in Auzías March, especially. The ideas about the vanity and fugacity of life, the changing of fortune, the scorn of riches and honors, the affliction and misery of human existence... which originate in the supposed anguish of the converts of the 15th century, have in part their origin in Seneca.

Montolíu has dedicated many very erudite and sharp pages to the study of stoicism in Spanish letters of the 16th and 17th centuries. The dissociation achieved by the new stoicism between stoic metaphysics and morality, in order to avoid the clash between stoicism and Christianity, favored the acceptance of the ethical thought of the old stoics —Seneca and Epitectus especially— by humanists of Christian orientation and singularly by the peninsular people. The diffusion of Erasmism among us largely contributed to the settling of the stoic doctrine in the Peninsula. There is hardly a Spanish writer of the 16th and 17th centuries who does not show traces of that neostoicism. Its influence penetrates into the picaresque novel and triumphs especially in Quevedo and Gracián. Among the stoic ideas saturating the Hispanic sensibility of those two centuries are always: dual consideration of dignity and misery of the human condition, disdain for allurement of earthly existence, attraction of solitude and withdrawal from the world, caducity and illusion of the dream of life, bitterness and the pessimism which only moral peace can alleviate... that is to say: most of the feelings which have been supposed born of the vital anguish of the converts, some converts who already had two centuries of Christianity at the beginning of the 17th century and who were no longer persecuted.

The Christian and stoic atavism of the Spaniards, the coincidence of two spiritual currents: of the Counter-Reformation, hypertrophied in the Baroque and of neo-stoicism, in part of Senecan roots, and the same projection upon them of the social and economic structure of Spain and

of the great national crisis, must have accentuated that tragic feeling of the life of peninsular people, which in vain one tries to connect with the anguish of converts, whose Hebraic origin was uncertain many times and which only was worth a few innocuous jokes at the time; recall some verses of Lope and Quevedo against Góngora.

To the almost nihilistic exaltation of feelings which had never really taken root among us and to those that the Counter-Reformation, the Baroque and Senecan neo-stoicism were giving new vigor, the temperamental singularities of some Spaniards strangely endowed for the reception and transformation of the new —and old— concept of the world and life, must have also contributed. Once again, the real man behind each writer has been forgotten.

Mateo Alemán was almost as roguish as the rogue Guzmán de Alfarache to whom he gave life. Thousands of descendents of converts led a normal and happy life at the same time as he was going through the country fleeing into authentic picaresque life. Was it so because of his remote Hebraic origin or simply because of his singular temperament? The same could be said about the gloomy and negative touch in his writings. He carried on a harsh and miserable life, suffering from hunger and going to jail. He belonged to the breed of the desperate who looked for refuge in America. New and old Christian, the same personal condition that led him to his roguish, hard, bitter and tortured life must have forced him to dip his pen in the nihilistic blackness of discouragement and anguish.

Also forgotten is the exceptional man, physically and psychically that Quevedo was. Dámaso Alonso has just spoken about the anguish of his soul; and the power of his genius is not sufficient for him to hide his atrabilious mood. To understand his vital and spiritual attitude we cannot forget his unfortunate human image, and it is necessary to delve into the most intimate secrets of this singular balance reached in him by the trilogy of psychic forces whose combination directs the history of each man along the inevitable chaining to his circumstances and through the continuous storms of fate. It seems certain that the psycho-physical singularities of Quevedo in causing a thankless and lasting inner battle and a rude duel with the world around, played a greater rôle in his life style and in his nihilistic literary projections than the incredible reception by him of the supposed bitter despair of convert writers of Spain of the 16th century.

In contradiction with the thesis disputed here, the author had wondered if so many main manifestations of Spanish art and spirituality could be «directly or indirectly the reflection of tormented Semitism. Quevedo was not any convert and he had a 'picaresque' soul negatively utopian, and extremely sharp. We would not know how to deal with the quiet tradition of 'peace', of 'disappointment' of the withdrawal from the world, the search for solitude, all forms of inner penetration, of inner call so

characteristic of the Hispanic genius. Was all of this going to be the direct or indirect influence of a remote Semitism? I do not believe so, because what is essential here is that we find similar features anterior to the fact that being a convert became a problem for him and for society, when there did not exist converts except in the mind of the historians. The withdrawal from the world, the incapacity to rationally crush the world, occurs in the Middle Ages and now.»

True. Anguish, bitterness, disappointment are in Spain prior to converts, hypertrophied when the problem of the «*marranos*» begins to lose presence and virulence in Spain coinciding with the Baroque exaltation of the Counter Reformation. They appear not only in literature but in art. Most of the Spanish painters of the end of the 16th and the 17th centuries —especially Morales, Ribera, Ribalta and Valdés Leal— and Castilian and Andalusian religious painters can be witnesses to this statement. And with them the Baroque —architectural anguish— into which Hispanis architecture has spontaneously fallen at all times. Who will consider all these literary and artistic Hispanic creations the result of the supposed desperate anguish of the Jews?

I want to make a suggestion to those confronting the theme studied here. I call their attention to the possible genetic connections of the novel, so rooted in the unsettled roguish life of Castilians above all with the absence of bourgeoisie and of bourgeois spirit among us. For many years I have been stressing the seriousness of the corollaries of this flaw in our past life. Among its social consequences I have reported the historical authenticity of the Spanish rogue, and in the literary consequences, the picaresque novel, using these words in their widest meaning. Since the bourgeois spirit did not fit and could not fit in Castile opposite the heroic and knightly spirit, in a violent chiaroscuro, without transitions nor nuances, the plebeian, unsettled, knavish and roguish arose. That sudden, tremendous, very sharp contrast, had to be reflected in literary life as it was reflected in real life.

Montolíu now coincides with the ideas that I have exposed to him more than once «viva voce». He points out the lack or weakness of vital and literary roguishness in bourgeois Catalonia. His acute observation supports our common opinion, and contradicts the bond of the sensibility of the Spaniards of the Golden Age with the bitterness and anguish of peninsular converts, because there quite a few in Catalonia and nevertheless we do not find there clear traces of the feelings which culminated in Castilian picaresque novel.

I have stated before and must prove later that the rogue was the natural result of the singular equation which united in Castile —all of it, the Old, the New and the Very New—, power, wealth and service. Could the rogue have been born, not being a purely fictional being, and with him, the picaresque novel, which did not create its types from nothing, in a country different from ours? In a country that would have known a developed

economic life? Where there would not have existed a total distention between the powerful and the unfortunate masses? Where both sides of social life had not offered such a violent contrast as South of the Pyrenees? Where bourgeois spirit would have opened a parenthesis between the warlike dynamism of the ones and the lack of heroic dimension of the others? Would there have been rogues and picaresque novel in a bourgeois country or on the verge of becoming so?

It is difficult to join in the same bag the rogue and the bourgeois gentleman or the rogue and the merchant of Venice. Was the picaresque born to literature because in the Spain without a bourgeoisie was lacking the intermediary fender of an industrial and merchant class which could offer future channels to the people of the low classes? Because there lacked in us a bourgeois conscience capable of offering an ideal of life different from the heroic one and from its opposite the roguish side?

It seems possible to answer affirmatively to all these questions. Spain without a bourgeoisie did not renounce the *aurea mediocritas* to stoically detach itself from material life. It had no choice. It had to decide between Caesar or nothing. Guillermo de Torre has said that the picaresque novel was premonitory of Spanish decadence. I would say that it constituted the literary exteriorization of one of the serious social contrasts which caused the Hispanic crisis.

The incrustation into the picaresque of the moral admonition and its inundation by the tragic feeling of life is a different problem. To the culmination of both processes and to their triumph in Spanish letters contributed, perhaps, two singular human attitudes, marked within the spiritual atmosphere of the time: the defensive one of Mateo Alemán and the offensive one of Quevedo.

The pressure of the new sense of life which the triumph of the Catholic Reform in Spain had caused, accentuated during the long reign of Philip II, perhaps moved Mateo Alemán to protect himself and to protect his suspicious picaresque merchandise with the gloomy and rigorous moral preaching which crushes the fictional account of the roguish life of Guzmán de Alfarache. It was a rare coincidence that his work was not published until a few months after the death of the king of the Escurial, when he was already 52 years old. Fortune had been ellusive and fate had dealt him heavy blows. We cannot imagine him exulting with euphoria and optimism Because of his existence in flight for fear of punishment and his racial hebraism, his roof was made of glass. Is it unlikely to suppose that moral admonition and the tragic feeling of life with which he overwhelms us are due to a conscious defensive posture of an embittered and fearful man?

Quevedo does not protect himself. He attacks. Son of a «servant of His Majesty» of the Torre of Juan Abad (Ciudad Real), friendly with the great political figures of his time and capable of holding his own in court life, although he could not do it on the very premises of the court, he

attacked more than he defended himself. Of atrabilious disposition, sharp by nature and implacable critic, he was soon beaten by adverse fate, the more deeply he looked and saw in the world around, the more grew his temperamental exaltation, his sourness and his bitterness and the more he felt driven to see life on earth gloomily. The contemplation of the defects of Spanish society of his time irritated him and he goes from sarcasm to scoffing. He abandons the dagger for the hammer. He mocks everything and everyone with fierce rage. He scoffs men —no dignity, class, profession, function... escaped his blows; and man— the courage, honor, chivalrous ideal, pious hopes... A blend of indignation and sadness which he is unable to pour into stoic channels sometimes leads him to dip his pen into poisonous ink and to write what has been called sullen sharpness, and at other times to delve into the dirtiest and most malodorous aspects of human life and to be pleased with it.

But if I do not consider risky to relate the singular temperamental heritages of Mateo Alemán and of Quevedo and their different but dramatic existences with the culmination of the tragic feeling of life in the picaresque novel in Spanish letters, it does not seem permissible to attribut to them the creation *ex nihilo* of that spiritual and literary inclination of peninsular people. The relation of their two attitudes cannot be denied, nor of the double process to whose culmination they contributed, with the course that marked the Spanish vital contexture, and with it the Hispanic literary and artistic life, the spiritual dimension of the Reformation and of the Baroque.

Even if the Jews had never set foot on the Peninsula and even if they had never enjoyed there maximum liberty and tolerance, the Spaniards of the Counter-Reformation and of the Baroque would have felt tortured by the same melancholy, by the same scorn for ciscelestial existence, the same extremist zeal for the essential problem of eternal salvation, the same inclination to disillusion, disdain for life in the world. The tragic sense of life suffered by the Spaniards through history owes nothing to the Jews. This feeling does not coincide with Unamuno's anguish before his intimate and sterile battle to believe in the immortality of the soul. Spaniards did not hesitate nor fight, they firmly believed. The tragedy of their feeling of life was based on the projection upon the very life of all and every one of them —individual and collective life— of that fervent and pure faith in ultraterrestrial existence. Their restlessness before that lasting beyond caused in them an acute anxiety about the torturing problem of salvation of the soul after death. From the king down, those with more acute religious sensibility got to feeling responsible for the condemnation of all Christians. Their anxiety before the dangers that were at rising on the earthly road to the final life and the miseries of daily existence, moved them to look at the world with scorn, at times nihilistically. Now they were withdrawing with disillusion from earthly life, so filled with ambushes, injustices, pains and sins; now they went into the sharp criticism of such

a foolish life, criticism sometimes projected into sullen sarcasms. They sketched the hard road of their historical destiny by consecrating their spiritual and vital energies to strange adventures at the margin of human crawling through the paths of the earth.

That tragic sense of life had projections of greater transcendence than the literary ones. Will anyone deny that it entered as a dynamic factor of our American and European enterprises? Does it not fill the lives of the adventurers, the captains and even of the great chiefs? The anguished *meditatio mortis* of Charles V —another projection of the tragic sense of life— interfered at times unfortunately in the course of Spanish history. I see the tragic sense of life moving the strings of Philip's politics. It would be a strange paradox to suppose the emperor, the duke of Alba and Philip II moved by spiritual forces born of the desperate anguish of the Spanish Jews converted to Christianity. The desperate running after the fugacious star of a disturbing but inane theory leads to such absurdities.

3. From the neurotic Abu'Amir to the impetuous Don Juan

Don Juan and Don Quijote are the two great figures that Spain has given to world literature; with Hamlet and Faust they are the four greats —sorry to let myself be influenced by journalistic jargon in use today— of Western literature. People have meditated, discussed and written much about Don Juan. In the jungle of criticism about Don Juan, there had not been until now any dissident voice denying the strict *españolía* of the *Burlador* (Seducer). A heresiarch has arisen. Don Juan would be of Arabic origin. The statement clashes with the generalized images of love between Islamites and Spaniards. Do we find ourselves before a general error of historical perspective? Have all those making Don Juan born from the Hispanic womb been wrong? Must we renounce the old thesis? Or is the dissident theoretic based upon an uncontrollable excessive desire for novelty and on a disorbed zeal of a convert to the new faith in the prodigious action of what is Islamic in the formation of what is Spanish?

«Only Arabic literature and then Spanish —it has been said— have possessed the means of 'apperception' to convert the vulgarity of loving many women and of getting disgusted with them soon, into forms of art. The Arab and the Islamized Spaniard perceived in this fact one more example corraborating his conviction that the world, for some reasons or others, was a parade of fleeting and deceiving aspects»

«Artistic Donjuanism (the attempts to 'biologize' Don Juan are an ingenuousness without transcendence) entered into literature to enliven the belief that any aspect of reality disappears when a volitive desire is based upon it; it is a mirage.»

To come to such an affirmation starting from the hypothetical passage of the Mussulman through a fleeting world of appearances and from the

hypothetical attitude of the Spaniard before an evanescent world which he was continually meeting head on. It also originates from another unfounded supposition: the appearance of Donjuanism in Arabo-Hispanic literature. The lack of foundations of the basic premises destroys the novel thesis.

I have dealt with the first two themes in studying the Archpriest but I wish to repeat here that *The Dove's Ring* categorically proves how the Andalusian Islamites went through life with eyes wide open to the world —in no way oscillating— around them. The feelings that Ibn Hazm attributes to them are warmly and profoundly human. Those real men were walking in a lucid and transparent atmosphere, without causing the vanishing of reality by basing on it their volitive desire and fulfilling their desires —their very lewd desires at times— with such pleasure that they could not judge life as a parade of deceiving aspects. I also want to repeat that the world was deceiving only for peninsular ascetes and mystics. It has not been proven that the Spaniard was «continually clashing with the evanescent world which inavoidable history had bequeathed to him» and it is going to be difficult to demonstrate in a tight and adequate way, if the theme is stripped of rethorics and a number of clear, unquestionable, solid testimonies are brought to task to possibly convince the readers.

It is impossible to report concrete proofs of the literary Donjuanism of the Islamites of Al-Ándalus. The allegation of Ibn Hazm's *The Dove's Ring* is invalid because the author was a Westerner, a cultural Spaniard not vitally Arabized and because his work is a psychological treatise on love in which, only under the shield of the central theme and as example of his fine analyses, as many cases of different loves —even next to frequent cases of homosexuality— is alleged the historical case of Abu'Amir Muhammad Ibn'Amir, who has been called a proto-Don Juan. Neither was Abu'Amir the first man in literature to love many women nor were the other men who appear in *The Dove's Ring* the first, in literature to suffer from their passions and vices.

«Disgust is one of the innate qualities in man» —writes Ibn Hazm—. The one who suffers from that misfortune usually does not have any friends nor any true friendships; he cannot keep any agreement and does not show constancy in affection nor does he grant his favors for a long time to the same love; no one can trust his loves, nor his hatreds...

«I have never seen anyone so possessed by that condition as Abu'Amir Muhammad Ibn'Amir. (May God forgive him!) If anyone were to tell me part of what I know of him, I would not believe it.»

«People of that character are the creatures who most rapidly fall in love, but with the least stability in their affections and in their aversions, so, vice versa, their growing tired of love is the same as their celerity in conceiving it. Never deal with such an unconstant person, nor be concerned about him, nor conceive any hope in his loyalty...»

«That Abu'Amir, of whom we are speaking, when he saw a slave, could not hide his impatience and he felt stricken by such restlessness and

sadness, that they were about to get the best of him, until he possessed her, although there could be fences of thorny goatsthorns in between; but as soon as he was certain that she was his, love turned into coldness and passion into indifference, the restlessness that he took to her in restlessness to get away from her; the inclination to reach her into inclination to get rid of her and he ended up by selling her for the lowest price. Such was his custom and in things as the ones mentioned he squandered enormous sums of money. In spite of that (May God forgive him!) he was a learned man, sagacious, sharp, capable, tender, ardent, gifted with great distinction, with a high lineage and vast power.»

«The beauty of his face and the perfection of his figure defied such consideration, but the imagination was incapable of giving the slightest idea of them and no one would manage to describe them. Only to see him, the streets were deserted as everyone would cross right in front of the door of his house...»

«Various slaves died of love for him as they had placed their thoughts in him and had been raised for him, but having deceived them in their hopes, they were prey to emaciation and solitude ended up with them. I knew one called 'Afra and I remember that she could not conceal her love, wherever she was, and that her tears never dried.»

«He himself (God forgive him) was telling me that he was bored by his own name not to mention other things. He had changed friends many times in his life, though it was not very long. He changed attire as a chameleon: at times he was wearing royal clothes, at other times he was dressed as a bandit:

"About this I have said:
Do not expect anything from an unconstant person
With the unconstant you cannot count
Leave the love of an unconstant person
It is a loan that must be reimbursed".»

If those who saw in that Abu'Amir Muhammad Ibn'Amir, Almanzor, for so he was called, had been right, one might ask, what could unite Don Juan to that Cordovan statesman? In Don Juan, love predominated over all duty and above any other passion; in Almanzor triumphed the bold desire for power and, to it, he dedicated his existence. Women filled the life of Don Juan; in that of Ibn Abi'Amir, they were accidents. Don Juan was bored when he did not love; the dictator of Al-Ándalus enjoyed his slaves during the fugacious intervals of his formidable activity.

But the unconstant and fickle aristocrat to whom Ibn Hazm alludes could not be Almanzor since at his death, in 1002, the author of *The Dove's Ring* was 8 years old and could not, therefore, receive the brave and fortunate captain's confidences. Neither was he a son of the son and successor of Almanzor in governing Al-Ándalus, as Lévi-Provençal and

García Gómez want; I have demonstrated it in mentioning the Castilian translation of Ibn Hazm's book. He must have been another member of the powerful family; but whoever he may have been, he cannot be genetically connected with the Seducer, that is with the authentic Don Juan.

I am not so bold as to attempt a new psychological analysis of Don Juan about whom so many have aimed with all the ammunition of their intelligence or fantasy. But I dare to ask if it is fitting to hold the Seducer as a disagreeable knight, sick with disgust, gentle, sad, so filled with boredom that he got to the point of feeling it for his name, fickle to the point of not being able to converse much time with the same friend, unable to keep any agreement, so restless and ill-humored that he had to change attire frequently to dress as a king at times, as a bandit at other times. Don Juan, who is impetuous, if anything, cannot be compared with this sweet and fickle neurotic, with a sick will as was Ibn Hazm's beautiful friend.

People rushed to admire his beauty —we do not know if masculine or on the feminine side—; Don Juan caused admiration —mixed with fear— because of his deeds. His irresistible seduction, along with his astuteness and his deceptions, enabled Don Juan to win women's hearts and to enjoy them; Abu'Amir renewed his harem through his power and his money. Don Juan gambled his life at random in each of his adventures; the great lord bought and sold women without risking a thing. Don Juan faced with the same impulse the fisherwoman or the princess; Ibn Hazm's friend moved among slaves, some raised for him. Don Juan did not abandon the possessed woman out of boredom or indifference; his vital impetuosity, the need to escape grudges or vengeance or the restlessness of his life forced him to look for new loves; Abu'Amir led a sedentary existence, he could not feel threatened since he did not seduce women, he acquired them, and when he was sure that the desired slave was his —Ibn Hazm does not even say after possessing her— his desire changed into indifference. Don Juan did not get to falling in love, he satisfied his sexual desire and his triumphs exalted his pride; Abu'Amr was overcome by love, then filled with sadness, if he did not soon manage to acquire the slave who had seduced him. Don Juan, conquered, Abu'Amir, was the conquered one.

What can relate to the Seducer who struggles and overcomes in the unfortunate freedom of amorous combat —let us not forget that essential condition of Donjuanism clearly opposed to sultanism— the Hispano-Mussulman aristocrat who becomes infatuated with a beautiful slave, buys her in gold, cloisters her in his harem and rejects her when she displeases him? I insist, what can relate to conquering Don Juan for whom women, that his boldness and eloquence had seduced, were sighing, the conquered Abu'Amir for whose physical beauty his victors were crying when his acute neurosis forced him to leave them?

Having loved many women —Abu'Amir's beauty and a sibylline phrase of Ibn Hazm about the confidences of his friend allow to doubt his own

masculinity— does not force to see in Almanzor's relative an authentic proto-Don Juan. Was not there much femininism in his capricious fickleness? We would see more precursors of Don Juan in most of the sovereigns and the great Spanish Mussulman lords, with more reason than in Abu-'Amir, if it were possible to confuse Donjuanism and sultanism and if the concept and practice of love in Islam were not incompatible with the authentic life of the Seducer, whose name would suffice to deny the relation imagined by the author of *España en su historia.*

From Abu'Amir and from all the Andalusian Abu'Amirs —nothing causes more indifference and the desire for change of fare than its great abundance and its easy accessibility—, can derive sultanism, with great vital and historical tradition in Spain and outside, tradition which culminates in Don Peter the Cruel and the Louis of France. Sultanism which makes many women parade through the royal beds, not seduced by the arts of Don Juan, but, as in the Islamic courts, earned by them through their power or money.

Naturally, sultanism was not only enjoyed by the kings, but also by the great lords, as in the case of Don Gutierre de Sotomayor, Grand Master of Alcántara (1400-1453). From his biography —of Muñoz de San Pedro— we know of his colossal wealth and how populated his harem was. A harem scattered through various towns, included or not in the estate of his jurisdiction. Forty of his lovers gave him descendents. In Villanueva de la Serena there were five girls «protected» by him; four in Zalamea; three in Alcántara; in Campanarios, Brozas, and Puebla de Alcocer, two in each place; in Valencia de Alcántara, Castuera, Belalcázar, Cabeza de Buey, Coria and Cáceres, one in each place. Neither this magnificent priest —Don Gutierre de Sotomayor had taken a vow of chastity— nor all the lords from Spain, who practiced, as he did, polygamous sultanism, have anything to do with Hispanic Donjuanism.

There has been, there is and there will be frauds of love in Mussulman societies I will not dare to deny it; Ibn Hazm discloses some in Caliphal Cordova, and even outlines the portrait of the accommodating husband which has, nevertheless, not even left an echo in Hispanic literary history. But I tend to suspect those frauds were and will be all the more numerous as there is a greater influence of the West moving each Islamic people and as the difficulties suffered within each social group to satisfy the innate passional impetus of human beings were greater. Therefore, on the contrary from Christian Spain —one must not confuse rape or passional adultery with Donjuanism—, Islamite Don Juans would have arisen in Moslem Spain with less frequency among princes and magnates, with well populated and always renewable harems, than among those who had to resort to seduction and to fraud to compensate for their lack of money or to obtain the one who, already in Ibn Hazm's times was the most delightful of all the fruits, the forbidden one.

If authentic seducers could not be too numerous among Moslem aris-

tocrats, neither could they be in Hispano-Islamic literature, because along with the problem of social Donjuanism, there is literary Donjuanism, and if we cannot see in Abu'Amir a historical precursor of the authentic Hispanic Don Juans, neither can we connect with the poetic Don Juan of Tirso, that illustrating item that Ibn Hazm alleges in proof of his reflections upon indifference and boredom in love; one more in the long series of accounts gathered in *The Dove's Ring* to annotate, with certain historical testimonies, the various manifestations of the amorous theoretics of the Caliphal Cordova about which Ibn Hazm was speaking. I do not know of any other page in Hispano-Mussulman literature which can serve to verify the reality of Islamic poetic Donjuanism from which could have been born the Spanish literary Donjuanism.

Abu'Amir and Don Juan separated by six centuries, without human comparison nor possible historical connection, can only be approximated by the biologist who may find in them both the same necessity to change their women, out of the same weakness or the same exuberance of their sexual power. They can only be approximated as men who equally suffered or enjoyed passional impulses or the same weaknesses.

If from the homonymous aristocrat and relative of the great chief and statesman Almanzor could not be born the great lover that Don Juan was, even less can the libertine sacrilege and challenge of the divinity which Spanish legend makes of him be related to the Hispano-Mussulman tradition. It has been written: «The very depth of the Seducer is incomprehensible without taking into account a structure of life in which the 'aspects' of human elements confront those of the divine.» I subscribe to such words, in spite of their aim, inasmuch as they report the reality of a contradiction and of a rebellion against Providence, impossible in Islam and only conceivable under the dome of a belief based on free will.

In *The Dove's Ring,* Ibn Hazm reports that a friend of his from Cordova, 'Ubaya Allah ibn Yahya, known by Ibn al-Charizi, who had succumbed to a heinous passion and to satisfy it had agreed to expose all the women of his harem to all the risks, was going to the Mosque Aljama to ask God to withdraw his protection from him, obviously in order to satisfy his sinful ways. Can one conceive any Hispano-Christian in love reverently coming to solicit from the Divinity being left alone in order to give free rein to his passion? No Spaniard tortured by his desire has ever cared to obtain the consent of the Almighty to satisfy it; he has attempted to enjoy the desired woman by any means, even confronting God's wrath, using and abusing the very freedom that God had given him and trusting in the future and final pardon of a God, as a father, generous with his earthly sons.

The Seducer could only be born among monogamous Westerners and with free women. The affirmation that Castilian Donjuanism rose around the seduction of slaves by people of high rank, does not stand —it could never be connected with the renovation of Abu 'Amir's harem, for what-

ever this could have had to do with seduction— since the cowgirls of the Archpriest or of the marquis of Santillana had nothing of the «little slaves» and they were absolutely free, and also free and even of high social rank were the other women seduced in the reality or in the literature of Castile. Something else which has been forgotten is the whole problem of honor in medieval Castilian lands.

Don Juan could only be born among believers that God had conceded freedom and responsibility for his conduct to men; and among Iberians, always in tragic gamble with death.

For all this the literary Don Juan could not rise from antiquity, nor within Islam, nor outside of Spain. Don Juan seems to me as one more case of the energetic overflow of the *homo hispanus,* who could go from life into literature through the creative realistic magic of Spaniards throughout history.

4. Stepping firmly through a non evasive world

Upon initiating my study of the Archpriest I said that I felt forced to undertake it because I could see that the roots of the literary modules of the great figures of Hispanic letters and in general of the great currents of Castilian literature reached back as far as him. Many years ago, Menéndez y Pelayo saw that relation.

That Juan Ruiz anticipated the temperamental contexture of the great Spanish writers and artists seems certain; what is not certain is that the latter followed the false roads along which the Archpriest has been made to travel.

«With half of life one believes —has been written— in the validity and the subtantiality of the world and with the other half we turn it into smoke. The *existential realism* is not accompanied by *intellectual realism,* because things will be in God and in my life, but they will not be pure objects for the mind. One sails on the sea of things on which everything is floating...»

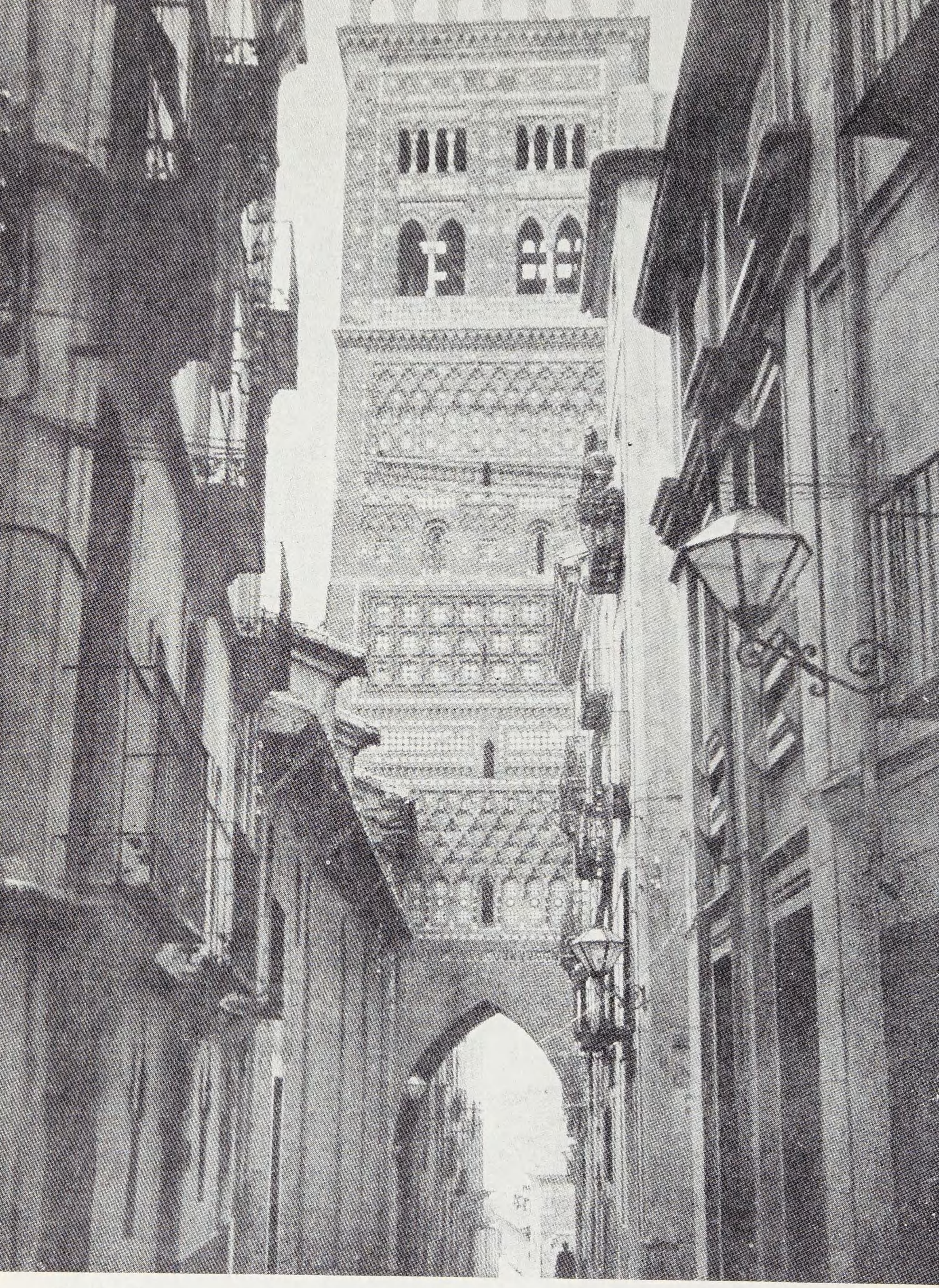
I need not demonstrate the hyperbolic deformation of that characterization of Spaniards. That fantastic turning into smoke of the validity and substantiailty of the world by us is a beautiful rhetorical sentence which as smoke gets lost in the blue, disconnected from all rhetorical reality. The affirmation of the Islamic writer of the 11th century, in the neighborhood of India!, Al Huchwiri has suggested to the author of the phrase such an erroneous characterization of the Spaniards.

I have already pointed out that Al-Huchwiri's thoughts lack value to judge the ideas of the Spanish Mussulmans, at the same time as I have discussed the unity of the spiritual and vital contexture of the peoples of Islam. Twice I have asked if one could define the Hispano-Christian basing oneself on the words of thinkers faithful to Christ, but removed,

83.—As all of Spain was at one time a frontier in the slow advance of Christianity from Covadonga to Granada, urban nuclei sprung up over land of certain strategic value. Over rocky crestings dominating the pass of a sierra, over strong hills bathed by a river, over hills erected domineering the plain and at times, in sharp peaks in the shape of a ship's bow. On a hill with that form, between Eresma and Clamores rises the *Alcázar of Segovia.*

84.—The same sculptor who remembered Sancho IV in the Toledan cathedral sculptured the image of his grandson, Alfonso XI (1312-1350). He wanted to represent him as strong and vital. And so he was raised in the shelter of the walls of rough Ávila. He reestablished the royal authority against the anarchist nobility. He seduced the people with interior peace and with the prolongation of the Reconquest and he took advantage of such seductions to limit their freedom. His victory over Salado put an end to more than two centuries of African intervention in Spain. But he left to Castile the ingrate heritage of the kingdom of his son, the Cruel King. *Alfonso XI, in the main chapel of Cathedral of Toledo.*

85.—*Sepulcher of the prince bishop Juan of Aragón,* in the *cathedral of Barcelona* (1339). Since the episcopal sees were fabulously rich, the kings placed their sons or relatives in charge of them. With Alfonso X the infante Don Philip was elected for Seville, married later Christine of Norway and his brother-in-law Don Sancho ruled the metropolis of Toledo, the example was also imitated in the kingdom of Aragón. Only there a prince exchanged a throne for a sackcloth: the first born of James II.



86.—Because on the lands of Aragón reconquered by Alfonso I and his successors large masses of the old Mussulman inhabitants stayed, in all very beautiful *Mudéjar* constructions rise. Among them are many towers as that of Saint Martín of Teruel. The Moslem action in the psychology of Aragón remains to be studied. Is the *jota* among the legacy received by Aragón from Moorish Spain? *Tower of San Martín of Teruel.*

by their spiritual position, dissident or novel, from the generalized ideas among peninsular people.

The psychic attitude of the Spaniard was that of the whole man that he became. God and man, such is his whole vital horizon. God father and lord above, there very far —«you loan it tome on such long terms»— after the decisive final judgment, with time for final repentance, since sudden deaths were considered as deserved celestial punishments —the chronicler of Don Álvaro de Luna supposes that some of the servants have died suddenly for having been disloyal. God, father and lord, and man moved by an unsatisfied impetus for life, who on life itself centered all his desires of being and from life projected them upon the world about. Someone has written: «What chafes existence —in wakefulness, dream or fantasy— leaps without more prerequisites to the plane of literary existence» But it leaps not mark ways of conduct in the search of the Divinity, according to Islamic style. For the Spaniard, the Divinity always waited patiently, according to paternal and patronal time, until the years had quieted the extravagances and the lewdness of the *homo hispanus*, who meanwhile poured into life, confronting or challenging the Almighty, all that has been called the integrality of his person. It leaps through the vital overflows of the very humanity of the Spaniard who attracts to himself all that approaches his existence. The Spaniard sails upon the sea of things and of men but does not let himself be submerged in it, nor floats in a drift; he vitally dominates and exploits it by himself and for himself; in contrast with the confrontation of that same ocean by the Oriental Mohammedan who dilutes and sinks his personality in its waters.

I do not believe —and I have justified my incredulity— in the changing feelings of «Buen amor», nor in the slidings, landslides, reversibilities, alternances of Juan Ruiz, nor in his travelling among an oscillating, evasive and apparential world —none of these affirmations has been proven—, I resist the belief that Cervantes, and with him, the Spanish writers, artists and thinkers have used those supposed modules of creation of the Archpriest of Hita.

It has been pretended that Cervantes also poured the experience of his own existence within an oscillating world. This affirmation has been based upon the text of the Quijote: «Among us there is always a horde of enchanters who change and transform all our things... and so, what to you appears to be the washbasin of a barber seems to be the helmet of Mambrino, and it will seem something else to someone else.» Renouncing to relate such an oscillation in the thought of the Renaissance, as before, it is related today to the internal continuity of Hispanic existence and to the years that Cervantes lived in the lands of the Moors.

It is not possible to make the origins of the artistic creation of Cervantes go back to his captivity in Algiers, during which time his contacts with Islamic spirituality were nil. I also refuse to believe that the references of

Don Quijote to the enchanters, who changed the appearances of things before his sick mind, can prove Cervantes' belief in the deceitful, insecure, oscillating and evasive aspects of the world around him and in the creatures of his genius. Can one really believe in that belief of Cervantes, because he made Don Quijote take inns for castles, certain girls for honest damsels, the crafty innkeeper for the governor of a castle by whom one could be knighted, the whistle of the pigs' castrator for trumpets of royal music, the codfish for trout, the merchants for knights, his neighbor Peter Alonso for the Marquis of Mantua, Benedictine friars for possessed unusual people, windmills for giants, herds for armies, Maritornes for a Castilian duenna, the wineskins for scoundrels and cowardly enchanters, and always so, in a continuous literary game, in which he uses the Quixotic madness as a permanent support for his poetic creation?

How are we to reconcile the supposed travelling of the Spaniard in an evasive and apparential scenery, among symbols and shadows, converting into smoke the validity and substantiality of the world, with the undeniable and never contradicted integral realism of the Hispanic people? How to reconcile it with the obsession of common sense, with the stanch attachment to the inmutable and very firm today, with the continuous rejection by Sancho of all fantastic and imaginative interpretation of the surrounding and transparent reality, especially by Castilians? There is a great difference between that supposed sailing of mortals in the middle of a stirred and oscillating ocean on which, before the indifferent and passive eyes of men, things float, changing and apparential, without fixed and precise reality and the difficulty that Spaniards may have to strip themselves of their surroundings, part with their vitality, and use an ascetic and rational ego. More than differences, we could speak of contradiction in confronting the two postures. One implies a passive attitude, the other, an energetic overflow.

Those two psychic postures of man before the world, passive and active, in the end rhyme with the submission to the will of Allah of the Mussulman and with the «I do what I please» of the authentic Spaniard. They are two opposite poles of the possible attitude of man before reality. The second one goes with the travelling of the Spaniard, cutting his way through the world about him. The first one has to be explained by a different concept, more intense and fervent of the submission of man to the decisive action of the Divinity.

I do not know if the Mussulman of the Orient passed through an oscillating, evasive, evanescent and appariential world in which God was the ultimate and unique reality. I write a doubtful yes, because I do not dare to dogmatize about the vital contexture of Oriental Islam, as I have declared many times. But I do consider that such was not the case of the Spanish Islamites. I have justified my belief in that singularity —was it really a singularity?— of Al-Ándalus, because the theological and philosophical thought of the Mussulmans of the Orient did not always

exactly coincide with the Hispano-Islamite; because Ibn Hazm's ideas —of a young Ibn Hazm and still anchored in the port of the general doctrines of Spanish Islam— did not coincide with those attributed to Oriental Islam, and because *The Dove's Ring* the book which best permits to know Andalusian Moslems, contradicts categorically the supposed travelling between veiled shadows and that they felt life as a flowing and a sliding in an apparential world.

But even if I should err in judging the psychic contexture of the Mussulmans of Al-Ándalus —it is not going to be easy to demonstrate my hypothetical error, and I await, dagger at rest, whoever decides to do so—, and if the Hispano-Islamite had travelled through an oscillating, evasive and evanescent world, it seems certain to me that the Spaniard travelled firmly and surely in a world of fixed, not apparential realities, which did not vacillate before him as animated cartoons nor as a dazzling kaleidoscope.

They thought with Manrique that they had to use great judgment to travel their human days without erring, but while their brief and harsh exile on earth lasted, they were walking without rest in the search of the celestial homeland of man on his way through the fugacious paths of their earthly lives, progressing in the southern light of their faith, through the royal way of their desire, their eyes caught by the attractive delights of the vital scenery which they were going through and their ambition turned to all that could help them to affirm their mastery over themselves and over others.

«I know who I am», said Don Quijote to his neighbor Pedro Alonso, when severely drubbed he was returning him to his village on his mare. All Spaniards knew who they were and what they wanted. The same words pronounced by Alonso Quijano could have come from the lips of the Great Captain, or of Cisneros, of Hernán Cortés or of Francisco Pizarro, the Duke of Alba, Antonio Pérez, the Count of Gondomar, the Count-Duke of Olivares, Cervantes or Lope, Zurbarán or Velázquez, Alonso Cano or Gregorio Hernández, and even of mystics such as Teresa de Ávila or Juan de Fontiveros.

Yes, all stepped firmly through the luminous paths of the world. God was with them; the road was clear, as He had said. They did not waver before the problems of man or life. Christianity was giving them a solution to all the metaphysical questions which they could formulate. They were interested in the debates that the Church had about questions that it deemed debatable, but they accepted later, without doubts nor anxieties, the doctrines that the Church itself offered about them. Did Don Quijote, a subtle reasoner before the various and complex questions that could cross the path of life, ever waver, wonder, ever confronted, in a voice disturbed by doubt, the essential theme of man's destiny? Did his simple, clear, pure and solid faith ever prevent him from accomplishing his earthly purposes? Was he detained in the integral realization of his vital essential business?

They believed in God and the devil with strong faith and in the continuous, permanent, inevitable intervention of both, in the prosaic life of every day. They believed that they could be surprised and disturbed, in their human pilgrimage, by frequent miracles or prodigies, work of the Almighty or of Satan himself, whom God allowed to interfere in men's daily existence. But neither that hallucinating intervention of the celestial or infernal powers made them live in fear or hesitation; they were counting on it, considering it as a parcel more of the vivid reality in which they were submerged, and followed on their ways, knowing who they were and what they wanted. Because they knew and wanted it, if they did not confront God's will, they at least tried to win it with pleas, praises, promises, services, sacrifices, and even became irritated when they did not get their wishes. For that reason blasphemy survived and proliferated in Spain, while elsewhere it slowly declined at the same slow rhythm that faith was also declining, because blasphemy implied the irritation of those who in their firm passage through life, met with the inexorable decisions of the Almighty and rose helpless against them. Blasphemy was closing the double circle of belief in God above and of the love of life below.

Only ascetics and mystics complained about the pure deceit of life about and in the expectation of the final flight to the celestial abode, they were breathing each moment the hope that the Most High would draw the tip of the veil of his glory and allow them to see sometime —here below and during their earthly life— an anticipation of their future divine joys. But even the mystics and ascetics who obtained those favors or delightful caresses of the Almighty were treading firmly on the earth, very much prisoners of their human circumstances, very active and dynamic, struggling againt the mundane life and at times squandering with or eluding with grace the attacks of the other Spaniards neither mystics nor ascetics. In writing these words I am thinking about my compatriot Teresa de Jesús.

I do not know who invented nor when was forged the refrain: «God helps those who help themselves». It seems to define the Spanish way in this world. There, up high, behind the blue, was God, Father and Lord. Daily towards Him, he raised his pleading eyes, his heart full of ambition, in continuous prayer more proud than submissive More than «Your will be done» his lips whispered a blasphemous «fiat voluntas mea». «Lord, wish what I want» they were saying in the end. And so they thought that it should be; that God was to do their will, because they were, indeed, God's sword on earth: pursuing infidels, pagans, heretics and even sinners. They were working, fighting, suffering and dying so that all might believe through their work and merit and, therefore, they could present a greater summary of services rendered to the Most High and claim from him an increase of favors.

The excess of personality, the uncontrollable overflow of all his being upon the world about was translated: in the multiplicity of appearances

of the Spaniards, and even of every Spaniard in different moments of his existential process, in confronting personal realities about him —human or not— which appeared before him, without being able to break or curb the volitive projections of his vital impetus before them. In the presence of the Archpriest in «Buen Amor» and in the self-reflection of Spanish thinkers, artists and writers in their works; in the early taking off, by Hispanic literary characters, from the plane of poetic fictions to acquire an authentic existence.

It has been said that «Spanish literature, as no other in Europe, practiced the art of converting certain literary characters into living figures: Trotaconventos, Celestina, Lazarillo, Don Quijote, Dulcinea, Don Juan». That reincarnation would not have been possible. and the idea is not new, if the leap from painting to life had not been easy and feasible, because of the seizing in literary works of real human beings, ready to be transformed into beings of poetic fiction, capable of elbowing every neighbor's son on the highroads and squares of Castile; or because of the poetic creation of archetypes, so rooted in the very live depth of Spanish society that they could easily become real men, born of the same mothers who had given birth to the literary hero.

That power of Spanish letters to convert many literary characters —many, since the reported enumeration is not exhaustive— into living persons, contradicts the relation of the protagonists of the picaresque novels with the poetic creation of «Buen Amor», unjustly considered oscillating and wavering, that being in turn derived, also unjustly from the Hispano-Mussulman poetic creation.

«In the picaresque novel —it has been said— there is the attempt to present life as a sliding over other lives that exist as aspects of an evasive personality.» «The rogues incapable of feeling fulfilled through the extention of a heroic dimension, because they lacked it, took refuge in the lives of others, or in the things that they encountered in their trot through the vast world.» «In those 'watch towers of human life' raised by the picaresque novel, the true protagonist is not the rogue but the world about him which affirms obstinately its lack of reality, its mere appearance before the fool who pretends to find a more solid basis in it.»

With such words the zealous and open reader ends up by being irritated. The key to the picaresque novel cannot be centered on a supposed sliding of the life of the rogue upon other lives and in the obstinate affirmation by the world of its supposed lack of reality. Only a figure cut with neatness in the vital atmosphere of the people, a figure that emerged with the strength of Spanish reality, protagonizing a real life in literature, could endure the necessary metamorphosis to begin to walk through the cities and villages of Spain.

That brightness in standing out of the world about, that light of real life, that vital emerging of many of the characters created by Castilian

literature, rise in irreducible fight against the vain attempt of relating them with the Islamic forms of literary creation Let us recall that «In Arabic literature... neither persons nor things possess a free existence. To feel the presence of a character supposes feeling him as present and not as a flowing through useizable time... There is no room in Islam for existence with an outstanding presence». Who will deny the contradictions which separate the possibilities of artistic creation of the Mussulman mind, and the authentic life of Spanish literary characters —without excluding those of the picaresque novel—, that fullness of life which finally converts them into human beings?

Rosales has just written: «Almost all the main characters of Cervantes live maddened for freedom. Almost all are nomads, that is to say, without roots. In the continuous pilgrimage of the Cervantes figures... it is clear to understand that they all want to get out of their homes, their social class and even their own lives, all want to live without any ties». «They loosen themselves from their own circumstances and realize their freedom through the continuous distention between real life and their personal existence. They want to create the world in their image and likeness against the surrounding reality, completely free themselves of their vital milieu, exile themselves voluntarily from their habitual existence and make themselves free from the realistic prison of the world in which they were born».

Could not the same be said of the central characters of the picaresque novels? Do they not make themselves also by breaking the surrounding social pressures, disconnecting themselves from their own environment, always fighting against the bonds of reality and vigorously confronting them in order to make themselves in the search of their integral liberty which is equivalent to the conscious decision of living their lives as they please? More than travelling through an evasive, evanescent, apparential world, the literary life of many fictional characters of Spanish letters, as the life of many real characters of the authentic historical retable of Spain, would have been the struggle between their willful personality, desirous to live as they willed, to fulfill themselves freely, and the immovable reality which obstinately opposed the realization of their imperious freedom. They would not have taken the trouble to shoot into the air, but they received blows from the world, from a firm, tenacious, whole, solid world confronted by personal vigor —with mystical impetus, heroic dimension or roguish bent— of Spaniards, but which was difficult to overcome, as difficult in the theater of history as on the literary stage.

Whent they failed in their effort to triumph over the reality of the world and to make their lives as they pleased, they fell into disillusionment, the bitterness of disappointment, sarcastic and gloomy irony which distorted the profiles of the society around, and they came to the distorting realistic caricature of the images seized by their eyes, or they obstinately followed their ways through the paths of fascinated dream or pure ideal, ready to crash against the impossible, against a world not less solid than they and

which finally overcame, because they had consciously intented to live as if this world did not exist.

How to reconcile the historical reality of the whole man, the man master of himself, with the staggering step through an evanescent and evasive world? Someone has observed the roaming will of the Archpriest, the continuous passing of his life, «the sliding life of the Archpriest from matins to complines, with the coming and going of love, Doña Endrina crossing the square, with the procuresses running from convent to convent where also travels and is procured the love of God and the love of the Archpriests».

That continuous stirring, passing, crossing, trotting, advancing, progressing... without pause nor rest, always restless and dissatisfied, in continuous, happy or dramatic desire for a beyond which once possessed is only the springboard for new frantic advances and changes was the life of the Spaniard from the 12th to the 17th century, the life of the Cid, the Archpriest, Lázaro, Don Juan, the characters of Lope and Tirso, the ingenious hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha, Cortés and Pizarro, Teresa de Cepeda and Don Francisco de Quevedo.

This passing, changing, running, advancing, desiring can be defined with one word... one word indeed defines it: action. Yes, the Spaniard or the disorbed and frantic action. In the pages of the picaresque, novel or drama, in the exemplary lives of the heroes, the founders or the politicians, in that of the whole people, continually resounds an uninterrupted sound of steps or trotting of horses.

Because the world seemed unreal to them and they got tired of stabbing in the air? Because they were going through that apparential, oscillating, wavering, spectral, evasive world seeking in vain an inaccessible reality which was only in God? No, again and always, no. Because the entire man that the Spaniard became through his singular history could only live in action. Not even when burning with love for the Most High, did he seek God in himself. Not even when he could not spill his impetus into adventure and lost the necessary vital energy to undertake it. Because the necessity of action converted the mystics and ascetics into founders and travellers and changed the impotence of others for authentic action into projects and talks of impossible deeds.

The clash against a solid and whole world but filled with miseries, pains, injustices and foolishness, led the Spaniards to the disillusion of which Semprún has spoken a little while ago. That is to say, it led to the bitter disdain for the sordid realities of terrestrial living, to the fair and gloomy disrespect for the impure and base realities which he was meeting in his continuous travelling along this harsh and long path, from which in the light of morality he discovered the decay and cruelties of life; it induced him to risk rigorous ethical judgments on them. They did not think they were living between deceiving appearances but in an unjust and base society.

The disillusion and disdain of the Spaniard for the miseries, pains, sordidness of life and his life in action at times disorbed and frantic but in the light of a just and luminous ultraterrestrial future after death, made him see time go faster and with more concern than the other peoples of the West; all more anchored and involved in the enjoyment of the present, because the present was not so difficult for them and because they lived less *in tempo* of tragedy. The world remained static and firm; it did not vanish before the Spaniards, they were the ones who escaped, disillusioned by terrestrial life, in search of the other and at times they felt the passing of time with the terrible acuity of a Quevedo.

They constituted the national community which most felt the caducity and consequently the historicity of life. They have lived it continually in a continuous leap from a yesterday whose sordidness they had forgotten, to a tomorrow which they hoped to be without wretchedness, through a today whose miserable realities were realistically grasped by them, because the world was not apparential and evasive, because the world was not a dream, life was a dream; it was the fugacious bridge between a historical past, always missed and a luminous future, always expected. But on top of that bridge Spaniards have always travelled with a sure step, in their authentic existence as in the fictions of their minds.

5. Literary dualism

I do not believe that the letters and the art of the historical communities offer lasting characters through the centuries because of a single racial inclination, as I do not believe in the survival of any vital and cultural feature of the people, through history, in function of their peculiar ethnic tradition. I have said, and I must repeat more than once in these pages, that each day there takes place a battle between the yesterday and the tomorrow of the temperamental contexture of nations, battle in which is gambled the affirmation or the change of life style of each one of the popular units in the world. I have also sustained and will continue to sustain that our singular history frequently gave victory to the primitive and the traditional and curtailed the biological renewal. For that reason Dámaso Alonso and Menénez Pelayo have been able to single out the common characters of very different stages of our history in Spanish letters.

It is not easy to single out the essential characteristics of Spanish letters. In 1927 Dámaso Alonso rightfully rose against the appraising polarization of Hispanic literature around the concepts of popularism, realism and regionalism. He brought to the surface the great idealistic and universalistic vein which always accompanies the realistic and regionalistic vein, through the centuries in the literary past of Spain. No one can refute the marvelous dualism in which realism and idealism confront, approximate, intercross, fecundate each other marvelously in our letters, how they

confront, draw near and fecundate each other in the life style and the temperamental contexture of the Hispanic people. Not less rightly has Dámaso Alonso singled out the continuous and proximate flow, through the forest of Castilian literature, of two other different veins, as contradictory as they are complementary: the popular and the select, what is of the majority and of the aristocracy. No one will refute the extent reached by the second one after reading it. If Spain had the people most people of Europe, as Ortega has said with a sure reading of what is Hispanic, minorities also influenced Spanish life, so much so that through the meager development of the bourgeoisie, a patriciate of the nobility ruled the Castilian and Portuguese cities until way into the Modern Ages.

But, I do not know if I can dare to discuss his contraposition of what is popular, related to the regional and defined as the art destined *to give pleasure to all,* as against the select, related to the universal and characterized as «a shot arrow, beautiful from the start of its magnificent curve, lost in the air in search —what difference does it make— of an hypothetical target». «Popularism and selection. Localism and Universality, he writes. Lope and Góngora: two Hispanic symbols.»

Timidly I dare to ask Dámaso Alonso if he really believes that the select is related to the universal, if the popular does not acquire that esthetic category with frequency, and if it will not be unfair to approximate what is realistic to what is prostituted, because with the same timidity I decide to judge that we cannot exclude Cervantes, Lope and Machado for example from the line of the Hispanic popular and in the three are, nevertheless, united realism and idealism and the universalistic projection of their literary creations. The same admired critic has noted in *El cantar de Mío Cid,* along the Spanish realist tradition —which grasps and depicts human souls— a learned, masterly, perfect technique and he has stressed the interweaving of the popular and the universal, the real and the ideal in *Lazarillo de Tormes.* Were not the latter and the Quijote written to give pleasure to all —that is for the enjoyment, not of an aristocratic minority of learned and initiated but to give pleasure to most— «from the spectator in the pit on up» —and did not their authors shoot an aerial and swift arrow from the start of their magnificent curves?

Again, I dare to doubt, although not without fear, that there can be a confrontation of polarizing lines in Spanish letters: *popularism-realism-regionalism* and *selection, idealism, universalism.* That series of aspects of the human have not been thus united nor contrasted either in the cultural or vital. In Hispanic culture and life, there have been many crossings, leaps, unions, concubinages and legitimate unions between the integrating elements of the two trilogies.

Menéndez Pidal has penetrated in depth and distinguished with great precision in his essay of characterization of peninsular literature. We can usually follow him. He finds that spontaneity, and improvisation and being

at the service of life have characterized Spanish letters. «That confidence in the capacity of what is spontaneous brings negligence in the study...; if full spontaneity with its natural freshness manages to produce great successes in art, it usually leads to a negligent facility.»

«The tendency to the most spontaneous expression, less restrained by the technicalities of schools, is especially evident in verses... The ametric and anisosyllabic verse... primitive verse of an art unconcerned by the cares of measure, is also united to the primitive rhyme, assonance whose great vogue in Spain is equally characteristic of scarce attention given to the niceties of form.»

«Art is conceived as a vital impulse, not as a profession of special study. The pure man of letters is rare, while the literary man of action abounds...» «Not "art for art's sake" but art for life... In Spain the epopee keeps its primitive political and historical sense... The ballads assume that same practical historical value... The chronicles, political and national memory of the past, occupy posts of primary importance... The narrations which idealize the type of man of effort and of adventure are multiplied with great originality and great expansive vigor: chivalry novels... picaresque novel, biographical accounts of soldiers, discoverers and travelers. Theater is, in its very formation, the result of a dangerous literary adventure... swift succession of contingencies through the most unexplored regions of fiction, and at the same time... it dedicates its inspiration to national life making it a teacher, not only of customs, but of all civic knowledge, history, regional traditions, politics, religion, philosophy, scholasticism.»

I do not believe that these statements can be doubted. Menéndez Pidal annotates them with valuable and specific testimonies. Those characteristics of Spanish letters constitute —in my opinion— the artistic projection of the temperamental contexture of a people in whom the Christianity-Islamism antibiosis has confirmed their old primitive impetuous and passionate structure. Of a people who have been formed in the necessary active life of the ancient and long struggle for the liberation of the national land, making in it the type of integral man: overflowing vitality, who enjoys action, without roaming for the slow and continuous effort of reflection and studies, with an explosive ego, obsessed with himself, too subjective and personal and with rough edges.

That affirmation of the primitive impetus, that necessary active life and those solid traits of the whole man that the Spaniard became, marvelously explain that first and essential characterization of Spanish letters, from their origins until their inundation by European Western currents in the 18th century. That whole man of active life, overflowing vitality, with an explosive ego, could not feel art for art's sake; he had to integrate it with life, individual and collective life. He could not feel devotion to the niceties of form; he had to pour his vital impetus into improvised spontaneity and to select the meters and rhymes most in keeping with the flowing

of his dynamism without rest He could not feel moved by the projections of the affected, exquisite and spiritual; he must have enjoyed what reflected his own vital contexture: adventure and action.

Menéndez Pidal attributes to sobriety in the forms of life, to the simplicity which he supposes to be an essential characteristic of Spaniards, what has been called «popularism» of Spanish letters, which he accurately defines as an «art of the majorities» to remove from the concept of «popular» the aftertaste of «vulgarism» which it could have. I do not know. The master's ideas have always deserved my greatest respect, but it seems to me that that sobriety and simplicity are not always interchangeable, nor so peculiar to the Spaniards as he supposes. Through the multimillenary history of Spain, a persistent taste for the high flown and the Baroque appears many times at the surface of the individual or collective life and is projected into the literary and artistic creations. The same Menéndez Pidal recognize the extremism of the Hispanic temperament and gathers its reflection in Spanish letters, in which he discovers a strange occasional inclination to hideous excess and to disfigured ugliness. That euphuism and excessive ostentation and the fall into the hideous and disfigured do not go well with the sobriety and simplicity on which the great master has perhaps placed too great a stress in his characterization of what is Spanish. It would be necessary to explain the why of the Hispanic sobriety and simplicity; the eternal and dramatic whys of history assault and torment the historians on their way. I ask the master, myself and everyone, if on the contrary what there may be of simplicity and sobriety in Spanish letters and art are not the result of the dehierarchized popularism of Spanish society. Simplicity and popularism appear to us in history as those little fishes which are served biting their tails —I apologize for the use of that metaphor of Ortega— and it is going to be necessary to undo that vicious circle in order to seek the initial historical why of the popular and of the sober in Spanish life.

Menéndez Pidal has pointed out the sharpness, exuberance, artificiality, ostentation, excess, extreme subtlety, hyperbolic affectation, distortion and rhetorics which characterize Spanish letters in some periods of its history. He has specified that those Baroque notes appear: in the Hispano-Latin writers of the post-Augustus epoch; at the end of the Middle Ages, in peninsular Romances dominated by the «vezzose dolcesse», whose complication, as Menéndez Pidal has noted, «Bembo could not express in the Tuscan language»; and during the Baroque period, already triumphed the «fantastiques eslevations espagnoles» about which Montaigne had spoken.

The fact is that those three rhetorical, witty to excess, purist, Baroque projections, those forms of literary creation, distinct but related and frequently synchronic have coincided in the Peninsula with the stages of minority art, created by and for select and initiated groups and precisely reflected in the productions of their most authentic representatives. The art of Seneca and Lucan was for minorities, that of the poets compiled

in the *cancioneros*, of Góngora, Quevedo, Gracián —Menéndez Pidal noted it and there is no arguing— all of them stood out by witticism, their expressive subtlety, hyperbolic affectation, their exuberance, their sharpness; in a word, their Baroqueness. Does not that coincidence surprise?

The great master is right in rooting that witticism and that excess in what is Hispanic and in stating that they do not contradict the traditional spontaneity of peninsular people. «Emotion... seeks expressive exuberance —he says—. Spanish talent tends to not curb that natural exaltation letting itself be led by nature which is extremist. There is, therefore, in the Baroque something which responds to an unsubdued spontaneity of the expressive effort, something which can be compared to the negligences... in improvisation.» I subscribe to Menéndez Pidal's words as I reproduce them and noting that excessive witticism does not contradict spontaneity, but simplicity. Yes, again the entire Spanish man, and again pouring his overflowing vitality, his explosive ego, his temperamental impetus into his literary creations.

Too frequently when writers part from the people, they fall into literary preciosity, but in the three noted cases many Spaniards fell into the baroque, and I am using this word not in its restricted meaning but in its accomodating common sense. That fall in Spain was not casual. Spaniards to the marrow of their bones, although, disdainful, they part from the simple and popular channels to create an art of minority destined to the esthetic enjoyment of the learned, the initiated, and they could not avoid strongly shooting the last springs of Hispanic disproportion, and impelled by them, they launched through the paths of expressive wit, baroque ostentation or affected twisting. Few escaped from those final explosive reactions of the *homo hispanus* and avoided such falls, because they had not completely broken away from the popular and they continued faithfully in the Castilian traditional simplicity; because the solid serenity of their minds or some mysterious or known racial aftertaste saved them from disproportion, or because deficient in Hispanic impetus by their singular psychophysical formula, they slid towards preciosity. Such a case is frequent in those last moments of integral desvitalization of what is Spanish or of subconscious or intended castration of their vital power.

The fact that what is selected and of the minorities is as Hispanic and valuable as what is popular and of the majorities, according Menéndez Pidal and Dámaso Alonso, is unquestionable and I doubt that it will ever become so. But the outstanding coincidence between most of the art for minorities and the Hispanic Baroque in opposition to the other usual coincidence between what is sober and for majorities —double and opposed coincidence and, therefore, of great probatory value—, does not this cause poblems beyond the specific limits of cultural history to be straightened and united to the genetic processes of the Hispanic temperamental contexture? The considerable difference of volume between the two literary

currents of art for majorities and of art for minorities, does not that bring a new indication in favor of that relation just noted?

Because if Menéndez Pidal and Dámaso Alonso are accurate in noting the Hispanic and the valuable aspects of art for the minorities in the Peninsula, the quantitative difference between the two tendencies is no less certain, that is to say, the triumph of what we might call popular, and the unbridled inclination of the select minorities for the art for the people, including in lyric poetry, the most individualistic of the literary genres. The same great Menéndez Pidal states it. He includes in the art for the majorities: *El cantar de Mío Cid,* with the other heroic legends, the Archpriest of Hita, the *Romancero, Celestina,* at least in its greater part the *Amadís* and the books of chivalry, Guevara, Lazarillo and the picaresque novel, Saint Teresa, Lope and the theater in general, Espronceda, Zorrilla, Unamuno, Valle-Inclán, García Lorca. The list is not complete. Should we not add the Archpriest of Talavera, some ballad writers of the Henry's times and Cristóbal de Castillejo among those far away, and Larra and Machado among the moderns? But incomplete or not, it is imposing, and the same Menéndez Pidal stresses how even the writers with the most personal art and most given to creating for the learned, are won over by the charm of what is popular and by the desire to obtain the attention and the applause of the masses and they get to writing according to the modules of art for the majorities or thinking about the majorities. The Marquis of Santillana, Quevedo, Góngora, the Duke of Rivas, included by Menéndez Pidal among the creators of an art for the minorities also use successfully popular art. Even Garcilaso and Rubén Darío —to only cite dead poets— feel also the attraction of the majorities, according to the great master. And I dare to ask if among the great contemporary philosophers and thinkers there are some like our Ortega y Gasset who, getting so far as he did into the depth of his doctrine, have sought and known how to bring it to the people, as he did, even with sacrifice —in the end as that of Isaac, frustrated— of his prominent systematic philosophical creation and the foolishness of those who would wish to see it locked within a cabalistic jargon to concede to it the bigotry of their deformed adoration.

Restless and anguishing why of the victory among Spaniards of that art for the majorities which does not exclude the idealism nor the universalism of their literary creations. That victory of art for most has not been related with the symbiosis of the Christian, Islamic and Hebrew as has been, wrongly, attributed to the formation of what is Hispanic. The impossibility of such a relation strengthens the need to investigate that dramatic why of the triumph of the popular in letters as well as in the temperamental contexture of Spaniards.

Art for most! It is not isolated as a lost island on the wide sea of what is Spanish. Art for most, internal constitution for the majorities, common sensibility, popular ways in the aristocratic minorities, the people

most people of Europe, as Ortega has said, all are historical phenomena which are related and prove the continuous union of culture and life. No, that victory of art for most does not constitute an isolated fact in the historical mechanism of Spain. It is rooted in the most profound of the dry Hispanic land, perhaps we should say, Castilian, because in contrary proportion, what is literarily of the majorities attenuated its power and volume in the Spanish regions where the internal constitution, sensibility and manners have been less democratic during the Middle Ages. In feudal Catalonia; in Aragón, though constitutional, oligarchic; in Galicia articulated according to estates, and at times in an Andalusia filled with lords. If the periods of triumph of literature for the minorities have coincided with the sliding of taste towards what is rhetorical and Baroque, they have also synchronized with the decadence of the political activity of the people and with the height and victory of the aristocracy in the state balance of the kingdom, in the Castile of the Trastamaras and in the Spain of the Austrians, for example.

The triumph of the art for majorities in Spanish letters, along with its popularism and spontaneity are related with the social articulation of Castile whose roots are deep into the distance of the most remote history of the Northern people of Cantabria and later affirmed by the singular aspect of our Middle Ages, that is by the democratic projections of the Reconquest and Repopulation of which I will speak later. When a process of hierarchic vertebration of Castilian society took place, there occurred the synchronic development of the aristocratization of literary life. Historians of literature will be able to verify that synchronism and that coincidence in confronting from their field of study, my subsequent exposition on political, social and economic life in Spain.

Chapter X

HONOR, PRIDE AND DIGNITY

1. Remote roots of Hispanic pride and honor

The fact that Spaniards of yesterday felt moved by pride, driven by dignity and spurred by honor, is an unquestioned and an inquestionable truth. We do not know well the genetic process of these qualities of the *homo hispanus*. Formed by the battle with his rough native land, with his harsh historical destiny and with his rough brothers in the homeland and history —a magnificent and cruel battle— the Spaniards perhaps initiated very soon the composition of that triple unfinished symphony of honor, of dignity and of pride, with which he has become intoxicated and which continues to sound in his ears as a hoarse distant echo.

Those three Hispanic feelings and qualities already appear in our history when we begin to have written information about it and one of them even before that. It gave its name to one of the primitive people of Hispania. Tovar states that the Celtic invaders called the inhabitants of the Western Pyrenees, through whose valleys they entered the Peninsula, the proud ones, that is to say the *'varscunes'*.

The Spaniard whom the classical historians and geographers depict later: vehement, faithful to his given word, resistant, endurer of fatigue, with an exalted soul, ready for death, must have already felt pulled by pride, dignity and honor. Strabo already says that the Spaniards were proud, and of the other two qualities —naturally not the Calderonian honor, but honor in its double meaning of a social phenomenon and an intimate feeling —they gave frequent and at times amazing proofs.

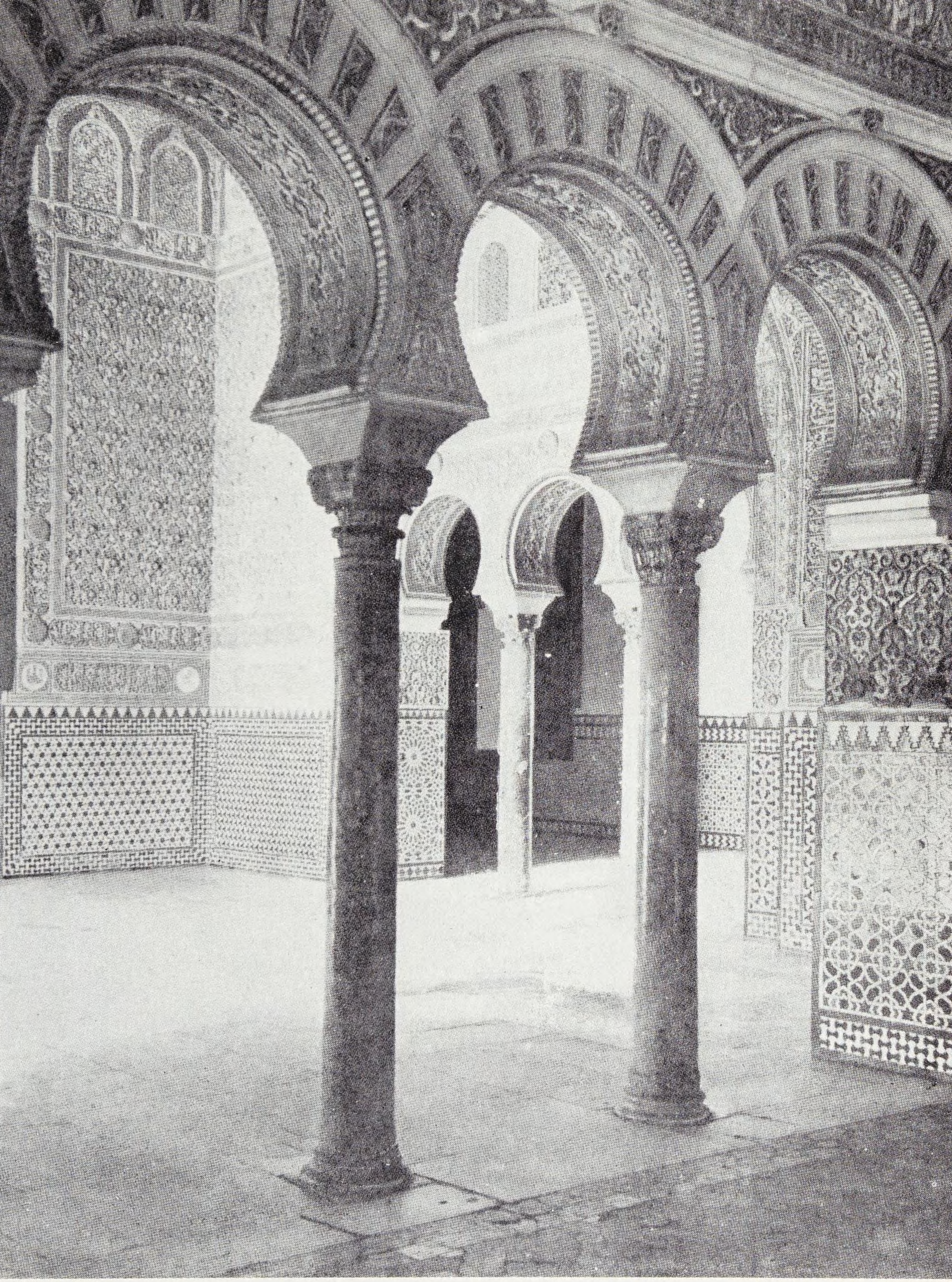
It was easy to obtain their friendship by honoring their women —thus, Scipio obtained the friendship of many Iberians— and by treating them with noble courtesy, such was the secret of the success of Gracchus in Celtiberia. Because they kept faithful loyalty even to the point of sacrificing their lives, the Roman chiefs who had the occasion to know them,

from Sertorious to Caesar, recruited their personal guards among them. Entire cities preferred to succumb rather than to betray sworn loyalty to a man, even after his death; so did Calahorra of Sertorius. They silently endured torture not to disclose a friend's secret; Pompey and Tacitus coincide in affirming it. Prisoners and crucified, the Cantabrians intoned war hymns in order to die with haughty dignity. Exiled, upon knowing that a price had been placed on their heads, they sometimes amazed the magistrates by haughtily appearing before them: such was the case of Caracota. They killed and died with fury to avenge offenses —a Spaniard murdered Asdrúbal to avenge the death of his chief.

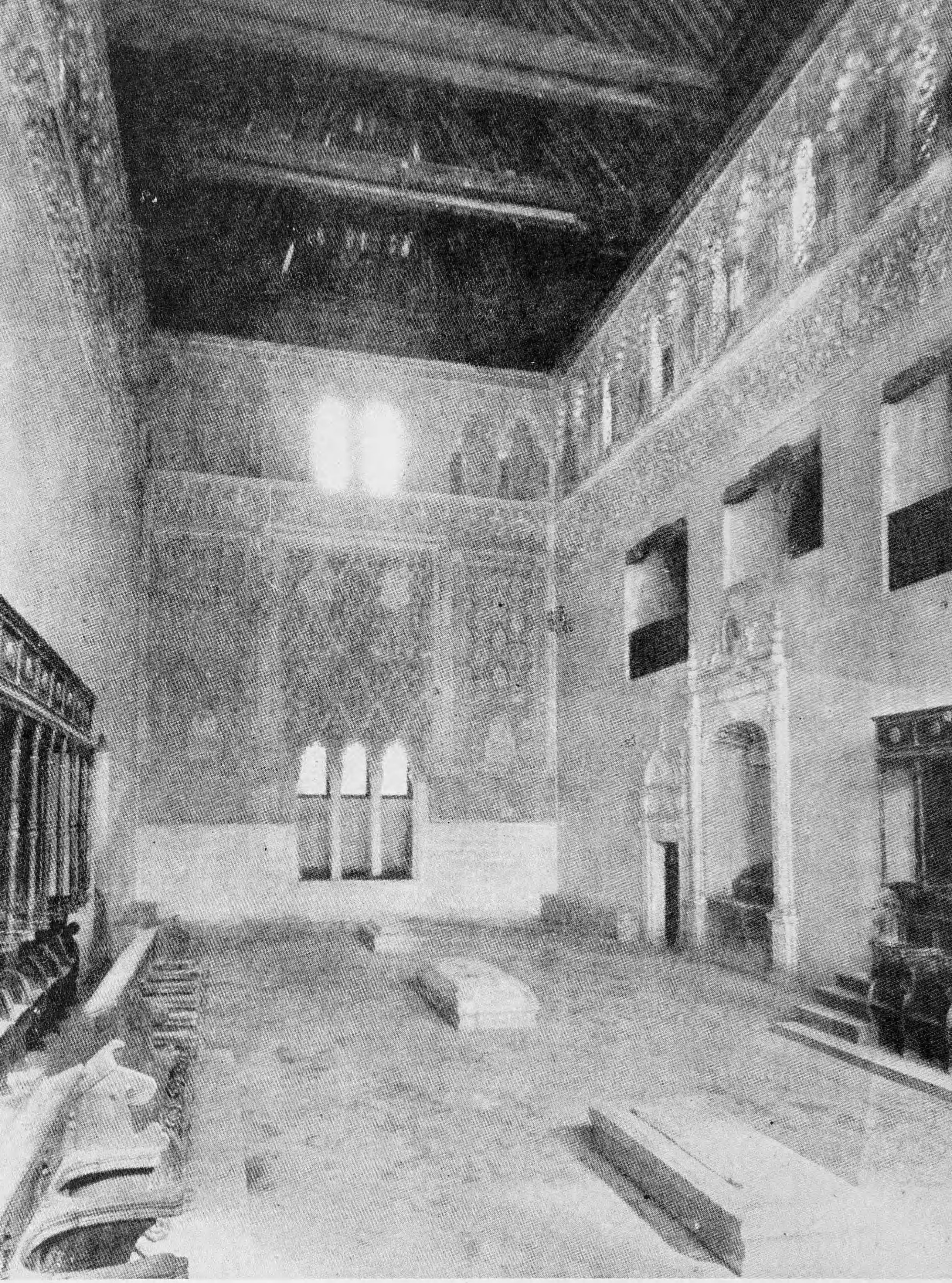
Pride, the intimate superlative appraisal of one's own worth, always implies an erroneous consideration of the value of others. That error dominates the communities that live freely on their national land, when their historical successes distort their vision of the world about and incapacitate them to appreciate the qualities that the neighboring people possess, or when their isolation is such that they have no opportunity to contrast their own virtues and talents with other peoples' virtues and talents. From those two roots must have come the arrogance of the primitive Spaniards. They came from the vanguards of diverse human groups who, through their boldness and their impetuosity had been the first to reach the extreme West and in that extreme West they had remained isolated from their historical wombs. Even the last ones to enter Spain, the Celts, enjoyed and suffered from that separation; without communication with their brothers beyond the Pyrenees, they developed the singular posthallstatic culture, transforming, alone, the one they had when they came to the Peninsula.

From that pride must have been born that vivid and bold sense of honor which was translated into loyalty or poured itself into vengeance. Their devotion to honor had to cause the dignity of their conduct in their daily relations with their own and with foreigners. Since to live with honor, pride and dignity, it is necessary to live in freedom, hence the fact that they loved frantically that armed liberty which permitted them the free play of their courage; hence they were ready to sacrifice their lives for it and preferred death to the dishonor of servitude.

I do not believe in the inalterable survival of the qualities of the peoples. The domination of Spain by Rome could not offer a climate propitious to the conservation of the old Hispanic feelings exuding with magnificent grandeur. Hispanic pride must have suffered and been attenuated as a corollary of the Roman conquest. Since arrogance is in the end an excessive appraisal of one's qualities, that appraisal can be lowered and adjusted to reality, when the arrogant, people or individual, in contact with other men or nations manages to establish a serene parallel between himself and the others and ends thus, by considering his own personal appraisal as hypertrophied. All the more so, a people or man who consider themselves strong, and therefore feel proud, when they are



87.—*Hall of the Embassadors of the Alcázar of Seville*, to be built by Peter I the Cruel (1350-1369), of very accused sultan features: polygamy, thesaurization, violence... During his reign and that of his father's, Alfonso XI, when the weight of the Andalusian South increased in the kingdom, Oriental pleasure triumphed in the court, temporarily. That pleasure —passing— overflowed even in the royal palaces of the Duero Valley, among those that stand out, the one of Tordesillas.



88.—Another *synagogue of Toledo, called El Tránsito*, one of many that were in the Castilian cities —in Seville, there were 22. It was constructed in 1357 by Samuel ha-Leví, treasurer of Peter the Cruel, ordered to be killed by the latter who confiscated his immense fortune. The pride, power and wealth of the Jews, usurers, publicans and money changers, caused the ruin of all the Spanish Hebrew community which they betrayed by being baptized.

89.—Among the multitude of Hispanic prelates who were politicians and captains none reached the universal dimentions as Cardinal Gil de Albornoz. Archbishop of Toledo, he took part in the battle of Salado. Exiled during the reign of Peter the Cruel, he reconquered the States of the Church for the Popes and governed and organized them. He incarcerated the rogue Archpriest of Hita. And he founded, in Bologna, a college for Spaniards to study. He rests in the cathedral of Toledo. *Sepulcher of Cardinal Gil de Albornoz. Chapel of Cathedral of Toledo.*

90.—With these first Trastamara, the bastard fratricide of Montiel, *Henry II* (1369-1379) *and* his son *John I* (1379-1390), the power of the Castilian royalty fell into the deepest depression of its history: the nobility thrives fabulously, the union with Portugal breaks down in Aljubarrota and the Reconquest is paralyzed. John I had to look, as his grandfathers, help from the courts *(from a plate attributed to Serra. Roman Collection. Saragossa).*

defeated and subdued, can suffer such a grave crisis in the appraisal of their own selfworth that their arrogance may stagger. This could have, and must have occurred to the peninsular people after being overcome by Rome.

Later, under the tyranny of the Empire, it was always more difficult for the continuation of the old Hispanic feelings. All tyrannies, when they are complete and last over a long period of time, by strangulating the freedom have withered the sources of pride, honor and dignity of the nation. It would not even survive in the minority of the leaders, the political hierarchs and the powerful landowners. They might manage to survive in the areas where the primitive life style continued most purely and because of the lesser intensity of their Romanization. We might suspect that they remained latent in men of the North, from Asturias to the Basque country —Galicia was more Romanized; in the rough mountainous zone which at the fall of Rome gave repeated proofs of having preserved the temperamental heritage of their ancestors, in confronting and resisting the Germans with proud decision, while the rest of Hispania endured, in humiliation, the brutality of the barbarians.

Germanic dominion could not favor the rebirth of the three old qualities that had adorned their ancestors in the Hispano-Roman era. But the traditional Visigothic articulation was not incompatible with the triumph of pride, honor and dignity among the dominators, and the Germanic concept about the position of women in the family combined with the Gothic ferocity, gave birth to bloody practices which must have served as seeds to the Hispanic ideas about honor.

In an *antiqua* of the *Lex Visigothorum* the husband who, in order to punish the adultery of his wife, kills her and her accomplice, is acquitted from the offense. In another old precept of the *Gothic Law*, the homicide of the rapist of another man's wife is unpunished *quod pro defendenda castitate (homicidium) commissum fuit.* We have two decisive proofs of the establishment reached in Gothic Spain by the theoretics of that vengeance in case of rape or of adultery —developed in the laws of the Bavarians, the Burgundians and the Lombardians: King Teodisclo was murdered by the nobles whose beds he had stained—; the vitizans —Goths collaborators with the Arabs— attributed the loss of Spain to the vengeance by Count Don Julian of his daughter's disgrace by Rodrigo.

Through the hermetic nature of Hispano-Gothic sources, it is not impossible to hear the first arpeggios of a new symphony in which are combined, with that new concept of honor, a passionate arrogance and at the same time a haughty dignity.

All along, the *Gothic Law* reflects the proud superesteem of the race or of the lineage —*gens or genus*— and of the social or political rank: *ordo, gradus, honor* or *dignitas.* The same feeling appears in literary works or about the saints; the wife of a king's guard *(gardingi regis sponsa)*

calls her daughter Saint Valery, and it is emphatically said of Saint Fructuoso that he was clearly of royal origin and son of an illustrious duke of the Spanish army. That racial arrogance, genealogical, social or political arrogance is seen in the most affected titles beyond the strict rules of Roman Imperial etiquette and acquire outlines of the most affected baroque: very illustrious, most celebrated, magnificent, sublime are all called the castle owners, the prelates and those who did not become that. That pride of lineage or office, for those who believe their *honor* or *dignitas* threatened by a title or office inferior to what they thought they deserve, led them to seek a reparation which would leave their dignity and their honor intact and that of their families: such was the case of the soldier Theodemundo.

2. Arrogance and honor of the old Castilians

The notes of this new symphony of pride, dignity and honor became affirmed in a sustained *crescendo* when the grandsons of the Gothic people appeared in the history of the Reconquest. The Goths mixed in horizontal projection —not seigneurial— with the great grandsons of Cantabrians and Basques on the land of the oldest Castile; and first the battle of all against the Mussulmans during the three cruel centuries between the Arabic invasion and the Caliphal crisis, and then, the Repopulation by them of the conquered lands as far as the Duero, affirmed the ancestral feelings of the people from the North.

Castilian arrogance was born then, because from the harsh and cruel struggle of three centuries against the terrible relentless Islamic persecution, from the hybrid people of Cantabrians, Basques and Germans who were forming in Castile —I have demonstrated that the regions of the kingdom of Oviedo did not suffer the identical relentless persecution— came the whole man who, from now on, was going to be the Castilian, and in that whole man, because of his dramatic destiny, soon triumphed —at least from the 10th century— alongside courage, pride. The equalitarian articulation which developed in the lands colonized by Castilians contributed to that triumph. On those lands were being formed a people of free men not hierarchized by firm and rigid social differences, only hierarchized by differences so fluid that they could be avoided by boldness and impetus.

That singular articulation of a human community integrated by masses of free men constituted the historical climate most propitious for the triumph of arrogance, Ortega y Gasset has sustained that an equalitarian society: «the all equal» necessarily comes from the arrogance of a people. His observation is correct, but it is just as true that the equality in the freedom of the members of a nation creates in them a vivid feeling of pride which is affirmed only with difficulty or does not become affirmed ever in people in a lordly articulation.

That pride of the Castilian masses must have been accentuated in everyone by their successes in the difficult battle for national freedom, first, and against the Moors, later —they entered and plundered Cordova in 1009. And their going from laborers to citizens, from villeins to knights and from mounted peasants to noble *infanzons*— we have information about such progress in the days of García Fernández and Sancho Garcés —advancements that they had obtained through their courage and their audacity.

In the 10th century Castilian pride begins to appear in history. The Castilians did not humble themselves as the Galicians and the Navarrese before Almanzor, and no noble woman of Castile was sent to Cordova to form part of the harem of «The Conqueror». The fabulous legends of the judges and of the betraying countess were probably the fruits of Castilian arrogance; the first illustrated the origins of the independence of Castile and the second attempted to justify the defeats. Historical and literary sources immediately disclose the triumph of pride in all the people of the county.

Arrogance exudes —arrogance based on manhood— in the account that made of their many excesses, in defense of their freedom and their rights the villeins of Castrojeriz, compared by García Fernández with the rural knights —the day laborers— and with the nobles or *infanzons* —the riders—. A cruel pride dictates his words about the assaults of towns, royal and county palaces —we invaded the place, took our prey, drank the wine that we found there and took everything that we found— about the vengeance against the attackers —we threw them out of their houses with great dishonor— and about the judicial defense of their deeds before kings and counts by whom thy were confirmed in their rights.

It is obvious that if the villeins of Castile gave such examples of arrogance, we cannot be surprised that the *infanzons* or nobles by blood, to whom the count had compared the knights of Castrojeriz, should feel tormented and exalted by similar pride, of which they showed samples in their dealings with the Andalusian Taifas and referred to by the last king of Granada Ziri, in his memoirs.

Out of collective pride —today we would say national pride— the Castilians resisted then the change of liturgy and opposed the substitution of the old Hispano-Gothic rite by the Roman rite. It is difficult to explain in any other way the history and the legend of the opposition of Castile to such a change, since it is difficult to admit that the *hidalgos* and the Castilian villeins should feel such a tender devotion for the old liturgy as to defend it with such passionate vehemence.

Documents and legal texts, also from the 11th century present clear proofs of the touchy appraisal of their honor by the noblemen of León and Castile. It had become so incisive and sharp that death and dishonor are compared before the law in their social and juridical projections. When the king gave the privilege of *infanzon,* that is to say of nobility, he

granted with it the penal worth of the nobleman: «Onram et desornam et calumniam de *infanzon.*» Dishonor could be in words or deeds and even refer to acts committed against the vassals of the things of the *hidalgo.* From a precept of the *Fuero* of Miranda of 1009 and from the item of the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* about the death administered by Munio Alfonso to his daughter whom he found «playing» with a youth, we can deduce that among the *infanzons,* the husband or the father, had the right, and even the custom of killing adulterers or whomever stained the purity of the lineage.

Shortly after the jongleurs, who knew the people of Castile well, exalted the pride, singled out dignity and enhanced the feeling of honor of the characters whose lives they presented to popular judgment as models of conduct, or they stigmatized the breaking of the moral laws which governed the exteriorization of such feelings by those whom they presented as models of ignominy.

Prides that caused offenses and offenses that were considered as dishonor give birth to the chain of vengeances which are observed in the *Cantar de los infantes de Lara.* The matter of the *Cantar de Zamora* deals with the vindictive challenge of Bellido Dolfo's treason. In the *Poema del Cid* it is possible to outline the theoretics of pride and honor. «To their honor and our advantage», the infantes of Carrión declared, who wanted to marry the Cid's daughters, because they were counts by nature and Rodrigo was a simple *infanzon* but with a great fortune, and the king ordered that about the weddings in question they tell the Cid that «he will have fame and his honor will increase». Later, the jongleur dedicates a good part of the poem to refer to the dishonor of the daughters of the Cid in Robledos de Corpes and the vindication of that dishonor in the Courts of Toledo. To those two different characteristics of honor —social hierarchy and public reputation— is added in the *Poem* a clear proof of the projection of honor to the group to which the individual belonged, since by contamination the dishonor of those of its members who commit a reprehensible act reaches the community. The Count of Barcelona, unaware of the Cid's exile, supposes him to be expatriated in detriment of his king, refuses to receive him and insults him thus: «He will know whom he comes to dishonor.»

In a historical community where the masses are not a purely inert foundation upon which the seigneurial minorities raise the building of their lives, where the people constituted an active element of the daily flow of history, where public opinion counted, pride, honor and dignity necessarily intermingle in the vital mechanics, not only of the nobleman, but of all the people.

In tyrannical regimes, the three qualities vanish; in seigneurial regimes they can take root among the minority of the lords; the three can only thrive and even reach the masses, in the societies articulated upon the basis of the organic liberty of the little people: the people.

Such was the case of Castile, an island of free men in feudal Europe, free from the claws of the prelates and of the grandees, country of working *infanzons* and of villein knights, of fluid and open classes, fierce land whose first chiefs needed the enthusiastic help of their people in order to obtain adn affirm the national freedom opposite León, Pamplona and Cordova; historical community which prolonged itself to the South in a thick net of strong and great *concejos.*

During the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries in León and Castile, sexual acts of the villeins, outside of marriage, always implied the simple payment of a monetary penalty. As I have proved in my *Estampas leonesas.* many years ago, cases of tragedy in other historical periods of Spain always ended up like any other offense. Death itself was punished the same way and even the right of vengeance was paid off through giving a sum of money.

But Castilian villeins were soon infected with the chivalrous sense of honor. In the *Fuero* of Miranda of 1099 we read: «Et si invenerint eum facientem fornicium cum uxore velata ubicumque, interfeciat ambos, aut unum si plus non potuerit; et si alius captus fuerit, comburatur.» And they add that the deceived husband who had killed the adulterers, or one of them if he had not been able to kill both, or who had burned the other after catching him later, would be exempt from paying the penalty for homicide and free from the right of vengeance of the relatives of the victims.

In the *Fuero* of Escalona of 1130 it is proposed that anyone forcing a woman or making her do something shameful would be hanged «unde habeant suas gentes malum nomen» (by which a bad reputation would come to her family); words from which is clearly seen the projection of the shadow of honor over the whole family group and the zeal for their honor and reputation of the villeins of a Castilian town.

Yes, the villeins of Castile soon began to follow the footsteps of the *hidalgos* and to receive their ideals. That concept of honor soon became established among them and it became generalized in the urban centers of the other municipalities of the kingdom. The *Fuero* of Soria frees from penal responsibility the father, husband of brother who should find their daughter, wife or sister «lying» with another and who kill the two culprits and decrees that if they are not found *in fraganti* but adultery can be proven, the adulterers should die, so that the husband does not have to suffer «the dishonor», in which case he had to endure the insults of the neighbors. The *Fueros* of Alcalá, Zorita, Cuenca and Heznatoraf, among others, in exempting from penalty and from enmity the deceived husband who killed the adulterers, prove the extent of that theoretics of the vengeance of stained honor to the municipalities of the new lands of Castile; those of Ledesma, Coria and Usagre, their adoption by the citizens of the new lands of León, even by the inhabitants of villages of lords, as was

Usagre. The details of the precepts of the statutes vary, but all respond to the same principle, all demand the death of the culprits, and all accompany with the threat of the most severe penalties —hanging or fire— those who raped women. Some *Fueros* —of Zorita, Cuenca...— free from punishment those who castrate the man whom they find with their wive or daughter. And in the *Libro de los Fueros de Castilla* we read this judicial case: «A knight of Ciudad Rodrigo... found another knight lying with his wife and he took that knight and castrated him... They judged in the court that he should be hanged, because he had not done anything to the woman, and they hanged him. When such a thing should happen to find another man sleeping with one's wife, who betrays him, if he wanted to kill the man and kills him, he must also kill his wife.»

3. Honor and reputation in medieval castile

Castile —and immediately León, soon joined with it forever— made and destroyed men, long before Don Alfonso Fernández Coronel, going to be executed by order of the King Don Peter I, coined the historical phrases, repeated later by Don Álvaro de Luna: «This is Castile which makes men and destroys them.» The most famous historical and literary phrases of Spain have been born of the depth of real life and centuries before they acquired eternity. For centuries Castile had been making and destroying its most solitary personalities with the warmth of its support or its applause, or with the fury of its implacable criticism, as in all democracies.

Those men that Castile made or destroyed from the dawn of its history as a people —it would not be difficult to observe many cases of men, rapidly climbing to the highest social summits through the whims of fortune and suddenly falling, in one moment, from the pedestal of their glory— must have felt very early the pride of their triumph when, sons of their works, the wind of fame inflated the sails of the little boat of their lives. They must have zealously cared for their honor and their living in dignity, to avoid the changeable twists of the hurricane of opinion which could make the vessel of their uncertain destiny sink. They must have carried their scorn for death to an extreme if the occasion arose to confront it face to face before the masses, to win their final battle from popular judgment. Surrounded in Aguilar, Don Alonso Fernández Coronel already said to Gutierre Fernández: «Friend, from now on the remedy here is this: to die the most stylish way possible, as a knight.»

As the couplet singing the caducity of all pride goes: «the rivers go to sea / yesterday a tower fell», in Castile the abundant rivers went rapidly to the Ocean, as the medium-sized and the little ones, and with the same frequency the tall fortified towers fell as the old pidgeon houses. Pride while the weather vane marked the North of favorable fortune, honor

and dignity along the difficult road and dignity and pride in the storm and in the shipwreck.

The *Crónica General* reports the words with which Fernán González moved his people to continue the fighting to earn imperishable fame and the vengeance of García Fernández because of the dishonorable flight of his wife with a French knight. Not only the main heroes, archetypes of the ideal life of the nation appear thus with the aureola of legend. In the 13th century, the *hidalgos,* citizens and even the villeins appear spurred by similar feelings. As has been proven there is not a discordant note in the *concertante* of the municipal *fueros* about the vengeance of scorned married love. There is no lack of testimonies of the exaltation of pride, honor and dignity of the Castilian and the people from León in the course of their daily existence.

In the sketches of the siege of Seville traced by the «*Crónica General*» the rash courage of Garci Pérez de Vargas is as praised as his zeal to keep silent about the weakness of a gentleman —he abandoned him in a perilous moment— so that he would not lose his reputation and his honor.

In the «*Crónica de la población de Ávila* —of the middle of the 13th century— we read that a knight from Ávila called Blasco Cardiel, who during one of the campaigns of the municipal militia of Ávila to Andalusian lands, abandoned his own people surrounded by the Almohads, thinking they were lost: «when he found out that those of Ávila had won the battle he did not bear (he could not) the shame, and left his land to go reside in Calatayud».

In that same Chronicle is found the heroic legend of Nalvillos, a famous knight of Ávila whose wife, according to tradition, was stolen by a Moorish lord of Talavera. Popular fantasy made the hero realize a very daring and new adventure to avenge such a great dishonor —the offended one so qualified it in the very account— and the legendary passage ends with Nalvillos burning the Islamite chief and his own wife who in «recreating» with the ravisher, had forgotten the love of her husband.

Also in the *Crónica de la población de Ávila* it is told that in the siege of Jaén, various knights from Ávila rushed to help others, their neighbors, but their enemies, who were in great danger at that moment, because «if not we cannot return to Ávila without shame», the chronicler has the one say who proposed to his friends to rush to the aid of those who were not. As a magnate asked why they had assisted their adversaries instead of letting them die, he heard from another person from Ávila that answer: «no one considers himself avenged by the death of his enemy if the does not kill him with his own hands as he must.»

In the *Libro de los Fueros de Castilla* —also of the middle of the 13th century— it is reported that Doña Elvira, a niece of the archdeacon of Burgos, became engaged to a knight and received from him the dowry in the Visigothic style. They did not get married and the knight asked that she should return what he had given her. She refused, and they went to

Don Diego Lope de Haro. He sentenced that if Doña Elvira confessed that she had embraced and kissed the knight in the engagement, she should keep the dowry, but the archdeacon's niece preferred to return it.

In the same collection of judicial cases this tremendous scene is related: the son of the mayor of a town whose name is not mentioned, entered at night to steal in the house of a widow, he stole the suitcases from some German pilgrims who detained him, shouted, the people from the town came. On the following day they took him to the mayors and the *concejo* who condemned him to be hanged: «He was hanged by his father and his relatives and they pulled on the rope until he had died».

Garci Pérez de Vargas avoids a knight dishonor by his obstinate silence; Blasco Cardiel cannot endure shame and flees from his native city; the people of Ávila adorn by a legend the revenge of a rape and adultery; the knights from Ávila help their neighbors and enemies in order to be able to kill them themselves; the engaged archdeacon's niece prefers to return the dowry rather than recognize the slight fault of an embrace or a kiss and the father and relatives of the young thief hanged him themselves. The pride and honor of the *hidalgos,* feminine honor, family dignity and behind this, always, public opinion —the good or bad name of the *Fuero* of Escalona— erect, threatening, fierce, cruel, furious, to the point of forcing the villeins to pull on the rope which was hanging the son and the relative who had stolen, in order to show they were against the offense and so they could live with dignity.

That feeling of knightly shame constituted the main spring of the life of the nobility and even of the whole people in the Castile of the 13th century.

Las Partidas place it as the foundation of being a *hidalgo* and a knight: «They considered well the wise persons who look at men for these things who would have a natural sense of honor... A sense of honor that would curb the knight, so that he would not flee in battle, and therefore, would make him conquer.» (*Partida* II, section XXI, law VIII).

«And in order that they should exert themselves more, they consider a good things, that those who had lady friends, should mention their names in the contest, so that their hearts would be more devoted, and they would have greater shame in making mistakes.» (*Partida* II, section XXI, law XXII).

«It is fitting that the knights be loyal in all situations... for three reasons, as the Ancients said. First, because they are to guard and defend everyone and they could not be good defenders if they were not loyal. Secondly, in order to preserve the honor of their lineage, which they would not preserve if they were not loyal. Thirdly, to do nothing that would be shameful, and they would fall into that, if they were not loyal, more than for any other reason» (*Partida* II, title XXI, Law IX).

In the «*Crónica General*» the collaborators of the Learned King

wrote: «The status (commitment) in which a man is born prevent that he should incur great shame nor have dishonor.»

And Alfonso X himself selects this refrain for the ballad where he relates how the Virgin replaces the fugitive doorkeeper:

To prevent us from shame
She is constantly struggling
And to prevent us from falling and erring
Such is the Virgin Mary.

The fact that the Castilians were besieged by public opinion which made and destroyed men, kindled the flame of honor between noblemen and plebeians. Next to respect —personal homage which was rendered to God, the king or the superior in hierarchy— and next to respect —social category which was acquired by divine or royal concession or by one's own effort or virtue— honor depended upon the reputation which the voice of the people granted to each one in function of his own merit or of capricious fortune.

Alfonso the Learned frequently insists in *Las Partidas* upon the respect due to God, the king, the prelates, noblemen and sets in detail the honor due to knights. He so defines the other category of respect: «Respect means as much as the advancement considered as a praise, that man earns because of the position that he holds, or because of some known thing that he has accomplished, or because of the goodness that there is in him.» (*Partida* II, Section XIII, law XVII). And he marvelously characterizes honor as reputation: «As the Wise Men who made the ancient laws said, there are two sorts of errors which are similar, to kill a man, or to defame him; because a man who is defamed, even though he is not guilty, is dead as to the good and the reputation of this world, and besides, the defamation could be such, that death would be better for him, than life.» (*Partida* II, section XIII, law IV)

The pan in which were joined the respect granted or refused by the king and the honor capriciously granted or refused by public reputation weighed as much in the balance of the respect and of the honor which at times conquered and surpassed the other, no less important, in which the sons of Castile put their own personal effort. But the Castilian was not a man to accept this unjust and hard unequality and he tried to overcome the gravitation of the possible royal injustice or of the possible adverse reputation. From that battle was born the authentic sense of honor.

That sense of honor projected into *vergüenza** was an incentive and

---

* *Vergüenza:* From the Latin *verecundia.* Although the word «vergüenza» usually means shame, in the context of this chapter it means point of honor, or esteem for one's honor.

a curb and a fear and pain: it impelled man and guided him in the great storms of his life or in the labyrinth of his daily existence; it was translated into the dignity or conduct and he attempted to secure his reputation even beyond death.

If from pride honor was born, and from honor, dignity in a chain genetic process, then dignity spurred respect and respect enlivened pride in an impulsive ascending movement.

4. Chivalrous arrogance, respect and vergüenza: honor in Spain

The three feelings thus intermingled, exalted by the energy produced in turbine of reputation and then precipitated in an avalanche upon the sharp slopes of the thame of the *hidalgo,* settled profoundly in León and Castile; they triumphed in all the other Hispanic kingdoms and they won in all of Spain, from the summits of royalty to the plains of the people.

Raymond Lully in the «*Libro del orden de caballería*» coincides with Alfonso X of Castile in theorizing about honor and *vergüenza.* He also reports with the personal respect-homage which was owed to God, the king, the lords or knights, the respect-social category received by divine grace or royal favor or acquired by one's own effort or virtue.

He declares it an obligation for the knight to maintain or restore the honor of the order of knights and to defend the honor of their lord and of their king or prince He points out the main duties which keeping personal respect implied. «By honor... the knight has nobleness of heart and by the nobleness of his soul he tends more slowly to baseness... and to evil and to deceit». «When it is necessary he extends his hands and spends giving generously as is fitting to his honor». «No man can love nor respect more nor be a better knight that the one who dies for his good name». And he points out the meaning of *vergüenza.* «The knight —he writes— must fear more being vituperated than death: *vergüenza* gives more passion to his courage than hunger, thirst, heat, cold, or any passion or work». «Just as the steel helmet protects the head, which is highest and the principal member among man's members, so *vergüenza* protects the knight».

The fact that the very king, a gracious source of respect for all, considered his reputation as brittle as that of any *hidalgo,* is also certain. He did not free himself from disgrace by the hostile fate of loss of reputation or as a corollary of the humiliation of his person or royal authority in the misfortunes of political life. Alfonso X theorizes about such possibilities in *Las Partidas,* and we see two kings of Aragón, his contemporaries struggling to avoid them. James I says, in his *Crónica,* that on one occasion he addressed Don Peter Ahones with these words: «You serve us with such *vergüenza,* it is as great as our own». Peter III to preserve honor fell into the trap set by the king of Napoles, his enemy, who, to make him leave Sicily, accused him of not having come there as a good knight

but treacherously, certain that such an accusation would determine the Spanish prince to return for his honor and to arrange a challenge. It happened that way; the king of Aragón crossed the Mediterranean and Spain and arrived chivalrously to the palisade of Bordeaux in order to defend the purity of his reputation with the sword.

If a knight's actions, according to Alfonso X and Raymond Lully caused respect or disrespect to the Order of Knights, those of the king honored or dishonored the whole kingdom. In 1271, James I tried before the Lyon council and Gregory X, to obtain the organization of a new crusade; he offered to the Pontiff to accompany him with an army of 1,000 knights and proudly praised the strength of the Catalan fleet. Before the decisions of the other participants in the canonical assembly, he took leave of the Holy Father, abandoned the meeting with the members of his retinue and told them: «Barons, now we can leave: at least today, we have left the honor of Spain in a good position».

The honor of Spain! Not the honor of a single kingdom but of the whole historical community breathing within the borders of the old Roman Hispania. The honor of Spain! Beautiful sentence which clearly discloses the lasting and renewed concept of the essential unity of the Peninsula, and at the same time, verifies the projection of the idea of honor from the individual to the society of which he is part. By the *Fuero* of Escalona we knew that a woman's disgrace caused a bad reputation, that is to say, the loss of respect for her relatives (*suas gentes*). Now we see, inversely, in a much more ample panorama, the arrogant conduct of the king of Aragón before the Pontiff, bringing honor to all Spaniards The honor of Spain! That idea and phrase first conceived and coined by a Catalan —let us recall that— were to prosper and appear many times in history in reference to very different concepts of Spanish honor.

In the first half of the 14th century, Don Juan Manuel affirmed that concept of honor as general good of the whole people. Castile, according to him, did not enjoy its old respect or preeminence in Spain. He wished to restore the glory to his country: «It was reasonable for Castile to recover its honor doing everything that was necessary to that effect». But the decrease suffered by Castile was just punishment from divine providence and it was not possible to manage a better fortune: «And since this would be great good and great honor for Castile and cannot be done —he writes— nor will it be done until God wills that Castilians amend their lives and do penance for their sins so that God will cease to be enraged with them». For Don Juan Manuel the «*vergüenza*» in which Castile had fallen —in great part, through the stupid deeds of the grandson of Saint Ferdinand— was the fault, not of a man, but of all the people.

About a century after Don James insisted on the honor of Spain, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán said of Don Fernando de Antequera that he brought «very great honor to the nation, for as everybody well knows, that war of Granada which the king his brother left started, he continued it as the

will of service to God and the honor of Castile». Differently from the Catalan chronicler, the Castilian limited the borders of the community honored by the prince to those of one of the Spanish kingdoms, because the events from which the respect proceeded had taken place within the Peninsula, but he repeated the same concept of honor as the social projection of the prince's conduct upon the destinies of a people.

That concept of respect has been affirmed and extended one generation later and one knight's actions were sufficient to bring it to the whole nation. Fernando del Pulgar animated the Constable of Castile, Don Pedro Fernández de Velasco, to endure hardships in the siege of Montánchez, «since they are to the enhancing of the royal crown and for the honor and peace of your own land».

Half a century later the respect for Spain was going to depend upon the attitude of any Spaniard, and even of mere acts of conscience.

In the 14th century, in spite of the clear beginning of a decisive turn in Spain's life, the vivid traditional feelings which had formed until then the triptych of Spanish pride, dignity and honor continued to be in vigor.

Raymond Lully had attacked pride in the previous century following the main lines of Christian, medieval thought. In the *Libro del Orden de Caballería* he writes: «Arrogance is a vice of unequality, because the proud man pretends to have no peer nor equal... because humility and fortitude are two virtues intimately related, both enemies of pride, if you, proud knights, wish to overcome pride, adapt in your mind the nobleness of fortitude and of humility... Will you feel proud when you are dressed with all your weapons and your chivalrous attire. You will not feel so if the fortitude of humility makes you recall why you are a knight... If you were thrown from your horse, defeated and captured, would you feel proud?». For Raymond Lully, proud men were unjust and not very intelligent and pride lessened man. «Fear a humble knight —he says— but not a proud one».

In the 14th century, Don Sem Tob, the Archpriest of Hita and Chancellor Ayala fought arrogance and pride from different ideological bases, though they were related. The rabbi of Carrión writes: «Moreover he gives sure proof: /he who maintains pride / in his head / does not have any backbone». Juan Ruiz reports the moral and material damages which arrogance causes and the falls that it produces in the end. Pero López de Ayala insists on the Christian theme of the sin of arrogance.

All peninsular moralists, and some widely read writers in works very well known and popular —the Archpriest of Talavera's *Corbacho* can be used as an example— continued to attack, punish, ridicule and fight arrogance.

However, all these attacks and fights and others of less importance that should be mentioned, were like voices crying out in the desert. The spur of arrogance held the Spaniards' souls poisoned. I write, of the Spaniards, because even among the proud Castilians, the arrogance of the people of

Aragón going to the siege of Seville was surprising. In the *Crónica General* we read: «the people of Aragón wanted to separate to show their pride and it did not do them much good». Rightly so, the very Archpriest of Hita says to Love: «you have more pride and brilliance than all of Spain». If arrogance had contributed to form the whole man that the *homo hispanus* already was, that condition of the peninsular man was in turn projected in pride and kindled its blaze.

In it were burning big and small people in Castile.

Don Juan Manuel let himself be dominated by pride —he got to attribute a marvelous origin to his weapons and to consider his lineage called on to avenge the death of Jesus Christ— and that pride prompted him to agitate Castile and to commit true felonies. Pride, along with his mental unbalance, guided the tragic steps of Don Peter the Cruel and pushed him into his disastrous end. Imbued with pride, his own mother drove the Count of Urgel into resistance against Fernando de Antequera. «Son, king or nothing». Out of national pride the count of Cifuentes drove the English ambassador out of his seat in the Council of Constance. The defense of the preeminence of Castile over England which Don Alonso de Cartagena presented in the council, exudes with pride. Pope Luna died in Peñíscola without renouncing the pontifical tiara out of pride. Pride more than greed lost Don Alvaro de Luna —blinded by pride he went to the point of allowing the useless crime of Burgos and trusting in the king's benevolence, but his pride at the gallows won him the posthumous admiration of Castile. Castilian pride moved the pen with which Fernando de Torres wrote his memorial to Henry IV. Pride frequently appears in the gallery of portraits made of the famous men of Castile by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán and Fernando del Pulgar.

The pride against which the rabbi of Carrión Don Sem Tob protested, had in the 15th century, gone as far as the grandsons of the Jews who had embraced Christianity. Don Alonso de Cartagena shows pride in the nobleness of his Hebraic lineage by responding to Juan de Mena, in the *Diálogo de la Vida Beata,* work of another new Christian, Juan de Lucena. Only the genealogical arrogance of the convert poet Juan de Montoro, who was working as a tailor in Cordova, could move him to denounce the base origin of another poet of his race, Juan de Valladolid. Fernando del Pulgar does not succeed in covering up the learned and literary pride which tyrannized his soul, in his letters. Fernando de Rojas discloses his, clearly, in his frequent and fierce thrusts against the splendor of the noble lineage. Pride in his literary creation overcame his possible scruples and his possible fear because of the roughness and the anti-nobility and anticlerical meaning of the «Celestina» and that victory led him to report his name and his country in the famous acrostics.

Pride even won women and the low classes of Castilian society. More than once the Archpriest of Talavera mocks arrogant women in the

Corbacho; Fernando de Rojas shows some of them tortured by such a feeling and even one of the servants of Calixto and even the prostitutes who lived in concubinage with them. That pride makes them speak frequently against the lords. Flames of arrogance burn singularly the good Areusa, good friend of Celestina. «Low is he who considers himself so. Actions are what make lineage, for in the end we are all sons of Adam and Eve», she emphatically says on one occasion and shortly after she attacks scornfully those who serve the lords and amidst her discourse, she exclaims: «Oh, aunt, what a hard name and what seriousness and arrogance is this continuous 'señora' on the lips!».

Even the «old bearded» Celestina frequently discloses her pride due to the triumph in her functions about whose mastery she brags without blushing, and about whom Pármeno says to Calixto: «If she is walking among 100 women and somebody says 'old whore'! without embarrassment, she turns around and responds with a happy face». She directs these words to Lucrecia, Melibea's girl: «It is obvious that you did not know me in prosperity, twenty years ago... I cannot mention without tears the great respect that I had then... Gentlemen, old and young, abbots of all dignities from bishops to sacristans... he who dealt with me the least considered himself least fortunate».

The convert Fernando del Pulgar, a man of letters and not of sword is won over by the heroic arrogance of the Castilians and left us a clear sample of national pride: «I for sure —he writes— have not seen in my time, nor read about the past, about so many knights of other kingdoms or foreign lands... to combat in great danger, as I have seen the knights of Castile seek in other parts of Christianity... I also saw the wars in Castile, lasting a long time; but I did not see other warriors come here from other parts: just as no one thinks of taking iron to the Basque country, where it exists in abundance, strangers do not come to show their valor in the lands of Castile, where —as they know— there is such an abundance of forces and valor in their men, that their valor would not be in very much esteem».

If the Archpriest, in the middle of the 14th century, witnessed the Spaniards' pride, some 100 years later, Fernando del Pulgar in commenting the couplets of Mingo Revulgo supposed that behind the phrase «What happened to your red jacket?», the anonymous author, whoever he may have been, was wonderring: «Castilian, where is your pride?» The moral crisis suffered by Castile during the reign of the unfortunate Henry IV justified that dubious question. But the history of Castile and Spain was soon going to respond to the chronicler of Hebraic origin, that the pride of peninsular men had not been destroyed during the sad decades of the second half of the 15th century. Rooted in courage and lineage, that pride was going to constitute a force, at times demoniac, but always decisive in Spanish life.

Along with that pride is always related the feeling of respect-reputation and its projection in the secrets of the soul: shame. During the last two centuries of the Middle Ages the triumph of those in the lives of all Castilians and in general all the people of the Peninsula were accentuated.

In «Conde Lucanor», Don Juan Manuel glorified with the fervent and scrupulous sense of reputation the greatest hero of Castile tradition. Paraphrasing accounts of the «Poema de Fernán González» and of the *Crónica General*, he relates that the count had to answer Nuño Laín to whom they asked that «he should not get into such noisy things»: «If he wanted to go hunting with good birds in and around Arlanzón and on good fat mules, and stop to defend the land, that he could well do that, but that he would answer him in the words of the ancient proverb: 'The man died and so did his good name'; but if we want to forget evil and do much to defend ourselves and bear our good name forward, they will say after our death: 'The man died, but his good name did not'. Since we all must die, defective or in misery, it does not seem to me that it would be well if because of the defect of idleness we should cease to act in such a way that after our death, the good reputation won by our acts should never die».

After reporting another answer of Fernán González to his people, wounded in the battle of Facinas, Don Juan Manuel puts these words in Patronio's mouth: «And you, sir Count, if you want to do what you should when you see that you do it to defend your good name and the good name of your people, you should never feel misery, nor pain, nor danger».

The virtues of *vergüenza* extends to every one: «The best thing that man can have in itself, and which is mother and head of all goodness, I tell you that it is *vergüenza*: because for it man suffers death which is the worst thing that can be, out of *vergüenza* man does not do all the things that do not seem well, however great his desire to do them may be».

As his biographer Jiménez Soler acknowledges, Don Juan Manuel was «obsessed by respect». He writes about it in his works and letters extremely frequently and to vindicate it from supposed or real offenses, he manages the sword with as much facility as his pen. «Men must excuse all they can to avoid war, and must suffer everything rather than begin war, except disgrace», he writes in the *Libro de los Estados*. His pride led him to feel lessened in his honor so frequently, that he moved and spilled blood in the kingdom in order to free himself from the stain.

Don Juan Manuel's words on reputation nevertheless reflect something more than the attitude before the world of an arrogant and punctilious lord of the Spain of the 14th century. Honor, reputation and *vergüenza* lorded it over the life of all the Castilians of the time. They all attempted to enjoy an illustrious and clean name, not tarnished by the shadow of disgrace, and many aspired to gain their contemporaries' admiration and to proudly perpetuate their memories in the generations of the future.

Respect, reputation and *vergüenza* constituted the guiding lights and goals of conduct for all. «By my good name», «by your good name», it

is «my good name», «it is your good name», «preserve my respect», «you are in your good name», «he goes with his respect», «it is more to his respect»... kings and queens, magnates and prelates, knights and scholars, merchants and judges, chroniclers and poets, men and women were saying at each moment. During the whole 14th century they spoke of respect all over Castile: in the palace of Alcalá, during the meetings of the advisers of Ferdinand IV, dealing with the offer of James II to undertake the conquest of Granada together; in the camps of the armies of the ambitious tutors of Alfonso XI, ready to fight to govern Zamora; in the yards of the castles, in commenting Don Juan Manuel's ire because of the king's wedding to a Portuguese infanta even though his wedding to his daughter had been arranged; in the Andalusian country when Alfonso XI came back with «great respect and very happy» after taking Teba; in the streets of Burgos while the king was receiving the «honor» of the crown and was granting his magnates the «honor» of knighthood; in the camp of the Castilian army before Gibraltar, recently lost and which the king of Castile was attempting to reconquer in vain; in the streets of Seville before the monarch's orders to do honor to the King of Portugal who had come to fight in Salado, or the king of Navarre who had come to take part in the siege of Algeciras; in the palace of Seville, when the king received the letter from his sister, Doña Leonor of Aragón, asking him by «his good name» to free some prisoners; and on the roads under sunshine or rain; in the cities under the porticos of the squares and in the atriums of the churches; in the swaggering noble houses, in the poor workers' houses and even in the shops of the old procuresses.

Doña Endrina responds this way to the Archpriest's first compliments:

679 There is honor and not dishonor in speaking sensibly;
Duennas and women must give their answers
To anyone who speaks with them or reasons with them.

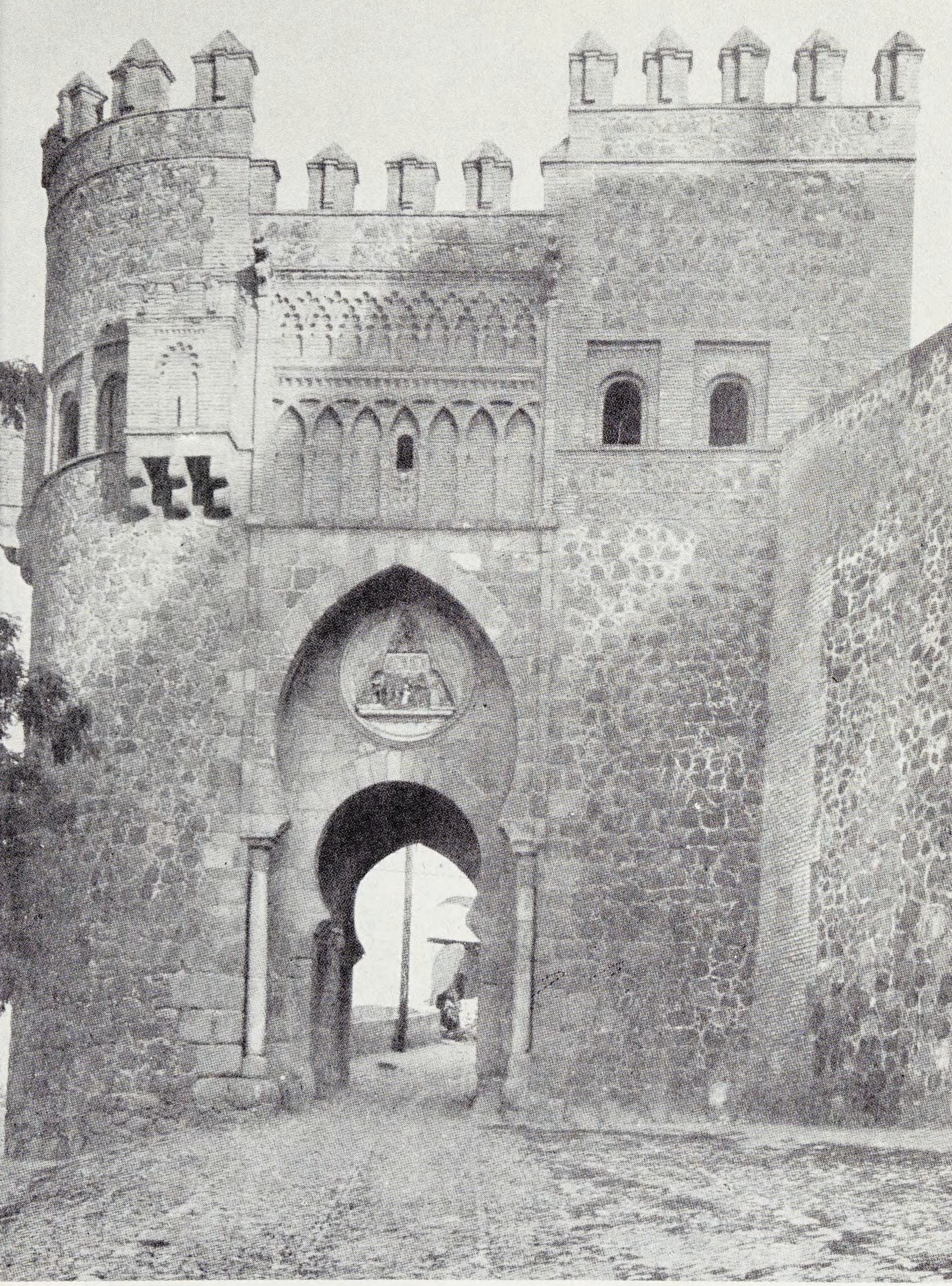
680 Inasmuch as I grant to you, or to anyone else:
You may say, my honor being preserved, whatever you may wish.

When the Archpriest calls Trotaconventos to tell her to speak to Doña Endrina, he tells her:

721 From the beginning to the end, think well about what you are saying,
Speak all that you want of such thing, that you do not repent,
In the intention, are honor and dishonor, be assured of that.

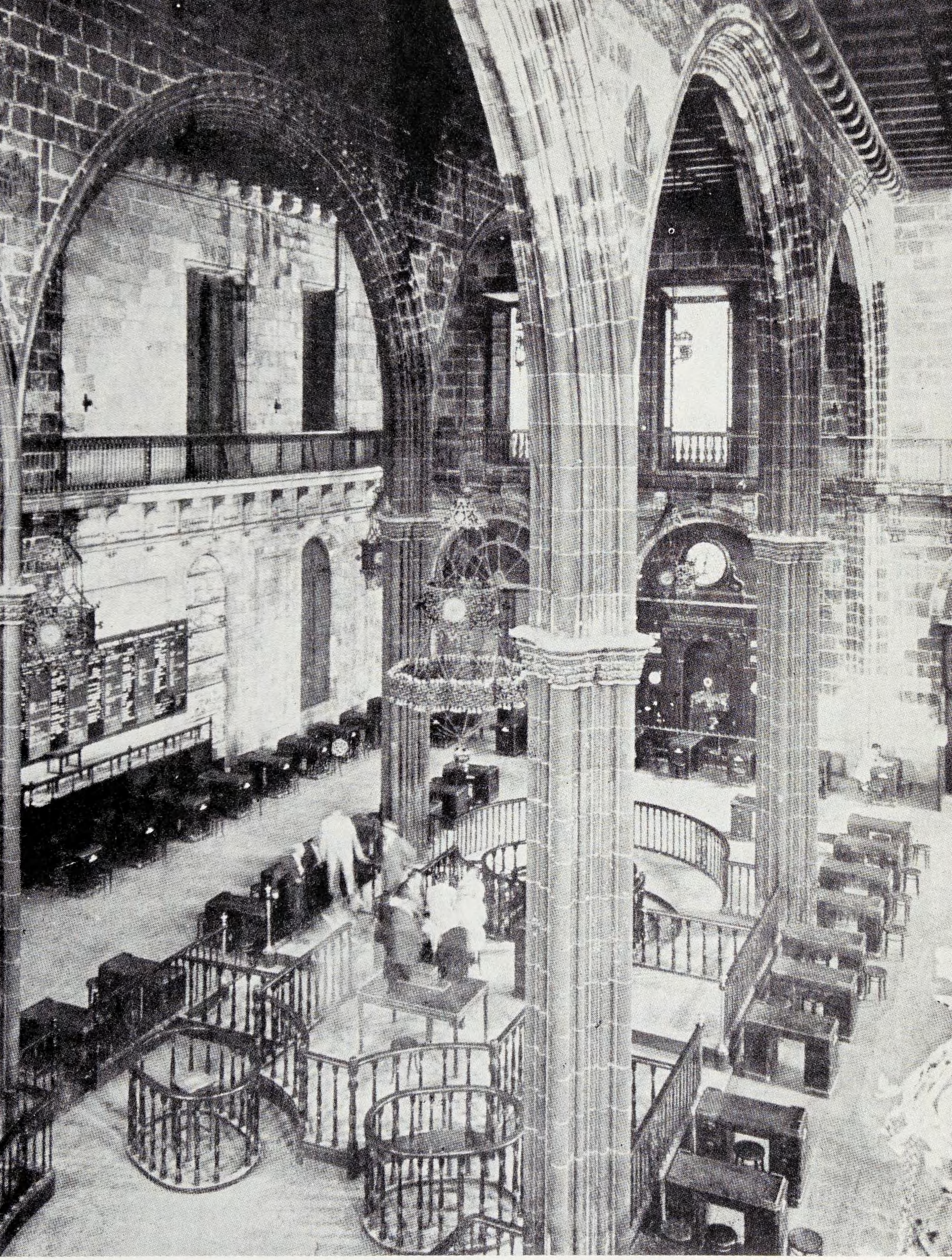
In *Rimado de Palacio,* the Bachelor tells the plaintiff whose cause he directs:

Only for my honor, since you have placed me in this situation,
I would not want the others to see you change expressions.



91.—*Puerta del Sol of Toledo.* Tower with royal grant in the *Mudéjar* style constructed by the Archbishop Don Pedro Tenorio (1375-1399). It defended and permitted access to the great city of the Tagus: capital of the Gothic kingdom, seat of the councils, eternal rebel against caliphal Cordova, key to Castile from Zalaca (1086) to the Navas (1212), home of the translators of Arabic knowledge, school of magic, court of Caesar Charles V and patio of Monipodio.

92.—Here we have the outstanding figures of literary renovation of Castile: *Chancellor Ayala,* filled with Western ideas and first of our modern men and *the Marquis of Santillana,* who channeled the Italic influence among us. The flagellator of the pontifical court, on his knees before Pope Saint Gregory; and singer of bucolic poems, kneeling before Mary «Los Morales» of the National Library and Series of Historical Pictures of Viñuellas, Madrid. *Morales of Saint Gregory, National Library of Madrid, and Retable of Viñuelas, Madrid.*



93.—Barcelona became the capital instead of Tarragona, destroyed by the Germans in the 3rd century. In the 4th, Saint Paciano reproached the people of Barcelona for their excessive zeal for trade and business. The Mussulman dominion of the Mediterranean was not propitious for them. But once maritime commerce was renewed, they returned to it and made quickly of their city a great naval and merchantile emporium. Along with the first buildings of the religious and political life —palace and cathedral— Barcelona is proud today of its exchange. *Interior of La Lonja (The Exchange) of Barcelona.*

94.—*John II,* the timid poet king who let himself be governed by Don Álvaro de Luna, whom he let, as well, rule in Castile. Waves of discord stirred the kingdom. It was truly difficult to navigate in the middle of the whirlwind of ambitions of power, of appetites for riches and of partisan angers which agitated the Castilians during the 15th century. Don Álvaro succumbed in the torment. The king had him killed in a strange outbreak of rage, natural escape valve of those tortured by the weakness of the will. *Chapel of the New Kings of Cathedral of Toledo.*

The judge, whom Chancellor Ayala suspects of placing a delinquent in liberty through a merchant's intervention, tells him:

I tell him: «I certainly would not do such a bad thing;
»You know me well, I do not get paid by bribery,
»But on your honor, if you understand I benefit,
»Take him to your house, and do not let him leave from there.»

The care for respect and the fear of disrespect were worrying everybody because of the shame that dishonor brought with it. When Trotaconventos attempts to convince Doña Endrina to listen to Don Melón de la Huerta, she argues thus:

«There is not dishonor in this act, since there are so many others
I marvel, Madam, at this which holds you back.»

In *Rimado de Palacio,* Ayala writes, scoffing lawyers:

»It would be a great shame, the Bachelor tells them,
»That being able for some time to defend your interest
»Without showing your rights or whatever it may be,
»Thus, in vain, you are disposed to win.»

But a good and a bad name tortured Castilians, especially by the favorable or adverse reputation which they caused to them. Reputation was the eternal and continuous preoccupation of all and always. It stopped in their passions many women, but also the most shameless lovers.

When Trotaconventos initiates Doña Endrina's seduction proposing to her marriage with the youth Don Melón de la Huerta, «the lady answered her... It would not be well to be married before the year... If before I were married I should be disgraced» In a new attack to the virtue of Doña Endrina, the old procuress argues thus: «The reputation will not resound, since I will keep the secret.»

The very Archpriest is concerned about the reputation of the woman who wants to enjoy and twice manifests her fear of Trotaconventos.

688 If the lady used such appropriate words,
The reputation can be so great, that it comes out publicly:
The lady would lose it, and that would be a great worry.

707 From little things, great reputation spreads through the neighborhood,
From the moment it is born, it delays in dying, although it is not the truth.

And the Archpriest later admonishes all the duennas so:

907 Of small talk which is damaging, keep yourself, all you duennas...
908 There are many sayings about them in the whole town,
Later, many defame her with jokes and laughters.

Respect, respect, respect! It was being repeated as an echo from one end of Castile to the other and even in all the milieus of the Hispanic Peninsula throughout the centuries. In the final stages of the Middle Ages, far from dying out, the echoes increased in such a way that they managed to exalt the sensibility of all peninsular people to the point of frenzy, and in particular, all Castilians.

Respect was projected through various paths upon the lives of all Spaniards. All valued very much respect-social hierarchy and enjoyed increasing it; they were jealous of their respect-personal homage that they received or rendered according to the cases; they passionately cared to earn respect-glory in battles or in public life, even at the price of the greatest hardships and even of life itself, and they were always living on guard to keep their respect-reputation or to avenge their disgrace or restore their reputation-respect.

5. From respect for the king to respect for Celestina and the executioner

Obviously, pride and honor were not exclusive of the Spanish Peninsula. Fernán Pérez de Guzmán wrote of Don Diego Lope de Estúñiga: «I have not heard about his courage, but this I believe because during his time, there were no battles in which he could demonstrate it, but it is to be presumed that being a knight of such lineage and such valor, he would preserve his honor and his reputation and his good name, wherein is the fruit of the courage involved in war.» These sentences of *Generaciones y Semblanzas* prove how Castilians considered such feelings as forming part of the chivalrous ideal; and that ideal triumphed for centuries in Spain as well as outside the Spanish borders.

Huizinga has gathered some testimonies of this extreme sensibility to honor, of the noblemen of Burgundy and of France during the medieval fall. We can complete them by the allusions to zeal for respect of the English and French knights which offers *El Victorial,* in relating the deeds of Pero Niño in the Northern lands and seas, around 1400.

South of the Pyrenees and especially in Castile, that sense of honor was not the exclusive patrimony of the noblemen and it was not a pure formalism of the thought of the chivalrous minority. Guarding their honor or interested in the honor of others are: kings and magnates, ladies and prelates, politicians and warriors, aristocrats and bourgeois, lords and servants, writers and merchants, young and old, old Christians and new Christians and even the «old whore» Celestina and the executioner. From the sovereign to the executioner of justice all could win or lose their honor in the Peninsula, all attempted to safeguard it or lamented its decrease and all tried to restore their dishonor.

Not only was the sensibility of all peninsular people very general but also intense before events, gestures and words that could affect their honor. They honored: courage, heroism, loyalty, proven friendship, frankness or generosity, social reputation, feminine chastity, the fulfillment of duties... and many other qualities, actions or words of men and women. They scorned cowardice, disloyalty, avarice, not keeping a promise, disdain from the peers, lack of respect for the most minute public rite, wives' infidelity, dishonesty of the daughter or the sister, reprehensible or foolish conduct, decrease of social reputation and many other faults, falls or slips of daily living. The honor of each person did not only depend upon his own actions or words, but also upon the actions and words of his relatives, servants or grooms. In the many questions of honor which could and did occur a rigidity without tolerance nor condescendence triumphed, firmly and fully and at times cruel and inhuman. In it there was no room for forgiveness. Private revenge or public vindication of dishonor or of adverse reputation was necessary and implacable and even God's providence was made to intervene in punishment of those who were breaking those tremendous and subtle laws.

A tremendous amount of different texts of the Castile of the 15th century comes to prove how involved was the projection of the problems of honor in the lives of all.

A politician, the Count of Castro according to the falconer of John II: «Said that he asked and requested of all the prelates and knights with God, and faith, and with their own law, for the good order and honesty of knighthood, that because they had promised, made a vow and sworn it, they should keep their minds, souls and persons from all bad talk and stains, and preserve intact their honor and good name.»

A warrior, Gutierre Díaz de Gámez, second lieutenant of Pero Niño, writes: «Every one would want honor in battle, but only those who fight for it have it, and it cannot reached had except through great hardship and danger... The higher the position, the more serious is the case, because they have to be at the front of the troops in the battles, and not at the rear, since the front is the most dangerous position for there are the first blows.»

According to his chronicler, Don Álvaro de Luna answered his people who, one night, while they were on their way to help Cuenca, complained of their hardships and being tired, in these words: «Good and loyal servants, and faithful companions: he who thinks tonight about the hardship that is coming does not have his mind on the glory that he will win. Think that you are not only going to resist the enemies of the King our lord, and of his kingdoms, but to conquer and destroy them, and that fortune selected you to give you this honor of victory, that through you a great service is rendered to the king, and marvelous assistance to the lands.»

The duty of the king was to honor the great people of his kingdom according to the «Lessons» which the noble Castilians sent to John II in

March 1440; the duty of the grandees was to watch over the honor of the monarch, the crown and the kingdom. «Through all the means, the Constable sought how to safeguard the honor of the king...» «He never refused hardships... in order to... serve the king loyally, and to prove the great honor of his crown...», writes the chronicler of Don Álvaro de Luna. His enemies accused him before John II of «taking to himself the glory and honor of your crown, under the pretext of administration...» When the weak Henry IV fell into enemy hands, according to Diego de Valera, he told them that «he was pleased to refuse no condition in order to have peace, being confident in the respects and oaths between them, and his honor, his liberty and fortune and all he trusted into their free judgment.»

When political agreements were signed between the prince and the grandees they swore to keep their respective honor.

«The king heard mass, and they separately —writes Pedro Carrillo de Huete, Falconer of John II—, mass said by the bishop of León... Before communion, the King ordered that all the members of his *Concejo* who... swore to God, who was there consecrated, that they were to do homage to the King and keep his honor and service and that of his constable Don Álvaro de Luna... The King swore to keep their honor and their estates, of all in general and each one in particular, while they kept what they had sworn... His constable Don Álvaro de Luna swore to keep the honor of all those who kept his, in particular and in general.»

In order to preserve honor they incarcerated bishops and women. Doña Beatrice, daughter of the infante Don Juan of Portugal fell in the dishonor of Don Fernando de Antequera for having been engaged to the famous captain Pero Niño. The regent sent her to Ureña: «And she was there for her honor, with no man being allowed to speak with her.»

Don John II determined to incarcerate his mother in-law, Queen Doña Leonor of Aragón with the Clares of Tordesillas to prevent her from communicating with her sons, the infantes. «And the King was with her, begging her to enter the monastery which was to her honor, but he could not»

Don Gutierre de Toledo, bishop of Palencia imprisoned by John II told him when he was freed: «Sir, while you were in Zamora, you sent for me to be arrested, because thus your service and my honor were fulfilled. And I, sir, fulfilled your command, and so I understand that it was your service and my honor.»

The greatest praise for a Castilian knight implied an exaltation of his honor as much or more than referring to the brilliance of his lineage. In confronting the kings of Aragón and Navarre, Don Álvaro de Luna thus addressed the knights of his army: «Your generous blood has that desire for honor and glory that the people from where you come have always heard about.»

In praise of the same Don Álvaro his friends and servants said: «He

always had a great and generous heart, more inclined to honor than to greed.» «He always loved honor and worked towards it and deserved it and never lost it.» Those who were envious of him said that «he wanted to rise above all others, and sought and took to himself the undertakings bringing the most honor.»

His chronicler praises two loyal servants of the Constable: «Fernando de Ribadeneyra, was a knight of great courage and a person who very much loved his honor and his reputation.» «Bartolomé de Zafra... was very worthy of being praised and obtained much honor and reputation.»

The greatest reproach for a *hidalgo* of Castile was to declare that he was without care of his honor. «And finally, as the mayor (of the castle of Portillo) and his son were more greedy for possessions than for courage, and for money and wealth than for honor and prowess...», writes Don Álvaro de Luna's chronicler, to stigmatize them.

Castilian warriors were attempting to «acquire glory and fame and a good name», «they wanted to fight and have a good name», «they were wishing for and valuing honor», «they had to obtain respect», «they were doing the necessary things... for... honor».

Álvar García de Santamaría, in reporting the expedition against the plain of Granada of the Governor of the Border Diego de Ribera in 1430, writes: «As he was a good knight and young, he coveted doing something against the Moors, for the service of the king and for his honor» The letters of the same Diego de Ribera (1430), of Don Álvaro de Luna (1431), of Rodrigo Manrique, commander of Segura (1434) and of Fernán Álvarez, lord of Valdecorneja (1435), reporting about their campaign of Granada to John II —letters published by Carriazo— prove that this same appetite for honor and fame guided all Castilian knights in the bellicose enterprises.

Rash fights were undertaken to free oneself of disgrace. According to Valera, Archbishop Carrillo de Albornoz and the people who were following Don Alfonso, proclaimed king in Ávila after the deposition of Henry IV, before the appearance of the royal troops, although they were few in number, had to decide between «*vergüenza* or battle» and they fought in order to safeguard their honor, even at risk of being overcome as indeed occurred.

If an army was in great danger, they attempted to have their enemies know how much they valued their honor: «They worked all day from sunrise to sunset surrounded by many enemies, giving them to understand that they were such that they prized their honor very highly.»

Honor forced the knights to audacity but also to caution in order to safeguard his and that of others. Gutierre Díaz de Gámez says in *El Victorial:* «Not for being second lieutenant was he given that honor... he should not grow in pride and madness... He should not try to overdo it, nor seek the honor of others, by placing in danger and in dishonor his lord and the people who go with him... wherein out of honor he should

make *hidalgos* die and place them in known peril, for it is fitting for a second lieutenant to act according to the will of his lord.»

In battles knights regretted being helped because they did not want to share with others the honor of triumph During the entrance of Henry IV in the plain of Granada, believing a group of warriors to be in danger, he sent some reinforcement to help them. «As Fernando de Ribadeneyra, who was firm in the battle, saw that some knights were coming, he was so displeased that —according to what Diego de Valera relates— he left the fight saying that when he had almost conquered the enemy, the others came to attribute the honor of the action to themselves.» The conquest of Gibraltar was at the point of being a failure, during the reign of Henry the Impotent, because of the intervention of Don Rodrigo Ponce de León, son of the count of Arcos —«who was a knight seeking to earn fame», according to Gonzalo de Ávila, magistrate of Jerez, to one of the main Moors of the place— and because of the intervention of the other Andalusian magnates, who according to Valera, were arguing about the honor of the occupation of the city.

Concern for honor made them insensitive to pain. Reporting the siege of Atienza by Don Álvaro de Luna, his chronicler relates the heroism of the Master's knights and adds: «Some of them were wounded with fragments, but they did not feel it: they were too pleased in doing what is honorable.»

To weaken in combat was dishonoring. Ironically Diego de Valera says of the men who fled in Olmedo: «Little honor did they win.»

For honor one had to give one's life. «What can be the greatest honesty of death, than for people to die with honor?», Gonzalo Chacón said to Don Álvaro de Luna before being caught in Burgos.

When a Castilian knight was defeated after having fought heroically, his honor was intact and he continued to enjoy public esteem waiting for the time he could avenge the disaster and increase his good reputation. The Falconer of John II reports how the Grand Master of Alcántara Don Gutierre de Sotomayor was routed by the Moors and relates later how the king dispatched to console him in his disgrace. The messenger was to tell him among other kind words: «Do not marvel that things happened so... but trust that God be served, then I, and the Master growing in honor, and that there be vengeance of the Moors, enemies of our Catholic faith, as He wishes»

When an army reached victory the triumph was recorded alluding to the honor obtained: «The fleet of Castile won much fame in those regions», is said of the fleet which Don Álvaro de Luna sent at the plea of Joan of Arc. «...And that day they rendered great service to God and the king and much to their honor, for they defeated on that day those enemies of the faith», is read about the entrance in Moorish lands.

The knight always preferred honor to booty. For that reason, Constable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo gave his people all the booty obtained in a

campaign against the people of Granada. «God being served and the king, my lord, mine is the honor and yours, the spoils», his chronicler has him say.

And if some of them did not care for honor and were not loyal, they were finally punished by God, according to the judgment of the loyal Castilians. Don Álvaro de Luna's chronicler, who relates how the mayor of Portillo and his relatives, more greedy for wealth than for their honor, surrendered the fortress and its treasures to the monarch, writes of them: «All three Alonsos who did not behave loyally with the great Master ended their lives badly... they all died suddenly and without confession.»

This feeling of honor overflowed from the battlefields and the political questions into the daily life of all Castilians; from the pages of the chroniclers of the kings and the magnates it leaped into the works of the writers who used their pens to reflect the thought, sensibility, passions, anguishes, weaknesses... of the dramatic or common daily lives of the men and women of the autumn of Castile.

Bachelor Fernando de Rojas, of Hebraic origin, has Calisto's servant, Sempronio say to his master: «Some say that nobleness is a praise that comes from the merits or antiquity of our fathers, but I say that somebody else's light will never enlighten you, if you do not have your own. Therefore, do not judge yourself in the light of your father, who was so magnificent, but in your own. And thus is honor won which is the greatest of all goods outside of men.»

When Sosia announces the execution of the servants Pármeno and Sempronio to their master Calisto, Fernando de Rojas puts these words on his lips: «I really feel my honor. Would it had pleased God that I were they and had lost my life instead of my honor... O my sad name and fame, how they spread from mouth to mouth!»

As other Castilians, converts or new Christians also placed the care of their reputation as their goals. But, their hedonistic sense of the world, of bourgeois tendency —new Christians filled the ranks of the new bourgeoisie of Castile— moved them to seek the increase of their honor through different paths. If honor was also for them one of the most precious benefits of men, while the knights were seeking and finding it at sword's point, they considered they were obtaining it by opening their purses. When Fernando de Rojas presents Sempronio attempting to confirm Calisto's decision to use Celestina in his affairs of love, he praise his generosity with the old procuress: «You did very well indeed! Besides arranging your life, you won great honor. And why is fortune favorable and prosperous if not to serve honor, which is the greatest of all the goods of this world?»

Old and new Christians considered the honor of women along with her virginity and that of men in the honesty of the wife, daughter or sister. Before Melibea falls into the arms of Calisto, she attempts to stop him

with these words: «Drive away from you these vain and mad thoughts, because my honor and my person are without evil suspicions... Do not wish to place my reputation in the balance of evil tongues.» She insists by telling him: «Do you wish, o my love, to lose me and to damage my reputation? Do not loosen the reins of your will» When she has been possessed by Calisto, she tells him: «O my life, and my lord. How could you have wished that I should lose my good name and my virginal crown for such a brief delight? If my sin were known by my mother, how she would take death, and give it to me by force! How she would be the cruel spiller of her own blood!»

Cruel executioner of your own blood! The phrase that Rojas places on Melibea's lips was not pure literary exaltation. The theoretics of the so-called «Calderonian» honor was already old in Spain when the bachelor of Hebraic blood wrote «Celestina» during the reign of the Catholic Kings.

The fact that the fickleness of a woman brought the disgrace of the husband in the Castile of the 15th century is clearly seen from these words of the Archpriest of Talavera: «Tell me, what is lacking to the one with a good, rich, honorable husband, of great lineage?... but you will see her getting involved at times with others less good, you must know, that she gets involved with a mean, miserable man, and she disgraces her husband. Does such a woman love her husband? Obviously not, for if she did, she would not bring dishonor upon him!»

We know of a case of authentic revenge of the disgrace of a deceived husband In the Chronicle of the Falconer of John II we read: «The count of Castro, Don Diego Gómez de Sandoval, sent from Aragón where he was in exile, Don Diego de Sandoval, his nephew and a bachelor, along with 20 horses, to Villafrechos, a place of his, where his wife the countess was in a monastery of sisters. They called at the door, saying that the count was coming and they entered the bedroom where the countess was at night and they strangled her The reason why the count had that done was because, in his absence, she abused him» (September, 1436).

The Archpriest of Talavera related that to free herself of the danger of being killed by her husband, a woman of Tortosa who, lying with a painter, was surprised by her son, consented that her friend kill him and help bury him in a stable.»

Honor was not the patrimony of noblemen. In the *Partidas* they clearly distinguish the nobleman for being «honored», that is to have respect. With time even the low people were considering themselves «honored» for having come to the point of considering themselves capable of having and losing respect. With the same meaning as in the *Partidas* the word «honored» is used many times by Fernando de Rojas. Melibea's maid, Lucrecia, when she went to seek Celestina by orders of her mistress, as she found her with Elicia and Areusa and Calisto's servants, friendly with them, she greeted them so: «God bless so many people so honored.»

Noblemen still considered respect as an attribute of their nobility. «And, you, what do you know about honor?», Calisto, proud and mad, asked Pármeno who was attempting to prevent him from falling into Celestina's nets. But both were feeling the call of *vergüenza*, from whose source came honor. The old procuress reasons thus her decision to undertake Melibea's seduction: «I want to go. There is greater shame in passing for a coward than the penalty involved in being daring in what I promised her since good fortune is always alongside effort» Pármeno addresses these words to Sempronio while his master is talking in the garden with his beloved: «I declare that it is with *vergüenza* for both of us, not to be odiously accused of cowardice, that we should wait for death here with our master, since he does not deserve it more than we do.»

That feeling of *vergüenza* was naturally accompanied by great esteem for respect even in the people of the lowest class, and it is not therefore rare that they praise themselves for having it, or lose it through vile acts or through the decrease of the esteem or reputation of another.

The Archpriest of Talavera, after relating how a beatiful but evil woman was hanged in Barcelona, for having choked her father in order to enjoy her friend, relates that, blinded by her beauty, «the executioner when he took her down, lied with her», for which he was publicly whipped in the city. And he adds: «and thus it happened that even after her death, she was the cause of the dishonor of the executioner».

Melibea's maid, Lucrecia, after greeting Celestina —and the prostitutes who were with her along with Calisto's servants—, heard these words from the lips of the famous procuress: «There is an old proverb which says that all in the world either increases or decreases. Everything has its limits; everything has its degrees. My honor reached its peak, according to who I was; it is necessary that it should decrease and lessen».

Dishonor for the executioner of Barcelona and honor of the «old whore», Celestina! For the Archpriest of Talavera, Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, and for the Bachelor of the village of Montalbán, Fernando de Rojas, an executioner and a procuress could lose or enjoy honor. Can there be a clearer proof that the peninsular society was at the point of getting to the point of saturation by the point of honor?

6. Continuation of the chivalrous ideal of honor as a moral ideal in the castile of the late middle ages

Huizinga has considered the chivalrous ideal as an esthetic ideal and has affirmed that it failed as a moral ideal, because of its sinful origin. He writes that honor, the North of noble life had been born of stylized and sublimated arrogance. But the nucleus of that vital module, he adds, continued to be arrogance adorned, and for that reason, the history of the

aristocracy in the medieval fall, presents to us a picture in which honor is accompanied by the most shameful egoism.

Huizinga's words apply to the high peninsular nobility, including the Castilian one, from the days of Alfonso the Learned to those of Henry the Impotent. Their pride and ambition triumphed over their sense of honor. In the historical account of almost all the infantes and rich men of León and Castile of those two centuries, the debit of their many felonies is way beyond the credit of their services to the community. The Castilian Don Juans —I am referring to the infante Don Juan, Don Juan Manuel, Don Juan, the One-Eyed and Don Juan Núñez de Lara— were perfect models of that impudent selfishness which Huizinga reports. And they were not the exception in the sad long hours of those two miserable centuries of the history of Castile. Before they came to the world, during their lives and after their deaths, they were surpassed by many other Castilian grandees who invoked their honor at every step to devastate the kingdom wildly.

From the most illustrious and representative of all, Don Juan Manuel, obsessed by his honor, history has not preserved one single trait of generous heroism, magnificent fidelity to the chivalrous ideal of life. The number of his treasons and excesses exceeds that of his literary works, and he was as bad a knight as a writer. Because of his desertion Ferdinand IV lost Algeciras and Alfonso XI, Gibraltar. He offered to the king of Granada to help him not only to rule Andalusia but to enter into Castile itself. In Salado he hit with a war club one of his men who was reproaching him for his treacherous inactivity. With his armies he destroyed the fields of Castile, warring against defenseless workers.

One century later Fernán Pérez de Guzmán lamented that the old ideals had fallen and that the desire for goods and riches was triumphing. In reporting the process and fall of Ruy López Dávalos, he declares, obviously referring to Castilian aristocracy: «it seems that more out of concern for greed than zeal for justice, they had a case against him, due to the avarice that had entered into and possessed Castile, they exiled him in disgrace». «At that time, the richest man is the most noble», he writes in the biography of Gonzalo Núñez de Guzmán. In the life of Fernán Alonso de Robles, he finds «sure proof and evidence of little courage and much greed at the present time». In sketching the portrait of Don Alvaro de Luna, he declares: «The laudable custom of the Castilians has come to such an extreme, that in order to have the possessions of their relative and friend, they will consent to take or kill him».

One generation later, Hernando del Pulgar, of Judaic lineage, insists on the desire for wealth in the Castilian magnates. He writes of the count of Haro: «As all men he desired possessions and he knew how to acquire and increase them». With almost the same words he accuses and excuses the greed of Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Count of Alba, Don Juan Pacheco, the Grand Master of Santiago, the Duke of Infantado, and Don

Alfonso de Fonseca, Archbishop of Seville. After reporting the factions which stirred the kingdom in the days of Henry IV, he adds: «In that division, greed was born and avarice increased, justice fell and force ruled, robbery ruled and lust, and there was greater success for the cruel temptation of sovereignty than the humble persuasion of obedience, and customs for the most part, were corrupt and dissolute, in such a way that many, forgetting the loyalty and love that they owed to their king and land, and following their particular interests, neglected the public good in such a way, that in general and in particular it perished».

But it is not less certain that Fernán Pérez de Guzmán wrote his *Generaciones y Semblanzas,* dominated by the old chivalrous ideal in which pride, honor, fame and shame are interwoven. «The brave and virtuous knights —he declares—... their whole effort is to exert themselves in loyalty for their kings, in defense of the homeland and good friendship of his friends and for that reason they do not hesitate in spending nor do they fear death». All along he praises those who gave proofs of possessing the qualities that he esteemed: «There were some debates and questions with some great men in the kingdom of León, from which he came out with much honor», he writes of Don Pedro Suárez de Quiñones. Of Don Juan García de Manrique, Archbishop of Santiago, he tells that he abandoned his archbishopric and the kingdom because Henry III ordered to apprehend the Count of Benavente, to whom he through royal order, had given his word that he could go safely to Burgos. And he insists upon the noble talents of those whose biographies he wrote.

It is not less certain that the convert Hernando del Pulgar very frequently states the magnificent traits which honored some Castilian grandees of his time. «He could not tolerate the things that seemed excessive and contrary to reason... That knight suffered his losses with the same countenance, and no force of fortune ever weakened the strength of his heart», he says of Admiral Don Fadrique Enríquez. «He was... a man who was wishing to do magnificent things in order to gain respect», he writes of the Count of Haro and he relates what he did. «He governed... with great prudence the people of his company and he knew how to be lord and companion to them: he was neither haughty in his dominion, nor vulgar in companionship», he declares of the Marquis of Santillana, and he thus applauds his courage: «He was very zealous for the things that a man must do». With great praise, he relates how the Count of Alba saved his armies in a difficult situation during the border war and reports his words: «Gentlemen —he said— fortune has placed us in such a situation that if we are cowardly, we are sure of death and capture and if we are brave, life and honor will be certain». «That knight was so zealous for honor —he says of the Duke of Infantado— that with difficulty he was brought into doing business or any matter that he had promoted afraid that the differences of time would force him to change his word, by which he could fall into decline». Of Master Don Rodrigo Manrique he writes:

«To turn his back to the enemy was so foreign to him that he would chose to receive death fighting rather than save his life escaping», and he relates some of his deeds in which «thinking less of life and more of glory... he obtained with great honor the end of his undertakings». Hernando del Pulgar exalts the heroism of Pedro Fajardo, Rodrigo de Narváez and of other noble Castilians in wars against the Moors and in wars beyond the Pyrenees where they went for the pleasure of fighting and where they «gained honor for themselves, and the reputation of courageous and brave knights for the *hidalgos* of Castile».

If many Castilian grandees of the worst days of the history of Castilian nobility gave such proofs of faithfulness to the chivalrous ideal of honor, most of the *hidalgos* and knights, their contemporaries, preserved their honor and reputation with heroic zeal.

Of the knights *Las Partidas* had said: «It happens many times that in order to remain loyal to the Lord or to those to whom they owe loyalty, they do wrong to those who do not deserve it, and hurt themselves and all the things they are endebted to; exposing themselves to danger, and even to death, going against their wills, leaving what they would like behind, and doing what they did not want to do if they could have avoided it. They do all of this in order not to decrease in their loyalty». (Part. II, XXI; IX.)

That harsh law of honor moved many second rate noble Castilians to give magnificent proofs of heroism and to face death with magnificent disdain.

It will suffice to remember García Gómez Carrillo who, in order to keep loyalty to his king Alfonso X and to save his honor, defended the fortress of Jerez with a handful of men and got to the point of tearing his flesh with hooks before surrendering the fortress to the besieging Beni Amer; or Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, the Good, who, to fulfill his duties as a loyal vassal of Sancho IV, preferred to see his son killed rather than deliver Tarifa to the treacherous infante Don Juan; Alfonso García de Padilla, who asked Alfonso XI for a horse and weapons in order to serve his lord Don Juan Núñez de Lara, whon the king was going to besiege in Lerma, and that he rushed to help the besieged facing the royal threat of being decapitated if he did not perform his duty; Juan Fernández de Canedo who, desirous to safeguard his own honor, solicited permission to enter in order to die with Alonso Fernández Coronel, of whom he was a vassal and whom the armies of Don Peter the Cruel had encircled in his castle of Aguilar de la Frontera; all the knights who refuse to welcome the kings of Castile to the posts that they were holding for their lords, in spite of the threat of being declared traitors; García Fernández Manrique, steward of the infante Don Henry of Aragón, cousin and brother-in-law of John II, who preferred to be imprisoned with him rather than to abandon him in his disgrace; many vassals and servants of the grandees in struggle with the king and with Don Alvaro de Luna, who refused

compliments and resisted threats, remaining loyal to their lords, and to preserve their honor, remained in their fortresses and even fought in open field against the royal armies; various servants of Don Alvaro de Luna, who after his capture and even his death, defended Maqueda, Escalona and other places and castles of the Constable, out of loyalty to the memory of their lord and even at the risk of incurring royal anger; and so many knights who knew how to die and kill to obtain honor and fame or to preserve them.

To die and to kill? Castilians had been educated in the scorn of death. From always, they had received noble lessons of scorn for it. They had learned that life was worth less than personal honor, the loyalty to their lord and the fulfillment of their duties towards the community, and they were able to gamble their lives in the bellicose battles against the Moors and in the battle of daily life. «Since man cannot excuse death nor escape from it, he must die the most honorable way that is possible», the authors of the *Crónica General* have made Fernán González say, putting an old epic ballad into prose and Castilians —the old, the new and the very new— came to think that this dying honorably was the most worthy conclusion to life. «Those from where we come always kept their loyalty, and for that reason they were valued and in order to preserve it, they forgot their deaths... And of all who live in the world, they were the ones who best watched over the lords and considered that they should die instead of their lords, and considering this they won the honor that they possess... For fear of death, they did not want to do any wrong nor any thing that would bring evil upon them, and because of this they overcame their enemies... and we did so well going to battle that we did not leave it for fear of death. With the help of God and our loyalty, we shall overcome the Moors and we will get Castile out of its difficult situation»; the writers of the *Crónica General* had the first Castilian count say. That beatiful and brave «reason» of Fernán González, echo of the intimate feeling of the archetypes of the lineage, was frequently heard by the people and managed to gain their assent. Why tremble before death? No one could escape from it; it was only fitting to choose between waiting for it in fear or facing it bravely. By not backing up before its inexorable call, it could be overcome, linking it to the honor which survived after life, and honor and freedom could be reached for the earth. Castilians learned to die —to die and to kill, naturally— in the tremendous fight maintained by them in order to continue to live in freedom and with *vergüenza* and dignity.

To die and to kill? Yes, because many Castilians offered in holocaust, their lives and that of their own on the altar of honor. Their lives or the lives of their own? Yes, because quite a few fell fighting and because «Calderonian» honor was not an invention of the 16th century. The revenge of Count of Castro verifies it and with it a singular shade of the Castilian romances of the undutiful wives. As Menéndez Pidal has pointed out, while in the similar French ballads, women scoff the husbands deceived

by them, in the ballad of the «woman undutiful», the unfaithful wife, feeling guilty, asks him to kill her.

No, in Spain the chivalrous ideal of honor did not cease to be fruitful as a moral ideal in the daily lives of peninsular people. Of peninsular people, because it did not only serve as an incentive and a curb to *hidalgos* and knights. Villeins also looked after their reputations and honor. Alfonso Martínez of Toledo and Fernando del Pulgar were not ironic when they spoke of the honor of the lowest people on the social scale.

We recall Diego de Linares, the guard of Alcalá la Real, who saved it from falling into the hands of the Moors through signals to the rearguard of the enemy army. Captured by the people of Granada and asked «why he had done such a mad and daring thing», he answered: «Because I consider it good and more I want to suffer —they were going to kill him—, Lord, that my neighbors' sons may not tell mine: your father's weakness made your mother a widow».

And if the people had forgotten the tradition of offended honor which appeared in the municipal *fueros,* neither the Archpriest of Talavera would have repeatedly mentioned it in the *Corbacho,* nor Torres Naharro would have made the servant Turpedio warn and advise his master what his duty implied in the case of his honor; nor would Lope have written, *Peribáñez o el Comendador de Ocaña,* nor Calderón *El Alcalde de Zalamea,* nor would both and Tirso, have alluded —in *El Rey Don Pedro en Madrid, El testimonio vengado, La venganza de Tamar, El Burlador...*— in honor of the villeins.

We might suspect that the moral efficacy of the chivalrous ideal of honor among us was perhaps owed to the absence South of the Pyrenees, in the decisive centuries of our Middle Ages, of what has been called spectacular and empty of subtance in the chivalrous ideal of beyond the Pyrenees. Huizinga has analyzed, mercilessly but sharply, what there was of contradictory with the social reality in the configuration of the type of life that knighthood incarnated, adorned by false colors of continence, simplicity and fidelity, and how incompatible turned out to be with the necessities of war, when the latter ceased to be a comedy, the brilliant rules of the bellicose conduct of French knights.

The essential difference between the political, military and moral significance of the chivalrous ideal to the North and the South of the Pyrenees, depends perhaps upon the distance which existed between the harshness and authentic violence of our national war of the Reconquest and the theatrics —at times with ballet features— of the lordly and noble ultrapyrenean wars.

Let us read Huizinga: «The crusade since some time had been converted into a pretext to collect special taxes» «Military expeditions amply prepared and noisily announced... seemed to have been sought... as a political claim.» «The dissenssions between the states were still considered

in the 15th century as struggles of factions...» that the princes were to resolve through singular duels. «Where the conflict between the chivalrous spirit comes out more clearly is in the cases in which... its was a matter of showing one's courage in a full real war.» «The chivalrous spirit is constantly opposed to the exigencies of strategy» and it leads to disaster armies which intend to follow the laws of honor. «The personal bravery of the prince on the battlefield was at times a little spectacular. Froissart describes a struggle that took place in Calais between Edward III and a French *hidalgo*, in terms that make one suspect that it was anything but a serious thing... In the end, the Frenchman surrenders and the case concludes with a dinner which the king offers in honor of his prisoner.» «Lies come from all the openings of the gala suits of the knights.» «Englishmen had introduced the custom that the knights should dismount before the battle and Frenchmen imitated them. Eustache Deschamps says scoffingly that such a practice served to avoid their escape. Sea war is awful —says Froissart— since there they cannot escape nor flee.» «Each page of the history of the wars in the later Middle Ages gives us to understand the importance of having important prisoners for the interest of ransom.» «Among the resounding exaltation of chivalrous war, here and there, sounds the repulsion for the chivalrous ideal... The noblemen themselves at times recognized the misery pompously disguised and the falseness of such a life.»

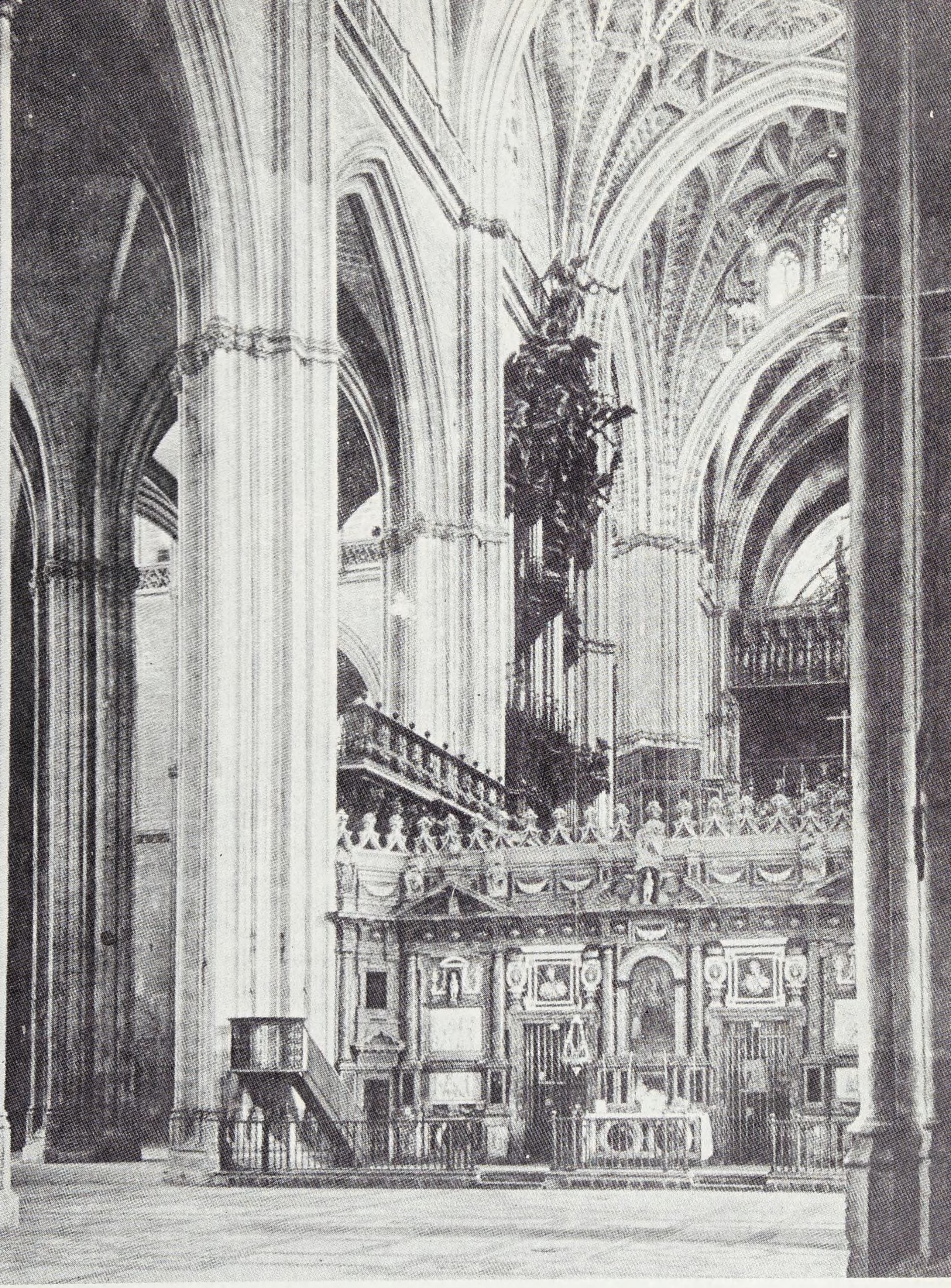
The war of the Reconquest obviously contradicts that lordly and chivalrous war. It was a war among peoples in which, next to noblemen, were fighting the municipal militia, and alongside of the knights armed in the European style, the light riders, mounted on jades, and the rustic villeins. They were fighting with barbarian fierceness. There was no room for a ballet step. An error, a neglect, a weakness occasioned the loss of a city or a stronghold, won at the cost of a bloody battle or a very long siege. Still in the 14th century, the Christian prisoner who did not apostatize was decapitated or sold as a slave. The chiefs of some armies: infantes, archbishops, counts or rich men were falling in battle and their heads were sent as trophies to the Moorish king whose lances had defeated them: let us recall the archbishop infante Don Sancho, Don Nuño de Lara, the infantes Don Juan and Don Pedro and the Governor Diego Ribera. Kings intervened in battles and at times, as Alfonso VI in Zalaca, they were nailed to the saddles of their horses by the daggers of enemy warriors. Chivalrous overflows which could endanger the lives of brave fighters were not consented, for that reason in the siege of Seville Ferdinand III punished some knights who were too audacious. There was no room for the struggle between strategy and tactics and the chivalrous ideal, because the latter had no part in that fierce and authentic war which they had to wage. The raids and incursions to cause damage to the enemy were no reed games, but dangerous, harsh courageous enterprises in which there was burning, stealing and killing without mercy, but from which many

never came back; those that the enemy realized in Christian lands caused the greatest evils and at times, the fall into infidel hands of one or various strongholds or castles. When they were not fighting against the Moors but against another peninsular Christian people or within the kingdom in civil struggles it was not easy to change the habitual fierceness and barbarity into chivalrous courtesy and the type of war which they had been waging since the first expeditions of the Reconquest was being prolonged; it is proven by hundreds of Castilian heads which rolled during the kingdoms of Alfonso XI and Peter I and the cruelties of the war between the latter and Peter IV of Aragón, neither in the purely lordly struggles of the days of John II and of Henry IV marked with the chivalrous negligence and theatricality of the wars beyond the Pyrenees —in many encounters «blood did not get to the river», as they used to say— were lacking the features of authentic and harsh strife, traditional in Castile.

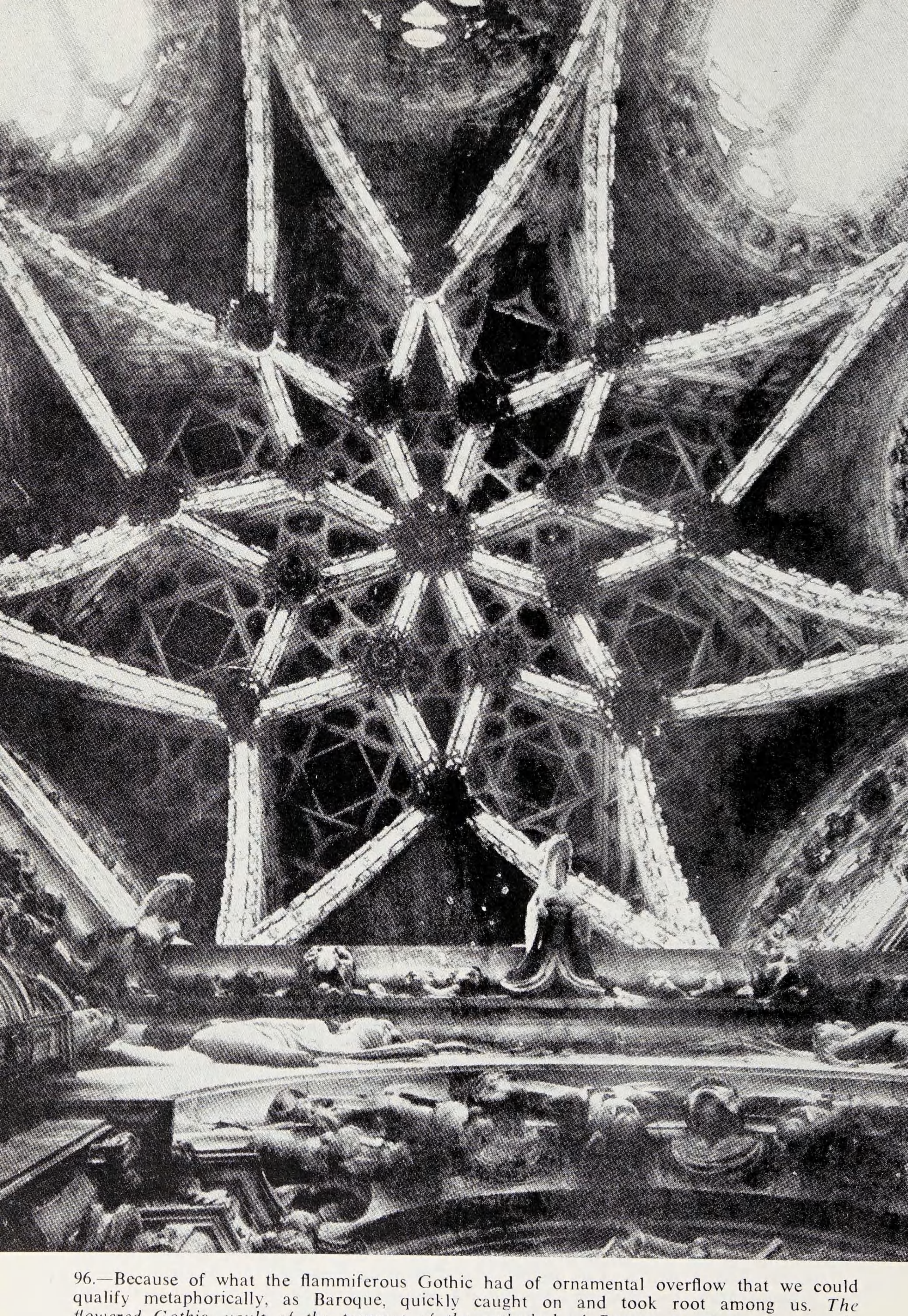
In the long and obstinate medieval Hispanic wars, some chivalrous qualities essentially counted: honor, based on loyalty and courage, and *vergüenza,* rooted in pride. Upon them depended the success against the enemy most of the time much stronger, always courageous and accustomed to war and who was fighting with fury, without respecting, of course, the European practices of chivalry. The excessive foliage which had grown around it beyond the Pyrenees soon faded in Castile, although it continued without much life, during the late Middle Ages, in tournaments, «steps» and feasts. But those other essential virtues —let us not hesitate in using that word to qualify the feeling of honor, loyalty and *vergüenza*— remained profoundly established in the national soul as they had served as steel nerves to Castilian society during long centuries. For that reason they maintained their moral efficacy and remained not only as ideals of life, unreachable because they were lofty and pure, but in vigor in the daily existence of the modern Spaniard.

As in other very various manifestations of the feeling, thinking and wanting that is to say, of the whole life, the people, participants with the nobility in the harsh long fight, emulated and followed the norms and ideals of conduct of the chivalrous or aristocratic minority, which constituted the unique model of their daily existence. The absence of a powerful bourgeoisie between the nobility and the masses and the Hebraic ascendence of many of those who formed the one which was being formed, favored the double and opposite mimetic current which moved the popular masses to imitate the modules of life of knights and the aristocracy to enjoy the feeling, thinking and desire of the people.

As an auxiliary cause of the crisis which, beyond the Pyrenees, transformed little by little the chivalrous ideal of honor in pure formalism to the point of converting it into a mere empty shell, Huizinga could have alluded to the triumph and growing power of the bourgeois ideal of life, which honored the god of success and gave way to a hedonistic sense of



95.—*Interior* in flowery Gothic *of the cathedral of Seville.* The cross of the Islamic face of the old Roman Seville. The Sepulcher of Columbus completes the Sevillian triptych: the Hispano-Arab, the Hispano-Christian and the Hispano-Atlantic. Alfaquís and poets, clerics and knights, bankers and merchants... and after Christs, Immaculates, the Rogue Guzmán de Alfarache and... Don Juan. Of the Moorish city there only remains the old buildings and old art; it was completely emptied by Ferdinand III.



96.—Because of what the flammiferous Gothic had of ornamental overflow that we could qualify metaphorically, as Baroque, quickly caught on and took root among us. *The flowered Gothic, voult of the transept of the cathedral of Burgos,* serves as an example of such a triumph, exuberant of decoration and with a cueviform tendency.

human existence, without too many moral scruples —at times without any at all— and to rapid improvement at the North of the effort of every day.

In most of the peninsular kingdoms, in Castile above all, the two historical processes interfered and reciprocally enriched each other: one which prevented the development of a strong bourgeoisie and one which increased the social vigor of the chivalrous vital modules, centered on pride, honor, dignity and *vergüenza.* Between the negative electricity of one and the positive one of the other, there was influence between the two for many decades. The devotion to the chivalrous ideal of great parts of the people contributed to the limitation of the ascensional impulse of the bourgeoisie and of the bourgeois ideals. At the same time the minimal power of both accentuated the inclination of Castilian society towards the cult of honor, rooted in arrogance and projected towards dignity.

Because of all of this, Fabricio Gauberte in 1499 could write, speaking of Spain: «The people here refuse everything and they are very far from profits, parties, interests and merchandises from Italy, whereas there everything sells well here everything is given; all the people here are more courtlike than involved in land and trade; everything is based on chivalry, respect and effort than on manual functions; more on manners, nobleness and nobility than the common people in Germany or France, where more are clerks and are involved in crafts.»

For Burckhardt, the characteristic qualities of the man of the Renaissance were personal ambition and love of glory which now seemed to come from a lofty sense of honor, now were manifestations of an ignoble arrogance. Huizinga has rightly observed that those two qualities coincide in their essence with the chivalrous ambition and honor, to which he erroneously attributes a French origin. María Rosa Lida has just studied *La idea de la fama en la Edad Media castellana.* The rupture between the Middle Ages and the new times must have also been, in that area of life and of ideas, less radical than what is ordinarily believed.

Burckhardt so defines the Renaissance sense of honor: «It is the enigmatic mixture of conscience and of egoism which is left to modern man even after he had lost, through his fault or not, everything else, faith, love and hope. That feeling of honor is compatible with great selfishness and great vices and it is capable of great errors, but it can also accept all the nobleness that has remained in the personality and get new forces from that source.»

Since the *homo hispanus* of the new times did not lose faith, love, nor hope, the positive electricity predominated in his concept of honor, light over darkness. And even though he did not exclude ambitions, selfishness, vices and errors —not even the fear of God excluded them—, he reduced them to the minimum, and was able to make that source of new forces flow abundantly which Burckhardt found at times in the sense of honor of men of the Renaissance.

I tend to believe that as the vigor obtained in Spain by the chivalrous ideal of *vergüenza* and honor influenced the slowness and weakness of the formative process of peninsular medieval bourgeoisie, and was in turn influenced by the weakness and laxity of bourgeois ideals in Castile, so also the continuation of the traditional devotion to loyalty and honor contributed to the fact that, during the short circuit of Modern Times, the first vital projections of Hispanic Renaissance should burn and be consumed. That consumption and the fugacity of the new forms of life in turn facilitated the survival of the old chivalrous feelings.

Through those two different processes were perpetuated, South of the Pyrenees, pride, honor, loyalty, courage and *vergüenza* which had formed the powerful motors from which had radiated decisive energies for the medieval history of Castile and of Spain.

Vossler has come to attribute to the sense of honor, which encompassed and concentrated all the others, the main rôle in the Spain of the Golden Age. Menéndez Pidal had placed it only behind the religious feelings of the Spaniards of the 16th and 17th centuries.

7. Historical projections of Spanish pride, honor and dignity

Before the many proofs of pride, honor and dignity in Spaniards in the 16th and 17th century, the author of *España en su historia* has spoken of gesture and attitude. To keep a worthy conduct, avoiding all evidence of hesitation and weakness and all ridiculous and foolish action, to dominate vehemence and passions through cold and serene self-management translated into Spanish measure and tranquillity; to project the duties of honor over daily existence, sacrificing interest to ideal and ideal to life if this was necessary, and to be able to die with disdainful indifference and with elegant beauty, are not gestures, nor attitudes, nor formalisms. Not even in the supposed emptiness of Quixotic actions, is there only gesture and attitude as affirmed, nor did dignity consent in giving the appearance of strength when it was weak, as wished. If these affirmations were correct, only the poor in spirit, the cowards and the rogues would have been worthy, and most whole men of Spain were worthy.

To know how to die with serene disdain and with elegant beauty is not a simple enterprise. Alfonso X, who had fought many times, was very awed by death in a serious illness that he suffered. When Al-Hakam I had himself perfumed so that if his head fell in the fight it would be differentiated from the others in something; Don Álvaro de Luna appeared tranquil and lordly at the gallows; Juan Bravo said to the town cryer declaring him to be a traitor on the way to being hanged, that he was lying; Don Manuel de Menesses put on his best clothes and took time to read and comment on a sonnet by Lope de Vega while waiting for the

galley to sink; Don Rodrigo Calderón managed to die with pride and elegance —all faced death with dignity in order to safeguard their honor beyond life, through a magnificent example of how a gentleman should die.

Someone has said, apparently without irony: «He who investigates the secrets of nature can achieve a marvelous work but it is not said that there is dignity in it.» Naturally just as it is not said that their is dignity in artistic creation whatever its magnitude and beauty may be, nor in the adoration of the divinity however fervent and swift the flight of the soul to God may be, nor in the practice of virtue although the degree of heroism obtained may be great. Therefore, he who also writes without irony that: «In the effective and rational work, there is no dignity», is half way to the truth and exceeds it.

Pride, honor and dignity are at the same time incentive, spring, limitations and curbs of the will which are projected upon the life of relation of men within the community. Is efficacious and rational work excluded from it? Are not the organization of a people, its direction and ruling not efficacious and rational works?

On the steps of the consistorial house of Toledo —I do not know if they are still read— one could read these verses of Manrique that come to me now:

Noble, discreet men
Who govern Toledo,
On those steps
Cast away ambitions,
Greeds, loves, fears.
For the benefit of all
Leave the particular ones.
Since God made you pillars
Of such high roofs,
Be firm and just.

They are an invitation to dignity of conduct directed to Toledan councilmen; an incentive to dignity in the government of a city and its council. Efficacious and rational task? Will anyone dare answer this question negatively?

As to the ruling of each man's life, is it not also an efficacious and rational undertaking? Is there any other more transcendent for any man? Can there be a more dramatic task for a human community than the conduct of its own existence as a people, collective fruit of the individual conduct of the members who form it? There is dignity guiding, spurring, directing, curbing, marking courses, avoiding reefs... dignity, daughter of honor and mother of *vergüenza.* Is there any undertaking superior in vital transcendence to the fulfillment of duties towards the other members of the social group in which we are inscribed?

The laws of honor, rooted in pride and projected upon dignity, constituted a very powerful force, in the ascensional process of Spain during the 16th century, their degeneration, distortion, fossilization, a force no less powerful in the vertical fall of the Spanish homeland.

Honor with its multiple projections mentioned so many times before, did not constitute a social good that could be inherited, a pure static and passive force. Whatever its meaning: social hierarchy, reputation and public esteem or eternal glory, it required effort and service. The effort of a worthy behavior and the service to the nation which royalty presided. Individual honor, as Menéndez Pidal has written, was part of the moral structure of the community, because the individual considered himself the depositary of the essential values of collective life.

In the creative stage of modern Spanish history, honor did not rest exclusively upon the honesty of the wife, daughter or sister. Vengeance of the fall of any of them was obligatory to vindicate one's own reputation since tolerating the offense implied cowardice, as would also suppose the lack of reaction before any other public or private offense, however small it might have been and even if it were only tangential. In the *Cortes* of Toledo of 1538, Charles V asked the grandees for a tax. Exempt from paying taxes, they rejected such a demand as offensive. But since the Duke of Infantado had accepted the gabelle concession, he received a letter which said thus: «Since you married your daughter to Sancho de Paz and you consented to the service of the King, and got involved in knife fights with the alguacil, you do not look after the reputation of the King, which he enjoys in abundance.»

Honor was related to loyalty and to courage. It demanded fidelity to the ideal and to national enterprises and the fulfillment of duty towards the community, where destiny had placed the Spaniard. At the same time, it required heroic courage in the practice of loyalty and in the exercise of the personal mission of each one.

Therefore, even religious dissidence constituted a disgrace. Bataillon has brought to task two texts which prove it. The Inquisition of Saragossa requested the help of the archbishop and the jurists of the city in the process against Michael Servetus, because «it was very important in the service of God and of Their Majesties and to the honor of the Spanish nation». Sepúlveda relates that Alfonso Díaz, upon finding out in Rome that his brother Juan had fallen into heresy, went to find him in Germany and since he did not succeed in making him return to the Catholic faith nor to Italy, he killed him to avoid greater damages to the religion and «to avoid the dishonor to his family, and even his homeland and most of all Spain».

Disloyalty in war or in public life implied a greater disgrace. Such were not rare in the Europe of the 16th century, only in Spain have they been recorded: that of Pedro Navarro, very understandable, and that of Antonio Pérez, very explained. Notwithstanding having interfered on the

way of Hispanic loyalty the complex equation, traditional in the Peninsula, between power, wealth and service, *hidalgos* and Spanish knights rarely succumbed to the temptation of bribing by foreign princes in damage of the homeland, in opposition to the fall into so many temptations of so many well known figures of the other peoples of Europe then.

The continuation of the chivalrous modules of honor gave efficacy to the historical sailing of the Spaniard in the muddled waters of European politics of the 16th century, so filled with shoals and reefs. Naturally, not all Spaniards were honorable using the word in a medieval sense, of the man who enjoyed honor. As those who lost it, through cowardice, because they succumbed to bribery or committed unjust exactions, ceased to deserve to be qualified so, the term began to acquire the modern and present meaning. But except for the obligatory exceptions, the zeal to preserve it for oneself, one's own and for the country produced truly exemplary lives. More than once Spanish soldiers renounced their wages waiting for new shipments of funds, so that the German or Italian mercenaries could be satisfied, placing thus their devotion to their country above their hunger. The effort to preserve and augment their own reputation and that of Spain, at the risk and heroic sacrifice of their lives, was the decisive motive of many Spanish imperial undertakings.

As never until then, the saturation of Hispanic society by the always more vivid and demanding sense of honor, became very intense. It continued to interfere and influence not only in the life style of the aristocracy, but in great sectors of the people, in the thousands and thousands of *hidalgos* and knights who lived in the cities and in the country and in the masses themselves who lived with them. The former because of their condition of nobles of the latest ranks, and on occasions because of their very recent condition of *hidalgos,* were the most faithful guardians of the rules of honor, in order to maintain its nobleness unpolluted, which they could not support in wealth or in ostentation, and at times could not even base upon tradition, since their grandfathers were villein knights. And the people, because as has been repeatedly said, they had been won over for centuries by an old admirative mimetism of the vital modules of noblemen.

The casuistic texts which the author of *España en su historia* gathered many years ago, offer the best proof of the saturation of the Spanish society by the feeling of honor. Azpilcueta in his *Manual de confesores* (1557), Juan Pedraza in *Suma de casos de conciencia* (1568), Fray Bartolomé de Medina in his *Breve instrucción de cómo se ha de administrar el sacramento de la penitencia* (1579) and other subsequent treatises advise minutely upon questions in which the honor and the reputation of the penitent were in danger. They place so much zeal into the preservation of both that they raise the doubt of whether faults that could stain honor should be declared in confession.

The feeling of honor attacked even the high walls of the convents and penetrated into the wealth of ideas of the Spanish cloisters. We know it

from the words of Saint Teresa: «I came one morning, Father Friar Antonio de Jesús was sweeping the door of the church with the happy face that he has always. I told him: "What is this, Father? What has happened to honor?" He told me these words, telling me how happy he was: "I curse the time when I had it".»

All felt moved by a vivid sense of honor from the king and the grandee of Spain to the workman and the peasant. For that reason the dramatists of Golden Age took these questions of honor to the stage. «Because they moved the people strongly», as Lope said and not because the Castilians were anguished by the problem of the purity of blood, as is foolishly pretend in *De la edad conflictiva.*

Only a people exalted by a singular devotion for the haughty scorn of danger to obtain honor, for the implacable vengeance of offended honor and for the serene and scornful confrontation by death in order to preserve reputation, could have enjoyed the heroic and chivalrous ballads, could have applauded the dramas built upon bloody problems of honor and could have been moved by the elegance with which Don Rodrigo Calderón died at the gallows.

That intensive saturation of Spain by the laws of honor was like a two-edged sword; if one impelled towards courage, loyalty, the heroic fulfillment of duty, service of the community, dignity in conduct, emulation of the companion in the tasks... the other delayed, paralyzed and confused. Lope de Vega wrote about honor that quatrain of a well-known sonnet:

Honor to our damage introduced
In the laws of the world, always mistaken,
How is it if your hands are so delicate
That you tighten so much the neck of our lives?

And Ortega has written justly about the Spain of Velázquez: «"Honor"... has come to be converted into a system so intricate and difficult of norms that not a single step can be taken without falling into the conflict that they themselves create by their counterpositions. "Honor" has turned into an excrescence or a vegetation of tropical exuberance that it surrounds and fills all life emptying it of all its serious content.»

Yes; the saturation of Spain by an always more complex and punctilious sense of honor ended up damaging historical life of Spain from two very distinct fronts. Let us not forget that that sharp sensibility before the laws of honor was not a fresh youthful blossoming of the Spain of the 16th century. It was a —or better another— prolongation of medieval forms of life. It has been proven that the devotion to the rigid exigencies of honor was already centuries old among us at the beginning of the new times. We know the causes of the prolongation of its enforcement, and there was a residual remnant. It became affected, ankylosed, lost what it

had of impulsive force, of incentive, of spring and goad for the will, at the same time as it became distorted, complicated, subtle, fossilized to end up being converted into a curb, a bridle, a fence and ivy of Spanish life.

Of the life of Spaniards and of Spain: of the Spaniards because it kept from works and efforts not only the *hidalgos* but all who felt seduced by their life style. It would not have mattered that noblemen should not exercise manual functions because of honor: such was the medieval European tradition whose efficacy was not derogated; what did matter was that they had nothing to do with any form of economic activity of bourgeois sign, creative of wealth, and even with the particular duties of their class. Ortega has observed how the aristocrats who stabbed for the most unnatural reasons, refused to leave Madrid to assist the army of Estremoz, where Portugal was being lost. Could one add that it was because of questions of honor: because their honor prevented them from serving unless it was at the orders of the king.

And life in Spain, because the laws of honor overflowed the individual dignity of each Spaniard and the collective dignity of the Hispanic community. Spain had a reputation —from before the days of James I who already alluded to it—, a reputation as brittle and exigent as that of each Spaniard. Spain too had to watch over its honor; it too remained almost prisoner of a restricted series of historical possibilities, not those that its temperamental heritage or functional structure offered and that the interest of each moment imposed; but those that reputation dictated, with its back to its history and the conveniences of the moment. Judged by men curbed, bridled in their spontaneity to reason by the laws of honor and besieged within the high ramparts that those laws raised about their serene decision.

The vital projections of honor, along with social hierarchy, fame and public reputation and eternal glory, were blended and made concrete in the intimate satisfaction of those who enjoyed it. That satisfaction upon producing a vivid feeling of pride, was returning to the subterranean sources of arrogance the wealth which before had come from those same sources, and the latter again poured upon the fields of the collective life of Spain new torrents of obliterating haughtiness.

From pride to pride through channels of honor, dignity and *vergüenza.* Yes, and also through channels of the imperial history of Spain, since arrogance had helped to open them and they had, later, nourished the hidden sources of the same arrogance.

Yes, the expansion and the Spanish triumphs on one and the other side of the Atlantic and Spanish hegemony over continental Europe for more than a century, had to kindle the flames of millenary Hispanic pride until it converted them into high blazes. It led to the saturation of Spain through the most unfruitful sense of pride. The latter burned so many fertile ideas of government and of collective conduct and opened great breaches into the dikes of prudence. The great national sin attracted and dragged down even the most intelligent Spaniards, with grave damage to

the sagacious and flexible direction of international politics and with a growing intoxication of the arterial system of the nation, intoxication which caused an early general arteriosclerosis.

Pride, dignity and honor! How many magnificent and heroic individual actions and how many collective foolishnesses have been achieved by Spaniards in the course of modern history, through the impulses of those three glorious and regrettable forces for the Hispanic historical community! They had contributed during the Middle Ages to forming the whole man that the Spaniard was. Later, they created the fatal tension which the popular saying made concrete in the famous phrase: «Keep it and do not amend it.» Count of Ureña upon knowing that his son had embraced the party of the Communities, wrote him a brief note in which he was saying: «Son Peter, you mounted the mare, hang on to its mane.» Spain has mounted many courageous mares in the course of the last four centuries, and has had to hang on to many other manes, as in its incisive incitation to preserve honor had invited the common magnate, his father the old Castilian lord.

For four centuries! Yes, because since the breaking of the truce with the United Provinces of Holland until the war in which we lost the last shreds of our colonial empire, pride, dignity and honor have played a good part in the consummations of errors which have dragged us down from fall to fall until our great crisis of today. The faithfulness of the minorities leading in national life and of the people led by them, to these three feelings rooted in the most remote past of Spain, have impelled us to do the most noble actions, but at the same time to commit the worst historical stupidities. Prisoners of such feelings —marvelous luminaries of conduct for our individual lives as men, deceiving magnets for the great collective voyages of political communities— we Spaniards, many times, have sacrificed to them, the supreme interests of the nation.

The madness to intend to maintain the Catholic unity of Europe cost us a lot. Not less fatal has been for Spain the cult rendered to the pride, honor and traditional dignity of Hispanic people. That devotion was already interwoven with that attempt —there was in it much arrogance and zeal for honor— and it has continued to equally blind and exalt Spaniards even when the mad adventure of the 16th and 17th centuries was almost forgotten.

In a recent book in which, as in all the books of the same author, passion has broken the laws of scientific honesty, is forgotten all that the sense of honor had as an incentive and a curb and how much it influenced positively and negatively in the life of Spain and the Spaniards to leave it reduced to a mere residual projection of the converts problem. It can not surprise us that the writer to whom we owe such a theory approaches history as the horses of the picadors in the bullfights.

Chapter XI

TOWARDS THE SOCIAL CONTEXTURE OF MODERN SPAIN

1. Hidalgoism

The repugnance of a good part of the Spanish population of the 16th and 17th centuries for manual work considered dishonoring by the *hidalgos* or the noblemen, is notorious. That disdain has been connected to the supposed incapacity of peninsular people to objectify in things or ideas, that is to say, their supposed inability for science and technology.

«The Hispano-Christian —it has been said— reached the plenitude of his historical conscience as a conquering fighter, who upon conquering was finding himself, without the necessity of any other proceeding, over people who were doing "things" for him, more numerous than he could manage or direct.» It has been believed that *Hidalgoism,* the disdain for mechanical tasks and the incapacity to create «things» proceed jointly from that domination by the Christians of the rich spoils of the techniques of Moors and Jews.

The explanation is too simplistic, and what is worse, it is historically incorrect. Let us see.

The commentary of some verses of the *Cantar de Mío Cid* has gone too far. After reporting one of the first conquests of the great Castilian warrior, the jongleur puts these words upon his lips:

617 In this castle we have captured many spoils;
the Moors lie dead, alive I see very few.
We cannot sell the Moors,
with decapitatingt hem, we will not gain;
let us catch them inside, for we have dominion;
we will possess their houses, and will use them.

These sentences were sufficient for the central idea of *Hidalgoism* to be conceived by someone: Spanish Christians lived in domination as conquer-

ing fighters, they establised themselves over the two castes of the Jews and the Moors and they took advantage of the technical work of the conquered. They imitated from them «what was personal (clothes, Moorish customs, for example) but not what was objective and impersonal (their scientific or work activities)». In order to live as lords, they did not need to descend to practice the techniques and labors of the subdued people. For that the Hebrews and *Mudejars* were there Their science and their work were rich spoils which fulfilled their necessities and it was also an indication of their mastery over those who were producing «things».

It is not possible to dissociate the event reported in *El Cantar* from its vertical historical connections, towards the past, and horizontal ones, towards its present. We find ourselves before a singular historical event: a handful of exiled warriors has just captured a not very numerous number of Moors. «We will not be able to sell them», the poet has Rodrigo say. He well knew that the norm would have been to sell prisoners of war as slaves. Christians and Moors did that with the men captured from the enemy in battle. Personal slavery lasted therefore in the Peninsula centuries after territorial servitude had disappeared there, before any other country of Europe. But the *infanzon* of the town and his retinue, lost in the solitude of his exile, could not sell the captured Moors and they, therefore, decided to use them as their own slaves. Any other group of warriors, Hispanic or not, who would have found themselves in a similar situation, or any group of non Spanish warriors contemporaries of Rodrigo and his men, would have done exactly the same, if they had captured a group of enemies. The poetic testimony alleged is, therefore, inoperative and the thesis commentated there is erroneous.

Only on rare occasions, when the permeability of the conquerors was extreme and their cultural level very inferior to that of the conquered and always when they were not separated by the barriers of fury, conquerors have accepted the customs and the culture of the subdued people —such was the case of Rome with Greece— or they have taken the sciences and techniques but not the customs of the dominated nations —so did the Arabs in Persia, Syria, Egypt and Spain—. Historical logic is that the conquered are the ones who follow the conquerors; who imitate their customs and their knowledge or who accept the latter and reject the former, if they struggle to shake their power. This happened in the Peninsula during the Middle Ages. Christians adopted the customs, clothes and usages of the Mussulmans when the latter were the stronger and also the more cultured; when they overwhelmed them by their cultural and military superiority. They imitated the externals of their lives and not their intellectual mechanism, their sciences and techniques, because, if they judged them superior, they rejected their political dominion and their spiritual mastery. From the *Mudejars* and the Jews they had neither thing to fear and, therefore, without scruples, they imitated their knowledge and crafts, because it could be useful or pleasing to possess

them, but they did not imitate their customs or fashions, since, as minorities they were considered with disdain, their customs could not honor those who adopted them. We can cite not few ideas and techniques learned from the Jews and the Moors by the Christians after the conquest of Andalusia; we will not be able to demonstrate the habitual adoption by them of Hebrew or Islamite usages or clothes after that date. Only during the stage pro-Moors of the abnormal Henry IV, and little after the conquest of Granada, was there an imitation in the court of Castile, not of the *Morisco* subjects of their kings, but of the elegant Moors of Granada, their chivalrous enemies.

Until the end of the 11th century Christians did not dominate lands populated by Moors whom they could dominate and they did not co-live with abundant and skillful masses of Jews whose techniques they could use. Way before that date the essential traits of the psychic, political and economic life of peninsular Christianity had already become concrete.

Only forgetting political history can one affirm that towards the year 1000 Christians already had the feeling that they could overcome the Moors and that marvelous Cordova was within reach of their sword. No, during the first decade of the 11th century Spanish Christianity suffered one of the most gloomy moments of its history. We know it today from Arabic texts translated more than 20 years ago. Only after 1009 did they begin to breathe and have hope, not to overcome the Islamites, but to recover their former liberty and their old borders of 100 years before. These had come to Mondego and the Duero around 900 and Alfonso V died fighting in front of Viseo in 1027; it cost Ferdinand I many months of siege before the taking of Coimbra in 1064, and because he did not trust in the occupation of the land South of the great river of the meseta, the king himself transferred to Silos relics kept until then by the Mozarabs of Ávila. What Moorish towns subdued Christians before the taking of Coria in 1079 and the conquest of Toledo in 1085? Only after the Almoravid occupation of Al-Ándalus and as a result of their religious persecutions, did great masses of Jews saturated with Islamic culture come to Christian lands.

Before such years Christians never established themselves as conquering fighters over Hispano-Mussulman cities or towns inhabited by Moors and Jews. From that date until the conquest of Andalusia, a century and a half later, they were very far from being able to consider themselves as conquerors and to lord it over many Hebrews and Islamites who could do «things» for them. Until the battle of the Navas of Tolosa (1212) they went through long anguishing hours, marked by the defeats of Zalaca, Consuegra and Uclés, through the two Almoravid sieges of Toledo, the disaster of Fraga, through the undertakings of the new African invaders, through the defeat of Alarcos and through the terrible campaigns when the Almohads devastated twice the Tagus valley South of the sierras of Guadarrama and Gredos.

«Conquering fighter(s) who upon conquering were finding themselves, without the necessity of any other proceeding, over people who were doing "things" for them?» No, in no way at all. The conquests of Toledo and Valencia were fugacious lightnings of victory that were extinguished in the darkness of a long century of desperate fighting in order to live in freedom. «The Spanish Christian entered into history with the dangerous sensation of being able to suddenly escalate its highest summits.» No, again. Among all peninsular Christians only the subjects of the kingdoms of León and Castile had three fugacious moments of euphoria; one during some years of the kingdom of Alfonso III (910), another under that of Alfonso VI until the rout of Zalaca (1086) and a third one during a few years of the kingdom of Alfonso VII (+1157). All three of them were preceded and followed by interminable decades of anguishing battles in order to resist the Islamite battles and to pull away from the Moors, after terrible struggles, shreds of their borders. The Hispano-Christian reached the plenitude of his historical conscience as a bold fighter who knew well the harshness of his tragic fate and the formidable and constant effort that he needed to carry out in order to keep his freedom. If historical life had been easy for him, he would not have become the whole, strong, solid, hard, impetuous man that adverse destiny forced him to be.

The great conquests of the first part of the 13th century indeed allowed the Christians to consider themselves as magnificent and fortunate conquering fighters. Those were years of harsh and continuous battling, but the successes achieved must have caused a hallucinating climate of disorbed hopes and an atmosphere of phantasmagoric dreams. Notwithstanding, not even then could the Christians establish themselves as lords over great masses of conquered that would do «things» for them. They won many kingdoms and occupied many cities until then populated and wealthy, but they won and occupied them almost empty. I have said it many times; their Mussulman residents before or after emigrated South in their great majority. And Christians had to face grave demographic, social and economic problems which have not been taken into account.

Not then, nor after were Hispano-Christians able to acquire the sensation that it was feasible to subdue the Moors and to rest on their laurels as lords. Alfonso X saw himself in great peril before the rebellion of the Moors on the borders, helped by the king of Granada. Cordova and Seville became threatened by new African invaders: the Beni Amers. The latter destroyed many Andalusian strongholds, they twice defeated the Castilians and penetrated in Mancha. Sancho IV was forced by them to make a covenant and only after a long effort he conquered Tarifa. Ferdinand IV failed before Algeciras while James II was failing before Almería. The regents of Alfonso XI fell in the vega of Granada. Castile and Portugal had to unite to fight in Salado. The taking of one single city, Algeciras, cost a terrible and long siege to Alfonso XI himself, who died while

besieging Gibraltar. In the days of Peter I Cordova was threatened again. No, not even after the conquests of Ferdinand III and James I could the Christians, therefore, think that they could suddenly obtaine whatever they wanted.

Great national energies continued to be consumed in the «divine» war. Besides, tormented by civil discords which their overflowing bellicose activism kindled and maintained, Castilians spent in internal bellicose enterprises a good part of their vital potential. For that reason they continued to dedicate little attention to the tasks of peace.

Not because they disposed of the rich spoils of the technology and the knowledge of the subdued «castes» of Moors and Jews, but because the prolongation in time of the tasks of the Reconquest affirmed their old functional structure, Spanish Christians, especially the king of Castile's subjects continued to live according to the norms of their traditional life style, formed, as has been said many times, in the first centuries of the fight against the Islamites.

Besides if the spoils of the techniques and works of the Jews and the Moors had been as fruitful in historical consequences as has been wished, Castile would have possessed a great culture, Hebrew and *Mudéjar*, obviously, but comparable by its volume and importance to that of beyond the Pyrenees, and its economy, till then miserable and rudimentary, would have been liberated of its previous situation of the colonial period and would have become comparable with that of European Christian peoples. As I will prove later, none of the two processes can be documented. Starting with the 13th century the spiritual life of the Mussulmans and Jews who lived among Spanish Christians declined. The industrial activities of Castile and of the other peninsular kingdoms continued to be reduced; we were continuing to import most of the manufactured products and exporting raw materials, and we continued to live in evident economic dependence on Christian Europe.

Le us not be fooled by words. The «things» that the Jews and Moors could do for the conquering Christians did not compensate for the terrible difference that their own creative capacity suffered because of the obligation to pour their national energies into bellicose tasks. With the exception of a reduced minority of writers and scientists, neither North of the Pyrenees nor South of the Tagus, until the 13th century, most of the Jews had been importers of slaves or luxury items, fiscal agents, usurers, shopkeepers, jewellers or doctors. Industrial life in Europe owed them very little. They had only progressed in countries economically backwards. What strange techniques could they therefore offer to peninsular Christians? What impulse could they give to the industrialization of the Spanish Christian kingdoms or to the development of their fleet or to international trade? More than producing wealth, they dried it up. They did that in Christian Spain until their cruel expulsion, as I shall demonstrate later.

It is not permissible either to exaggerate the contribution of the *Mudejars*

in the doing of «things» and in the transformation and development of medieval Spanish economy. Could Moorish masons, blacksmiths, basket-makers, horticulturists, used to the simple practice of their modest professions and to a rudimentary local industry of the borders change the economic profile of Castile? Were their tasks so difficult that they could not be practiced by the artisan Christian population? Did not the Frank or ultramontane immigrants who established themselves in the Peninsula after the conquests of Toledo and Saragossa play a much more important rôle in the national economic reactivation? Will anyone dare to deny that many, very many Spanish Christians knew how to do and did do «things» after reading the pages that I will later dedicate to this topic?

The thesis rejected here had already been pointed out by Larruga in the last third of the 18th century. For that writer too, of the «Century of the Lights», all the «arts» were in Castile the work of the Jews and the Moors. Neither Larruga nor Castro have been the only ones in erring in formulating such a thesis. Without admitting such a monopoly, Campomanes and Capmany believed in the ancestral bequeathing of some offices to Moors and Jews. The idea has been repeated in the 19th century. All wanted to explain thus, as Castro, the Spanish *Hidalgoism* of the past.

The seigneurial style of life goes back to a more remote date of Spanish history —at least the life style of the nobility of Asturias and León— and it was not peculiar to the Hispano-Christian aristocracy of our Middle Ages.

The disdain of the nobility for manual tasks was common to all medieval European nobility, and even prior to it, in Spanish Christianity to the happy hour when Castilians and people from León began to lord it over the Mussulmans and to co-live with numerous and skillful masses of Hebrews. It is difficult to site a single example of French, English, or German nobles prior to the 14th century dedicated to industrial or commercial works. They would have been indignant to be suspected of consecrating themselves to them. Here is the proof of the antiquity of *Hidalgoism* in Castile. The *Fuero* of Castrojeriz of 976, by converting into *infanzons* —later they would have said *hidalgos*— the villein knights of the town, gave them as their first privilege to live as lords from the work of people of very low condition. Only if nobles by blood were living like that for a long time, would they have conceded such a favor to those who came from villeins to *infanzons*. Two centuries before with the conquest of Toledo, Castilians were able to lord it over a city inhabited by Moors and Jews, therefore, the life style of the *infanzons* or *hidalgos* of Castile was already seigneurial. I allow myself to suspect that it had always been so, ever since began the profile of the *filii primatum*, historical ancestors of the sons of something. It is certain that it was also that way in all of the medieval West.

If Alfonso X decreed in the *Partidas* (II.21.25) that the knight who «publicly would work in trade, or do any vile manual work, in order to

earn money, not being captive» would lose the honor of knighthood —they were to cut off the point of his sword and the strap of his spurs—, Henry III of England decreed that all free men who were not merchants could be cupation worthy of his class. Even if Jews and Moors had never entered those who lived nobly and were fit for knighthood and those who lived as merchants and, therefore, were not eligible; and in a program of reforms of 1412, owed to an Augustinian monk, it was asked that every resident of France who did not belong to the nobility should be forced to exercise an office or work the land, naturally because the dignity of the nobility was incompatible with manual labor.

In Europe, in the corner of Europe that were the Spanish Christian kingdoms, the nobleman only considered war or court service as an occupation worthy of his class. Even is Jews and Moors had never entered Spain, *hidalgos* would have considered themselves unworthy of working with the land, industry or commerce. Of course, they never would have dedicated themselves to techniques, to creating «things».

Only extreme poverty could move the nobleman to renounce his nobility to work as a villein. In Castile such a renunciation demanded a public and picturesque rite. In the *Fuero Viejo* I.V.16, it is said: «If any man were to fall into poverty, and could not maintain his nobility, and came to the Church to tell the *Concejo:* Know that I want to be your neighbour in ground lease and in all that you do, and they offered him a spur, or two men were holding a spur, and passing three times over it, he said, I leave nobility and I become a villein, and therefore, he will be a villein, and his sons and daughters will all be villeins.»

At times love could lead a noble woman to losing her condition by marrying a villein. In order to recover it at the death husband, according to the *Fuero Viejo* I.V 17: «The woman must take a packsaddle on her shoulders and must go on to the tomb of her husband and must say three times, touching the edge of the packsaddle to the tomb: Villein, take your condition of villein back and give me back my noble condition.»

The gist of the problem of Spanish *Hidalgoism* of the 16th and 17th centuries involves two questions: one quantitative and the other chronological. No one in Italy or France for example was amazed that the peninsular *hidalgos* did not work in mechanical tasks, not noble; what did surprise was the number of those who in Spain were *hidalgos.* The unique difference separating Spanish nobility from the English or the Italian ones, for example, as the continuation in the first of a strict respect for nobility rites, which the others had begun to throw out due to their early taking on of bourgeois characteristics. Question of number and of time.

Question of time? Yes. In thinking about any singularity of the history of Spain, it is important not to forget the delay in the beginning of our medieval historical process to which Menéndez Pidal and I alluded separately many years ago. In the field of the vassal-beneficial institution, strictly related to the formation of Hispanic nobility and its life style, I

will prove later that original delay and its progress always behind that of the ultrapyrenean nobility. The study of the Hispanic balance between power, wealth and work, which I will study forthwith, will enable to understand why the historical conditions which made the survival of *hidalgo* life until a very advanced date in history not only easy, but obligatory, prolonged themselves among us, while *hidalgoism* was already failing outside of Spain.

As to what refers to the numerical question, foreigners' amazement was based on exaggerated declarations dictated by Spanish pride and the Hispanic tendency to hyperbole. That pride and that taste for hyperbole converted into *hidalgos* as if miraculously many peninsular people who stepped firmly through the roads and in the cities of Europe. To justify the nobility that they were making up, they were lying about the nobility of their compatriots, and those capricious magicians manipulating about reality, with great freedom, converted into *hidalgos* most of the Spaniards.

But I do not want, inversely from the Spanish braggarts of the 16th and 17th centuries realize another magic game and make disappear neatly through the sleeve, the thousands of authentic *hidalgos* of the Peninsula of those centuries. There were too many, for the good of Spain and for me to be able to suppress them out of Spanish history. I would not do it even if I could, because *hidalgoism* is a reality with two facets which made and destroyed my homeland. Castro confronts it too much with the gloomy side of the problem and forgets the other.

We possess some information about the proportion which the *hidalgos* reached in the 17th century in the kingdom of Castile in relation to the commoners. In Asturias and León the *hidalgos* were as numerous as the commoners, in Burgos, the fourth part; in Zamora, the seventh part; in Valladolid, the 8th; in Toro (Galicia), Ávila, and Soria the 10th; in Salamanca, Madrid, Toledo, Guadalajara, Cuenca, Jaén, Cordova, Seville and Granada, the 12th and in Murcia and Segovia the 14th part. In 1541 in the 18 provinces of Castile there were: 108.358 *hidalgos* as against 897.130 commoners; in Asturias and León some 25.000 *hidalgos* and about the same commoners.

Truly, the number of Spanish *hidalgos* within the total number of the Hispanic population was disproportionate. That number is explained easily. During the 8th century there entered in the North from the Gothic Fields of the Duero, seeking protection from the court of Oviedo, great masses of Goths, who by their race were exempt from taxes and had a privileged penal value. That emigration gathered in the lands of Asturias and León great quantities of people with a peculiar social condition. Those people ended up constituting a noble layer of inferior hierarchy but quite numerous and very jealous of its prerogatives. Since they were ruined when they took refuge in Asturias they naturally had to exalt their peculiar juridical adn fiscal status as the unique way of supporting their legitimate pretense of singularizing themselves. The low nobility of Europe was being

97.—Street flith *large noble houses in Ávila* of late 15th century, similar to the many that abound in Old Castile, barely touched by the impact of the Arabs. The struggle between the factions obliged the knights of Ávila to give their habitations the robustness of fortresses. In them lived the fathers of the «Conquistadors». «Where one door is closed another is open» is read on the façade of one of them. And in such a way the truth occurred: after the Reconquest, America.

98.—*Transfer of the body of Saint James the Great to Compostela. Catalan school* 15th century. The selection of the theme by the anonymous painter attests, with the diffusion of the Hispanic cult of Saint James in Catalonia, the superior unity of religious sensibility of all the lands of Spain. It is confirmed by synchronic persecution of the Jews by the Catalans, as by all other Spaniards, in 1391, as soon as they knew the action of the Sevillian crowds. *(Prado Museum, Madrid.)*

formed in the courtyards of the castles, that of Spain on the roads of the cities. The first one through vassal ways; the second through wars. Beyond the Pyrenees the low nobility was first formed by vassals, then by ministers, both at the service of the grandees. In the Peninsula the villeins ascended to the last ranks of the nobility because by their participation in the battle against the Moors they deserved from the princes to be elevated to the conditions of *infanzons*, or the privilege of the *hidalgos*, as was said then; and the villein knights, that is to say, those who in towns and cities possessed a horse able to go to war with them and with which they were to fight against the Saracens. That easy access to the privileged social hierachy considerably augmented the number of Spanish *hidalgos.*

As has already been said, in the 10th century the counts of Castile raised to *infanzons* hundreds of peasants whom they had called to help as knights in the war, and they began to grant a situation of privilege to the villein peasants who had a horse. Those two ways of access to the nobility were never closed. It was the villein knight —master key for the subsequent entry into the ranks of *hidalgos* by prescription, one might say, or royal favor— what in the end contributed to enlarge the ranks of the *hidalgos* in Spain.

Later I will speak of the villein knights who became so in the municipalities of the *Extrema Durri* in the 11th century; those who having become rich in fortunate enterprises against the Moors —«those who were on foot made themselves knights»— later lived as knights in Castile; those who prospered in the Repopulation of the *Concejos* between the Duero and the Tagus and served as riders in the municipal militia; the knight citizens of Ávila, Segovia, Madrid, Escalona... favored by Alfonso the Learned, and all who in the course of the 9th to the 12th century ascended from villeins to a privileged situation, were already «*hidalgos* earning 500 sols» in the 16th and 17th centuries, as was Alonso Quijano, transformed into Don Quijote by Cervantes. His grandfathers had been workers in the lands of León or Burgos, by the Duero, in the mountainous zone between Duero and Tagus, from Estremadura or Andalusia. They, having forgotten their origin, considered themselves old noblemen, and they were indeed, because 3 or 4 centuries of privileged situation made old already in the 16th century the must of their chivalrous social hierarchy. There were old noblemen and there were many of them because their ranks had always been open. Those who had a horse or weapons —at times only the horse, since they could receive the weapons from the king or a lord— to fight like horsemen against the Moors; and those who ascended to the status of *hidalgos* through an even easier scale: simply by the pure and gracious sovereign concession. Still in the 15th century the courts of Castile frequently protested against the vicious practice of knighting rich villeins; Henry IV made *hidalgos* of all those who hastened to him in the camp over Olmedo (1467).

As all catechumens the new knights were extreme in respecting the

rites of the noble religion in which they had professed. A rich man could prescind from all the chivalrous formulas without endangering his nobility. The poor devil who had just ascended from being a villein to a situation comparable to the *hidalgos* and his grandsons who already considered themselves *hidalgos,* could not gamble with their recent and bright condition. For that reason they lived rigorously subject to the strictness of the aristocratic gesture in order not to risk their new dignity and parade it in front of those who had been, until very recently, their peers or the peers of their fathers and grandfathers. That zeal, comical and dramatic at the same time, in maintaining the external signs of their hierarchy, inherited as a mysterious sign from generation to generation and soon imitated with pride by the poor authentic *hidalgo* —usually poorer than the new villein knight— led in the end to *hidalgoism.* The grandparents of the *hidalgo* lord of Lázaro had been, perhaps villein knights who had exaggerated the rigorous cult of their new nobility and engraved it with blood and fire in the family tradition transmitted from fathers to sons. The burlesque replica of such a vanity could also have been inherited. Inherited from the villein who had not been able to rise up to knighthood, who kept secretly jealous of his compatriot doubly fortunate: in his wealth and because of his ascent to the ranks of *hidalgo*; or inherited from the old *hidalgo* or the old knight who, forgetful of the possible villein origin of his lineage, looked with disdain upon the new noble, with the eternal disdain wich has always been customary and continues to be with any upstart. It is not necessary for that reason to suppose that the author of *Lazarillo* was Hebrew.

The ideals or the style of life of the nobility this or the other side of the Pyrenees had not been different, but because of the difference in recruiting and the fluidity of its membership, the historical fidelity to the paradigms of conduct was different. The ranks of European aristocracy were closed much before the peninsular noble groups.

When the door of urban knighthood was practically closed in the days of the Catholic Kings, another door opened which continued to permit the ascent to superior social classes through the same road as that of the heroic gesture or the Repopulation. The great military enterprises of the Spaniards on both sides of the Atlantic and the colonization of America opened new breaches through which many assaulted the then well defended fortress of the aristocracy. The Castilian medieval history was repeated. The heroism which converted into captains, the battle to conquer new lands and the wealth that their occupation occasioned, hierarchized socially numerous Spaniards during the 16th century. Valentín de Pedro in studying *América en las letras españolas del Siglo de Oro,* has given newness to the *Don* that Lorenzo de Cepeda, the brother of Saint Teresa, took back to Spain upon his return from Peru. In a letter to her niece, María Bautista, prioress of Valladolid, «La Santa», referring to the *Don* used by her brother was saying: «Over there they call *Don* all the men who have vassals in the

West Indies». Its use by Don Lorenzo, who had returned to Avila wealthy, had caused a sensation among the noblemen of Avila. They were forgetting that their ancestors had also improvised *hidalgo* gestures after getting rich in the repopulation of the city and after becoming illustrious in their fight against the Moors. If their grandfathers, after populating Avila, had returned to their land of origin with pretenses of being knights —they had become so in the new lands— they would also have caused some smiles. They did not return and their grandsons were making fun of the *Don* who had been lord of vassals in the Indies. The anecdote explains the careful zeal of the new noblemen for the rites and discloses the door through which many Spaniards continued to penetrate into the castle of the *hidalgos*.

The last people who beyond the Pyrenees entered European nobility like burglars did it from the camp of the enriched bourgeoisie. The old noblemen, very secure in their privileges, and the new ones because of the way they came to the top, felt no scruples in doing tasks at the margin of the traditional type of service at war or court of the feudal nobility. The flourishing of industrial and commercial life contributed to it. Two currents of contrary sign coincided: one ascensional, of aristocratization of the bourgeoisie and the other, descending, of the becoming bourgeois of the aristocracy, especially in the center of the European economic life of the late Middle Ages, which was going from the North of Italy to Flanders and to England.

In Spain, the magic of the war against the Moors had created, as if by spell, many new noblemen from the streets of the cities overflowing with ruralism and saturated by bellicose impetuosity. Many new noblemen —many future *hidalgos*— were thus made from the nothingness of small holdings of lands which enabled them to buy and maintain a horse. Nobility of enriched workers with no other ideal than war and the field; without eyes except to see their fields, their cows, their mares, their sheeps, mills and apiaries —read for example the privileges of the Learned King to the knights of Avila and of Madrid— and for their troopers' weapons, the trappings of their war beasts and their own campaign tents. Those many new rural noblemen, jealous of the rites of the aristocracy into which they were suddenly entering, could not think of defiling themselves in vile tasks: clothes, looms, shops, exportation business, banking... Because such were tasks for the Moors and the Jews? No, even if they had been angelic offices they would not have practiced them, because they were not worthy offices for a knight. Because in their quality of conquerors they were finding themselves over some people, Moors and Jews, who were doing «things» for them and, therefore, they did not need to worry about mechanical necessities? No, because the fact is that the rich spoils of the techniques of the Moors and the Jews whose conquest would have separated Christians from industrial and commercial work, neither was important,

nor influenced in the deviation of the life style —in *hidalgoism*— of peninsular people.

That door of villein knighthood, always open for ascent to *hidalgo*-status, in creating and affirming in León and Castile especially, the possibility of easy entry into a privileged condition through the application of richness to the bellicose effort of the kingdom, opened channels to two spiritual currents of grave historical consequences. The hope of imitating the example of those who had entered into knighthood through such a path, caused in many the desire to achieve a similar change; generalized a desire for becoming noble which moved people either to authentic war activity or to the relation of their fortune as a picklock for the longed for ascent. In both cases it created waves of disdain for other undertakings or tasks, which if they gave wealth, did not offer the consideration of the nobility, easy to acquire for anyone through the other way to knighthood, way through which one could get to the government of cities, reserved soon for villein knights. To attempt the respect and command which the nobleman enjoyed, many people dedicated to bourgeois jobs and busınesses, were living many times with their eyes on the possible leap and filled with longings and aristocratic ideas, which contributed quite a bit to decrease the impetus of the process generating the bourgeoisie —for other reasons never terminated in Castile— and prevented antinobility bourgeois ideals to mature, which became established in countries where it was not easy to enter into ranks of low nobility and where the bourgeoisie, in change of the government of the cities, had the pride of the governing class and the respect of the citizens.

When the heroic ways through which it had been possible to accede to the nobility were closed and the new bourgeoisie matured, the poverty of the Spanish treasure opened another channel to the possible and sudden nobility of many. I am referring to the handy way of obtaining resources that the Philips used by selling privileges of nobility. The fiscal anguish of the kings coincided with the terrible weight of the tributary charges which burdened the commoners of the kingdom In order to remedy the pressures of the treasure, the ministers of His Catholic Majesty would have pledged their souls to the devil —they went to the point of begging from house to house for the royal treasury— and with ease the hands were opened to sell letters patent of nobility. The increasing amount of the taxes, lodgings and gabelles moved workers and merchants to seek relief for their evils in the buying of a privilege of nobility. Many villeins thus entered suddenly into the noble hierarchy. About the frequency and facility of such changes, Calderón offers us an example by putting on Juan lips, son of the mayor of Zalamea, an incitation to his father to acquire letters patent of nobility. Pedro Crespo proudly rejected it, but many other merchants and workers let themselves be tempted by the desire to convert into noblemen. Those *hidalgos* of new coinage came to increase the number

of those obligated to the most zealous respect for the rites of the old nobility.

The new catechumens who entered the religion of nobility in the first stages of Modern Times through the same doors through which others had entered during the Middle Ages —war and colonization— and who through the new doors just mentioned acquired their letters patent of nobility, maintained in vigor the same ideas and peculiar desires of *hidalgoism* and the same zeal for the lordly life style as their precedessors.

If the coasts of the Río de la Plata had been populated by gentle Frenchmen —unlikely hypothesis by its natural idiosyncrasy— they would have considered as thankless as did the Spanish «noblemen and of quality» who in fact did it, having to work the soil and dig themselves and seeing their wives go to seek water in the river. The cause of the thankless situation of the colonizers of Buenos Aires was not in the fact that they lacked the «capacity to create things», but because of their condition as *hidalgos* by birth or favor. As such or to become such, they had come to America, and not for religious reasons as the Puritans with whom they have been compared without right.

Beyond the Pyrenees during the most characteristic centuries of the Middle Ages, when the typical structure of feudal life became crystallized, what each man did depended on what he was. Only after the social, political and psychic changes which Modern Times brought —which gave them origin and which matured in them— man has become different according to what he did. South of the Pyrenees, especially in the kingdom of Castile —in all the Castiles going from the Cantabrian to the Strait of Gibraltar—, many, many men were different or could be different depending upon what they were doing, in the course of the medieval centuries and before such was the case also in the West, as new times were progressing. No one has stopped to meditate on the consequences of that clash between doing according to what one was, and being according to what one did, in the Peninsula during the Middle Ages. That clash opened the steps towards superior hierarchies for those in subaltern ranks and aroused in them illusions and desires and at the same time it moved to closing the doors of the noble castle to those who found themselves settled in it of old, and even more to the newcomers.

The fluidity of the social classes, the possibility to ascend from one to the other through the work of courage, impetus, the tragic gamble with death, is one of the keys to interpret the history of Spain. The people looked above, desired and hoped to ascend, and were seduced by the chivalrous ideals: honor, dignity, glory and by the noble life: by the leisure of the *hidalgo* who lived on his income without any other profession than that of making war. There was an equalitarian movement of ascensional mark which constituted a very strong spring in the social mechanics of Castile. It impelled and spurred toward lofty enterprises the peasant who felt capable of achieving them. The triumph of some maintained in the

North of hope and longing, the oscillating willful sail of many. Many failed in the attempt to fly towards the heights of noble life; residues of those failures were, in part, the vagabond and the rogue. But the penetration, even to the masses, of the noble pride and its corollaries, the sense of honor and of dignity were on the other hand luminous projections of the incentive which impelled the peninsular *hidalgos* through paths of Quixotic chivalrous tradition and of the incentive which moved to imitate those who were not *hidalgos* but considered them as archetypes of conduct.

2. Power, wealth and work

Neither feudalism nor bourgeoisie. Without feudalism because the Reconquest and the Repopulation of the national land had been permitting the kings to avoid the feudalizing crises of the society of Castile and León and had helped them to maintain alive the utmost essences of the state traditions of the monarchy. And without the bourgeoisie because the Reconquest and the Repopulation had made of the Castilian cities fortresses and temples, had populated them with warriors, shepherds and workers and had delayed in them the birth of an intense industrial and commercial life.

When, beyond the Pyrenees vassal-beneficial relations came to be hereditary, and so was too the exercise of justice —that is to say of sovereignty— by the territorial lords and the frameworks of the feudal and lordly regimes was solidified, because of the ankylosing of the articulations, feudalism became a rigid coat between whose mail a society necessarily static, remained imprisoned. Power and wealth remained lastingly united to the feudal hierarchies and to the only worthy effort at the time: service of arms. A system triumphed in which it was difficult to change posture and in which each one seemed forever riveted to his native condition. No one could freely fly nor freely grasp the birds of progress. Only with the double picklock of exceptional personal courage and of execeptional favor of destiny, could one ascend in the social scale to a condition superior to the one inherited. The cynical acceptance by vassals of more than a lordly relation in order to increase the number of their feods, and in the end the auction sale to the best bidder of their vassal loyalty, through the invention of the *hominium ligius*, were the roguish struggle of the least conformiss against their connection for life with a determined economic status.

But another slow and well known historical process which caused the renaissance of the cities and of industrial and commercial life, process accelerated by the great pull given by the Crusades in the economy of Western Europe, finally opened a new way of becoming rich and acquiring power. Urban bourgeoisie became rich more or less fast and it ended up acceding also to the government of the community. Little by little it dis-

articulated the rigid feudal frameworks and opened for itself a way through them. As the new times were maturing and a society of two fronts was crystallizing, the service of arms and the possession of lands ceased to be the unique paths of access to fortune and power. Movable values acquired greater social importance. It was becoming more feasible to obtain wealth at the margin of the benefit of power. That divorce and that possibility favored the spiritual transformation of the new society.

Neither feudalism, nor bourgeoisie. The singularities of our social and political organization had decisive and lasting repercussions on the spiritual and vital appraisal and on the balance and historical conjunction of power, wealth and work; appraisal and balance of enormous projections in the life style of any people. I have demonstrated elsewhere that in the Hispano-Gothic prefeudal Spain, in a never interrupted vicious circle, power led to wealth and wealth led to power.

From generation to generation the possibilities of acquiring wealth outside of the exercise of government were diminishing. For that reason the latter was never more fought nor better defended. A demoniac force seemed to rush the Hispano-Gothic society towards the final catastrophe. But as until the year 711 the monarchy remained solid, the frameworks of Hispano-Gothic prefeudalism were never closed. Their ranks were always fluid and accessible. The door was always open to the audacious, the strong and the cunning. And the service of arms and of the court, next to the king and to the lay or ecclesiastical magnates, channeled towards wealth and power those who were longing for it and who sought it.

It is not necessary to stop to point out the results which the balance and the historical conjunction, now recorded, between power, wealth and work must have had upon the functional structure of the Hispano-Goths. It will be sufficient to allude to the unleashing of strong winds of violence in the dispute for the possession of the primary source of improvement, it is worth saying it, of political power. To the attraction exercised as an ideal of life by the service of arms next to the king or the grandees, with an increasing scorn towards activities with less and less remuneration in the eternal fair of ambitions; to the social appraisal of impetuosity, strength and loyalty —key of access to the armed clienteles—, with scorn for other human qualities not valued in the battle for power and wealth. And the continual transformation of economic and spiritual life towards goals that implied the clear triumph of the vital life style of the feudal societies.

While they were articulated more and more rigidly on the land of the Carolingian Empire, in the embryo of Spain which was the kingdom Asturias-León, although the prefeudal Hispano-Gothic regime lasted, monarchy affirmed its authority and disposed of power and wealth as the Visigothic kings had never known before the invasion of Spain by the Arabs. The two aristocracies had been ruined by the Mussulman conquest, royalty incarnated and directed the national and religious war, it managed

to connect the crown with one family lineage, and when the borders went South, the princes disposed of immense expansions of land for their political game.

In the kingdom Asturias-León, for more than three centuries, power and wealth continued, therefore, united with the benefit of the royal grace and consisted in the government or possession of lands, and in the accumulation of servile arms or goods, real estate or others —coins, jewels, rich cloths, weapons, horses or cattle— which that government and that possession facilitated; goods that could be saved from the Mussulman attacks, if it became necessary to withdraw before their lances.

In that possibility of retrieving them from the enemy attack is the origin of the devotion by the Castilians for movable wealth, devotion which Pedro Corominas hypertrophied many years ago and which he did not succeed in explaining generically. The possibility of acquiring it by the sword, in raids and battles through one's own personal effort —as has been said, the conquered land if it did not have an owner, belonged to the king and its appropriation required the consent or the favor of the sovereign— prolonged the esteem of the reconquerors for that kind of goods. The high appraisal for horses, weapons, precious metals, gems and rich cloths, and the low price of the cereal farms, pastures and hunting ground —there was an abundance of land and not of other goods— enabled those who had gold, silver or luxury objects to acquire real estate and domestic animals when they felt like owning them. What was even more important: it permitted them to buy horses and weapons if they wanted to become knights and thus ascend to a superior social scale or to pay wages to *milites* or vassals if they were among the ranks of the high nobility.

During the second half of the 10th century and the first half of the 11th, the kingdom of León suffered a grave crisis. The sliding of the State towards feudalism became more intense; royalty saw power escape from its hands: society articulated itself on the basis of the vassal-beneficial regime, counts were rising in their counties and the concessions of immunity were multiplied. The disasters of the war against Cordova and the foolishness of the princes caused that rapid victory. It got to the point of the fragmentation of the kingdom and Castile lived independently.

The old equation between power, wealth and service continued, however, in vigor within the lands still submitted to royal authority and those already governed by great magnates —its validity can, for example, be verified in Castilian lands. It was affirmed in the whole kingdom, such as it had been formed during the first centuries of the Reconquest, when the royalty managed to overcome the feudalizing low, after of the Caliphate and after the fortunate union of León and Castile. The redoubled strength that it gave to the kings placed them in an advantageous position to dominate the nobility. The treasuring by them of the great sums paid as tributes by the Mussulman sovereigns who had divided among themselves the shreds of the Cordovan Caliphate, and the occupation of the great

area situated between the Duero and the Tagus, after the conquest of Toledo in 1085 enabled the kings to dispose of a great amount of power in land and money. Once again the monarchy became the rich source of political power and economic improvement.

We recall the item of the *Historia Compostellana* about the magnates who formed the aristocracy of the kingdom at the death of Alfonso VI. According to it, either they had been raised from childhood by the monarch or they had been enriched by him or they had been raised to nobility from their humble origin. It, of course does not mention, that it was according to their courtly devotion or their great deeds. We can historically trace the exaltation of many such people and verify, not only the accuracy of the passage of the *Compostellana* about them, but also that service at war or court really constitued the path which must have led them to the abundance of royal favor.

There were exceptional cases, like that of the Cid, who far from the source of power and wealth, and at times even struggling against the king from whom it came, managed to obtain patrimonies and estates. But frequent were the cases of enrichment and social progress at sword's point, because of the magnitude of the spoils reached in battle or in the raid or the happy connection of war success and royal or lordly favor which was rewarding it.

In what country of feudal Europe of 1109 was the aristocracy recently made by pure royal favor or born of the triumph over an external enemy, a triumph at times obtained outside the regular arrangement of the kingdom?

In what European country of the same time, could the people have climbed the social scale by gambling their lives in bellicose adventures or in repopulating the always threatened borders? Where the spoils earned in raids or battles could convert peasants, as if miraculously, into knights, as occurred for example with the Cid's warriors? Where serfs, colons, small landlords or low noblemen could better rapidly their juridical and economic status by going to settle in lands recently earned in the border zone? Where did the doors remain opened for centuries through which was allowed the hierarchical ascent to all those who dared to break with the past of the lineage after the flirt with death?

During that historical stage the juridical figure of the municipality was formed and we find its first stammerings in the Castile of the counts In the great zone that went between the Duero and the Tagus rose a thick network of great *concejos.* All of them, without exception, were born around an urban center repopulated or refounded with military purposes.

The work promissory of the fastest progress was in such towns and cities the service of arms and the most promissory inversion of capital and savings was the purchase of a horse to fight like troops, since the knights or villeins were favored with privileges and exemptions and they soon obtained the government of the boards to be reserved for them.

Through the spiral of ambition the daring decision to go inhabit the always threatened border zone led to wealth; wealth appraised through the heroic work on horseback in the battle against the Moors opened the access door to a privileged social condition and gave entry into the restricted group exercising power in the city. That elevation to a superior hierarchy facilitated new possibilities to continue to climb through the scale of power and improvement, in a second economic and political ascent when the border was progressing again towards the rich Southern lands, and perhaps even before if their services as riders in the war enabled them to approach the rich source of power and fortune and to obtain the king's grace.

Neither in the Asturias-León kingdom until 1037 nor in the León-Castile kingdom later, nor before the birth of the little *concejos* of the North or the Duero, nor after the creation of the great *concejos* between the Duero and Tagus, neither in cities nor in the country, neither in royal lands nor in lordly lands, civil work did not facilitate getting rich, nor did it open the road to power to workers, artisans or merchants. The most daring, the most venturesome, those with greater impetuosity and with greater vitality, in cities and towns always poured their dynamism and their boldness through the channels of bellicose effort, the only ones which led to success in León and Castile. Industrial and commercial life gathered the surplus of activity which the urban population did not devote to battle, and for that reason, it matured very slowly, as I will study later.

Already from the 11th century, although with different rhythms and at different dates, the industrial, commercial and banking bourgeoisie opened itself a way to power and government in the countries of Western Europe, thanks to the efforts of the most audacious, the most dynamic, those of greater impetus and greater ambition from among the inhabitants of the cities and towns, through the work of real businessmen who accomplished the miracle of initiating a historical process by whose corollaries we still live now.

The halting of the border from Toledo (1085) and Navas (1212) and the coincidence of that halting with the massive immigrations of noblemen, clerics and bourgeois from beyond the Pyrenees, initiated the sliding of Hispanic prefeudalism of beyond the Pyrenees and caused the beginning of the reactivation of the economic life of the kingdom which favored the dawning of the seed of the Castilian bourgeoisie. But after the battle of the Navas of Tolosa the conquering and colonizing enterprises —the great «takings» which according to many texts delayed civilian life in Castile— curtailed both processes. The monarchy again disposed of the colossal spoils of lands and offices. Once again there came from the old source of royal grace an abundant gushing of power and wealth. As after the conquest of Toledo, war heroism and courtly adulation constituted the steps through which one could rapidly climb up to the summit of the walls of progress. The old nobility was exceeded in fortune and power

by the new creatures of the kings. The border lands were offering opportunities for enrichment and hierarchical ascents to the masses. There triumphed an economy of plundering related to the war impetus, audacity, royal favor and entry into the royal bureaucracy, and the state organization of the kingdom matured.

With Alfonso X there is the initiation of a new historical stage. The border being far away in the counterforts of the sierras of Granada, and the interruption of the Reconquest kept from war enterprises the residents of the old land of the kingdom and made the weatherwane of their attention turn towards peace tasks, industry and commerce. However, that new bourgeoisie found all the doors to success closed, by foreign merchants —Walloon, Flemish, French, Genoese and Lucanian— and by Jews. For that reason there arose a mercantile nationalism which caused frequent attacks upon foreign merchants and the assault of the Genoese district in Seville. For that reason also, from year to year, the people's rage against the Jews was increasing.

The competence of the foreign goods that kings, nobles and prelates were accustomed to buy and the taking over by the Jews of the fiscal and banking businesses, along with the enormous dead weight of an ancient adverse tradition, made the progress of the rising Castilian bourgeoisie advance at a very slow rhythm. There is a lesson in the parallel between the situation of those bourgeois who began to meander impetuously but laboriously along the roads of progress, against the war activity and the enjoyment of power, and the situation obtained beyond the Pyrenees at the time by bankers, merchants and industrials.

The infancy of the Castile-León bourgeoisie coincided with the maturity of the bourgeoisie in Italy, its triumph in Flanders and France. In the days of Alfonso X the organic process of crystallization of the Italian, French and Flemish bourgeoisies was so advanced that from among them a powerful oligarchy was already standing out. That oligarchy, after breaking the democratic regime of the urban communities had begun to feel the pride of its origin and it had started to live with extraordinary ostentation. It had come to constitute a theme for literary life, and had seen come from its ranks some writers and had witnessed the dawn of the bourgeois literature of the late Middle Ages.

The growth of the bourgeoisie in England, anterior also to that of the bourgeoisie of Castile, was very favored by the expulsion of the Jews in 1290. «Our ancestors —Macaulay Trevelyan writes— saw themselves forced, by the power and grace of the act of Edward I to further their own financial life...; the Jews had been mere sponges in the hands of the king, through which he sucked the juice of the national wealth.»

Precisely because the English sovereigns had to face economic forces such as the Jews, which they did not find in a close situation of dependence upon the royal authority, the relations of power and wealth beyond the Channel began to be transformed. The enrichment of the bourgeoisie of

Flanders and France also caused important changes in those relations, South of the Channel.

Of the volume reached by the wealth of the Flemish and French bourgeoisies we can judge by their credit operations and their foundations. Before 1130, a bourgeois of Cambrai, Werimbold, allowed himself the luxury of building a palace and paying for the cost of the construction of a bridge. Around 1160, William Cade loaned considerable sums of money to the king of England. John Rynvisc and Simon Saphir, bourgeois of Ghent made numerous loans to John Lackland. At the same time the Louchards, Crespins, of Arras were famous for their wealth and credits. From the beginnings of the 13th century the nobility of Scheld was indebted to the bourgeois of Lens, Douai, Tournai, Ghent, Valenciennes, Ypres, etc ; among their debtors figured for considerable sums: Countesses Joan and Marguerite of Flanders, Count Guy of Dampierre, the Count of Artois, the Bishop of Liege, Sir of Termonde... At the beginning of the 13th century, two bourgeois, William Escuacol and Renaud Chereins, built in Paris: one the Hospice of the Trinity, for pilgrims, and the other the church and presbyter of Saint Honoré. In 1222, upon leaving in pilgrimage to Compostela, a third Parisian bourgeois, Pierre Sarracin, gave 800 pounds to be divided into alms —the total «taille» of Paris amounted to 1.292 pounds—. Many other similar examples could be cited.

On the other hand, from the 13th century are: the municipal *fueros* which recognize the privileges of the knightly patriciate in cities, numerous royal decrees granting various exemptions to the knights of Burgos, Valladolid, Peñafiel, Ávila, Segovia, Madrid, Escalona, Requena... and many other things which present them and the knights *hidalgos* forming the binomial direction of urban life in the most important cities of the kingdom: Toledo, Seville, etc.

Until the last century of the Middle Ages, only the Church and the Jews managed to accumulate great fortunes outside of any war activity and in part without the intervention nor the favor of power, in León and Castile. It is certain that the clergy received abundant favors from the kings and that the Hebrews, from the 12th century, began to be fiscal agents of the royal treasury, which facilitated the rapid improvement of an Israelite minority with a good relationship with the royalty. But it is no less certain that the Church also became rich thanks to the generous piety of the faithful of all the social classes, and the Jews through bank businesses and through usury. Now then, clergy and Jews, enriched at the cost and in damage of the people, this enrichment of the Jews did not open to them, even with picklocks, the doors of the government of the urban communities to which they belonged, nor did their example contribute to give value in the public opinion to their methods of reaching economic prosperity, nor did it move the masses to intend to obtain it through ways different from the usual ones until then.

The Castilian economy improved much since the days of Alfonso X —I will study the theme later—, but that economic flourishing occurred very slowly and it was not accompanied by the industrialization of Castile. The difficulties which the bourgeoisie encountered in its slow effort to accumulate wordly possessions in commerce and industry, the contradiction between that slowness and the traditional speed with which in the fortune of war and courtly games lands and incomes were earned almost by enchantment, everything contributed, in the end, to make the singularities of the traditional balance between power, wealth and work, already several centuries old in the 14th century, continue in Castile.

The institutional and economic process of which that equation was a corollary was not very different in Portugal, Navarre and Aragón, and for that reason power, fortune and work were not related differently in those three kingdoms, at least until the triumph of French influence in Navarrese lands and until the end of the Aragonese and Portuguese reconquests. In Spain, only Catalonia was an exception. There Carolingian feudalism was projected, and the rigid social articulations of beyond the Pyrenees continued there —while the peasants of León and Castile, free men, laborers or lessees, were always free, the Catalan countrymen did not reach freedom until the Sentencia de Guadalupe in 1480— and there soon rose a society with two fronts: feudal and bourgeois, because the excellent conditions of its coasts and the extent of its empire in the Mediterranean facilitated the development of their exterior trade and urban life, especially in Barcelona.

The continuation of the old peninsular tradition which made of power the abundant source of improvement and wealth, in kingdoms where the tenuous feudal structure was rapidly disappearing, structure which had been formed in the previous centuries, and where rapidly matured an organization of state type, hurled the nobility to fight against the monarchy. The aristocracy knew well the ancient conjunction between fortune and power and attempted to subdue and to take away the authority of the royalty. The monetary crisis of the reigns of Alfonso X and his successors, that is to say, the terrible inflation which Castile suffered in the second half of the 13th century —Mis Carlé has studied *El precio de la vida* in that period— incited the grandees to conquer the source of political power and of economic progress because the vertical fall of the purchasing value of money implied that of their incomes solidified in writing: in the *fueros*, the land documents and the loan concession. That monetary crisis of the Castilian nobility threw it against the monarchy as a hungry pack of ferocious wolves, in order that, with royal grace, that is to say, with the abundant gushing waters of wealth, they could obtain more and more new incomes, and more and more lands.

Before Benavente, satirizing the bourgeoisie at the beginning of the century, had Pantalón of *Los intereses creados* shout, in tears, in an Italian city: «My money, my money!», Tirso de Molina had taken to *La pru-*

ly «rights of perpetual property» *(juros de heredad)* —titles of perpetual debt we would say with modern words— to their servants. In spite of not being «frank» Queen Isabel gave her loyal Gutierre de Cárdenas and Chacón the tolls for cattle in Toledo and Alcaraz, and to many other faithful friends, various incomes.

Many of the lords thus favored by the kings did not conform with the legitimate incomes which the royal favors had attributed to them: they were imposing new taxes on the inhabitants of their estates *(Cortes* of Valladolid, 1462); preventing the construction of bridges to charge ferriage (Cordovan *Cortes,* 1455); forcing the citizens and peasants on royal patrimony to lodge and feed them (Valladolid *Cortes,* 1442); throwing the neighbors out of their houses and taking their possessions *(Cortes* of Valladolid, 1435); taking over places which depended from the cities and towns from the king *(Cortes* of Palencia, 1425); excusing from paying royal taxes as proteges of the richest people of the area, obviously for their own good reasons *(Cortes* of Zamora, 1432); and committing other series of abuses to increase their incomes and personal fortunes.

Other Castilians, impelled by an irresistible desire for adventures, looked for a place for the unfolding of their heroic restlessness outside of peninsular borders, where at swords' point they could win glory and wealth at the service of foreign princes. On all the battlefields of the disturbed Europe of the medieval autumn Spanish knights fought and triumphed: it will suffice to cite Villandrando and his people and Pero Niño and his. Thus, many succeeded in also acceding to material fortune, even if outside their countries, after the tragic flirt with death in battle and the happy satiating of their thirst of wealth in the confused spring of power.

University studies were considered by many as the picklock to open the path through the door of improvement. Don Alonso de Cartagena already praised in the first part of the 15th century the great talents frequenting the university of Salamanca, not inferior to those who studied in Bologna: but «in Italy —says Father Serrano summarizing the words of the prelate of Burgos— they all seemed to feel a vocation as writers; in Spain, many, instead of writing as they ought to, since they have an abundance of talent and science, dedicate themselves to conquering futures in the court and in the capitals of the bishopric». Clerics were after the big game of dignities and benefits. They got to open war to obtain a miter —through arms two prebendaries disputed the bishopric of Plasencia in 1414—; they were hitting each other in the churches —in the cathedral of Burgos a canon slapped the manager of the chapter in 1447— for questions of interest; through methods that would not be surprising in the picaresque novels they obtained various ecclesiastical sinecures which enabled them to live free of cares.

Royal positions were also considered as sinecures to obtain wordly possessions quickly. The magistrates were working to collect money and

99.—The painters of Catalonia and Castile were profoundly influenced by Flemish art during the 15th century. Underneath those influences each school conserved its traditions. They were united by the taste for the realistic portrait and individualizing, general in the Hispanic people. You can see some of them that appear in the «*Retablo dels Concellers*» *(detail), work of Luis Dalmau* (1445). *Archeological Museum of Barcelona.*

100.—The rites of the knights converted into ballet steps («Breviario de Amor» by Malfre d'Armengaud, Library of the Escorial). They also lost the vigor in elevated sectors of the Castilian society of the 400. Saturated by «Honorable Steps», «Litanies of Love»... The authentic chivalrous ideal continued to float, nevertheless, on the main mast of the tiny boat of Spanish life, dominated by the cult of honor. *Page from «Breviario de Amor» of Malfre d'Armengaud (Library of El Escorial).*

for their own advantages; they were caring little about justice and if the people were in a bad way when they came to the council, they were worse when they left *(Cortes* of Palenzuela, 1425). The aldermen fed their cattle on the pasture grounds of the municipality *(Cortes* of Zamora, 1432). The judges of the chancery on lordly salaries *(Cortes* of Valladolid, 1447). The royal investigators abused their power and forced the people to pay them outrageous quantities *(Cortes* of Vlladolid, 1442). The pursers were making illegitimate orders of payments *(Cortes* of Ocaña, 1469). Another series of their extortions and outrages could be cited.

Power determined the destiny of people in such a way that even the most powerful and wealthy cities of the kingdom were obsequious with those in public authority. The *Procuradores* * in the *Cortes* of Burgos advised the *concejo* to make a gift to Don Álvaro de Luna, in order to obtain favor, and the municipality immediately gave him «a chamber decorated with very rich cloths which were embroidered».

That mystique of quick improvements even reached the urban people, who were infected by the same impatience and the same hopes as the superior classes. Nevertheless, the fruitful action of royal favor could get to them, neither directly, nor through their lordly favors. The wide doors that led straight to well being and to wealth were closed to them. They could have attempted to open a path for themselves in the tasks of industry and commerce, but it was necessary to count on the complicity of constancy and luck and to work patiently for a long time. «You loan it tome on such long terms» they perhaps thought as «Don Juan», about the distant settling of their accounts with the god of success and prosperity. They had more than sufficient audacity and did not lack in impetuosity, since in the end they were the descendants of warriors, and one day in the summer of 1391 they attacked the fortified towers of fortune through the fragile stairs of theft. Of theft and plundering which, in their eyes, the Jews had stolen and plundered from the whole community. After a century they continued to struggle against the «*marranos*», that is, the Hebrews who had converted to Christianity to save their lives. The Jews had managed to accumulate new riches and they even managed to open the fortress of power with false keys. That path of fortune at will, almost unique exception in a millennium of historical progress from power to wealth —I have written almost unique, because the villein knights passed from wealth to power— exacerbated the antisemitism in the common people and in the end it contributed to provoke the demagogical decree of expulsion of 1492.

During the 15th century as we will see later, Castilian industry had considerably thrived and national commerce had reached great importance I will point out elsewhere in this book the growth of Castilian trade by land and on foreign seas and the enrichment of quite a few families of

---

* The *Procuradores* are the members of Parliament.

Burgos, Sevilla and Medina. That economic *in crescendo* of Castile was soon to reach its culmination, to fall, afterwards, for centuries.

Only the shepherds and farmers lived in the margin of this complicated game of power, riches and service. The spring of royal grace did not water their poor little gardens. On the contrary by their sweat and their blood they fed the rills —in the end reunited to the abundant river of the royal favors— which transmitted to others the fruit of their daily effort, converted into incomes, taxes and gabelles. They endured their misfortune, at times resigned, at times indifferent and at times with rage. It is known that the farmers of Paredes de Nava killed the brother-in-law of Henry II who wanted to deprive them of their things. The peasants of Ávila burned their corn one year so that the tax collectors of John II and the tithe collectors of the bishop could not collect their respective taxes. Some *hermandiños* of Galicia rose against Nuño Freire de Andrade and against the bishops of Lugo and Mondoñedo in 1431. Under the pretense of confraternities, and brotherhoods, peasants and villagers in Castile made leagues and combines —so the *Cortes* of 1451 called them— which upset the kingdom. The popular violence which followed the insurrection of the commoners is well known. In 1540, a year of famine and misery in Castile, while «the Count of Coruña in Torija was there at his estate, he sent someone in charge for three thousand measures of wheat which he had there, and the workers did not let him take it; seeing the vassals' resistance, he armed himself and his people came for him; a public official came to him and said that he was not going to take it, that they preferred to die fighting than of famine; the Count broke his staff on his head, and so many people came from the whole country that the Count had to take refuge into the church, and they went after his sons who were in the wheat area, and they fled jumping over the walls; so great was the peril in which fathers and sons saw themselves to be that they thought they were going to be killed».

While Charles V was in Yuste waiting for death enjoying life and was receiving gifts and homages of his people, the residents of the neighboring village of Cuacos were given a trifle of Caesar. And «sometimes they fished the trouts from the wells which were in Garganta for his service and his table; at other times they took some cows that were around for their milk which they needed and they were taking them to pasture as if they were obligated to him or a poor neighbor» and they committed other similar insolences against the one that so many princes, magnates, prelates, painters and poets had adulated.

The conquest of the kingdom of Granada first, and of America shortly after the extension of the Hispanic dominion through Europe, and with these, the coming of a new heroic epoch, propitious to adventure and battle and at the same time, the terrible rise of the cost life as a consequence of the invasion of Spain by the gold and silver of the Indies, prolonged for centuries the traditional equation between power, wealth and service,

already a millennium old in the Peninsula. The royalty disposed of a tremendous territorial and bureaucratic wealth, next to which the one which could divide, in the moments of greatest euphoria and in the most favorable unions, the kings of Asturias, León, Castile or of Navarre, Aragón and Portugal, would have seemed insignificant. The sharpest revolution of prices known in Spain until then —even the incomes of the grandees of Spain suffered in it— and the opening of the most ample land of which the Spaniards had disposed until then for the heroic exercise of their impetuosity, coincided with the coming up of a torrent of incomes and positions —from viceroyship and embassies to alguazils and common cryers— from the inexhaustible gushing up of the royal grace.

The custom of receiving from the kings or the grandees annual sums as wages, without that the beneficiaries of such favors —the main people from the kingdom: from the infantes to the knights— had to run the risks which threatened those who lived from their cattle, and their fields, industries or commerce, had offered to the peninsular urban middle class a seductive goal in life.

That governing middle class was mostly formed by cattlemen and farmers They formed part of a monarchy in which as the swell of the war of the Reconquest was giving way, civil discord was becoming endemic. Even those who enjoyed an average life had to fear the whims of heaven and the outrages of men. Neither draughts nor hail which destroyed the crops, the burning of the wheat, the theft of cattle, the assault of the multitude, nor the plundering of the shops could worry the favored ones with fixed and lasting incomes or wages. Only they, lived tranquil and safe. They and the Jews who collected higher usurary interests for their loans. How in the end could this urban middle class not feel the pull of that easy type of life, protected from the risks which it had to take in its harsh working days?

Finally a great temptation was presented to that middle class. Its members could get to live from public incomes. In succumbing to the temptations, great damages occurred to the national economy, and in the end to the very group which became tempted by the spur of this given existence. They contributed to affirm the traditional life style of the peninsular people.

It was not feasible for most to obtains wages or incomes from the kings or the magnates. They were used to seeing how Jewish usury, effortlessly and without work, offered secure incomes. For some time they had been investing their money in mortgages. One day, while John II was ruling, and to satisfy the growing need of the treasury, necessity combined with genius he invented the emission «rights of perpetual property», that is to say, titles of consolidated debts, guaranteed by determined incomes from the royal treasury. That day urban middle class found the happy formula which was to satisfy its old desire to have fixed and secure incomes —as the vassals and servants of kings and magnates— and to loan

with interests —as the Jews and the *marranos*— without, of course, incurring the shameful sin of usury. People who had cash bought those rights and they turned into people living on fixed incomes. Their income oscillated between 7 % and 10 % of the disbursed capital. At the beginning of the reign of Charles V the amount of the interests of those rights sold or given by the kings amounted to 167.645.000 maravedis —sold or given, because princes used them also to grant favors—. At the end of less than a century the amount of maravedis was fabulous. Since it kept growing each year —in three decades it almost doubled—, we can imagine the tremendous damage that the action of that formidable sale, which, incessantly drained the savings and even the capitals of the cattlemen, the merchants and the bureaucrats, signified for the national wealth.

That foolish inclination of the middle class to invest their available money in those «rights», and even their fortunes, confirmed the power of the State and enabled the monarchy to prolong its national policy and its external adventures; adventures which caused ardent enthusiasm among the most audacious and dynamic Spaniards. Pouring into the coffer of royal treasury sums which otherwise would have helped industry, the bank or national trading, delayed the biological growth of our economy, curtailed the development of the enterprises and of the bourgeois spirit and constituted a corrosive dissolvent of the nascent Castilian bourgeoisie, which could have counterbalanced the peninsular medieval tradition, of epic mark, in the magnificent union of Modern Times. Unfortunately the latter did not succeed through a series of historical accidents. What most unfortunately influenced the course of the history of Spain was the casual inheritance by Charles of Austria of the Spanish kingdoms and their incorporation into the great ensemble of states that the grandson of the Catholic Kings was to rule. That national calamity, historically unpredictable and which the interplay of forces of the Spanish life made unsuspected, parched in blossom the unfolding of the Hispanic economic potential, way into the 15th century, and the growing industrial, commercial and banking reactivation of Castile.

I will study elsewhere the rise and fall of the Castilian bourgeoisie during the 16th century. Still during the kingdom of Charles V, it was possible to accede to wealth without enjoying power. Through the traditional way of plundering after the struggle —now in America as before in the lands won from the Moors— and through the old paths of banking business and trade. There remain magnificent architectural traces in the cities of Castile of the gold and silver which had come from America for the Castilians in the days of the king-emperor. His Spanish bankers and merchants managed to obtain great fortunes. We can still admire the beautiful chapel built by Espinosa in his native town, Medina de Rioseco, the palace erected by Dueñas in his hometown, Medina del Campo and the hospital built there by Simón Ruiz.

Once the heroic stage of the American undertaking and the golden epoch of such merchants and bankers, in part of Jewish origin, had passed —at least Espinosa and Dueñas were of Hebrew origin—, year after year the traditional bonds between power and wealth were becoming tighter. All the people, from the high nobility to the low bourgeoisie, from the *hidalgo* to the worker, from the doctor to the student, from the high prelate to the lay one, from the writer to the mechanic, from the friar and the rogue, were dreaming, asking, intriguing, adulating, struggling to obtain a rich morsel or some crumbs in the Pantagruelian banquet of royal favors.

Already in the times of Charles V, every occasion had been good to solicit some favors Cardinal Loaysa obtained 1.500 ducats from the emperor for having obtained the concession of the royal third from the Roman Curia. Royal favors enriched and elevated to the first hierarchies of the kingdom many obscure people, as for example, Francisco de los Cobos. The merchants and bankers themselves were intriguing to obtain the gracious concession: permits to export things whose exportation was prohibited, monopolies for the sale of some merchandise, of leases of taxes or gabelles, of contracts or changes —loans or drafts— promising of substantial profits and even of monetary gifts in reward for their services, because power constituted a rich source of enrichment for bankers and merchants.

In 1539, the amount annually destined to favors and gifts amounted to 14.625 000 maravedis. The amount of the incomes of the rights of perpetual property, in good part granted by the generous favor of the kings, ascended to about 50 % of the income of the treasury about the same date. The archive of the great banker of Medina Simón Ruiz, true monument to the monetary zenith of the bourgeoisie of Castile under the reign of Philip II, proves how much the enrichment of businessmen depended upon their relation with the royal treasury and their service to the royal treasury.

Afterwards, everybody in Spain thought about milking for his profit the udders of the royal grace, entering into the service of the monarchy on this or the other side of the oceans. From the dukes of Sessa, Osuna or Lerma to Cervantes, Quevedo or Velázquez, and from the *hidalgo* of the mountains or of Castile to the Madrilenian or Andalusian rogue, all put their dream of life in obtaining favors or positions, after serving the king or a magnate.

From the Visigothic soldier to the medieval vassal and from the latter to the «servants of your honor». A new vassal chain imprisoned the aching body of Spain. As for a thousand years, heroic impetuosity at the service of the national ideal or adulatory courtly service near the monarch or a magnate, and then a viceroyship, an embassy, the independant district of Milan, a post in the treasury council, the «dress» of Saint James, being usher of His Majesty, 1.000 ducats in taxes in Naples, being a mayor in La Paz, a governor in Guatemala, treasurer of the galleys of Cartagena

of the Indies, etc., etc... Even writers about politics as Palafox considered court or government positions, not as offices of service for the good of the community, but as posts with which the kings rewarded all. Always power as a source of improvement, and always work at war, or in the administration as what with greater dignity, although not always with the least effort —many times he gambled his life in it—, did bring close to the sure source of well being or of wealth.

In a society where that mystique would not have triumphed, neither the page whom Don Quijote and Sancho met near the lagoon of Ruidera would have searched for the satisfaction of his needs in war —since he was not a *hidalgo,* he would have been able to obtain an average life in crafts or trade; nor would Cervantes have dreamed of a position in the Indies in reward for his services instead of putting his dreams in literary enterprises; nor would Lope de Vega have served as secretary to the enamored Duke of Sessa; nor would such a great painter as Velázquez have scorned his condition as such to put his maximum ambition into being an usher of His Majesty, and in obtaining a «dress» of Calatrava.

It is not necessary to hypertrophy the consequences of that millenary relation between power, wealth and service, many times at the point of dying in the course of the centuries and always renewed and kindled by the accidents of Hispanic history. That traditional relation sharpened the sensibility of peninsular people for smelling and tasting the delights of power and moved them to court it, besiege it, and to defend it or attack it with fierce passion and courageous impetuosity. In the remote past as in the near past, Spaniards many times have sacrificed the interests of the community to their desires for power, they have not hesitated in renting their own people in fierce inner struggles; they have made co-living difficult in their historical land and they have preferred to see Spain roll in misery and chaos rather than to renounce power and wealth. Frequently, they have intended to disguise their attack or their defense of power with the mask of the crusader for an ideal; but that hypocritical mask had not succeded in covering the true intention which was moving them. The Hispanic passion and impetus which so many times have been poured into tremendous Quixotic battles with immaculate feelings and pure ideals, many, many times also, have overflown into struggles for the sensuality of power which, among us in Spain, without feudalism and without bourgeoisie, was in the final analysis, the almost exclusive source of improvement and riches.

The authority of the Central State Bureaucracy has increased or decreased in the Western countries in inverse proportion to the possibilities that the citizens have had in them to live without indigence and to reach wealth outside of power. In a country where the latter distributed the manna which sustained the daily lives of many —at least the most audacious and the most capable— and constituted the abundant source of improvement and of enrichment, the leading organs of the State had to have

a political strength and even more a social power, almost thaumaturgical. This is one of the causes of the long historical firmness of the monarchy in the Peninsula —notwithstanding the habitual foolishness of the Hispanic kings— and of the lack of dynamic and decisive resistances before their reputation and their authority in the nation. It is also the why of the statism which has characterized Spanish life in modern times, before, unfortunately, it became generalized by all, in contemporary times.

Once the heroic stage in which individual initiative triumphed in the American adventure had passed, not even in France has the State played such an absorbing rôle as South of the Pyrenees. When the great national crisis took place, from the 17th century on, crisis to which had also contributed the weaknesses of the magistracies leading Spanish public life and which ought to have caused an acute and dramatic reaction of the *homo hispanus* against the supreme authority of the government, what we might call the State Providence ends up maturing and fluorishing. There comes a moment in which everything is hoped and exacted of it. One trusts in it and rushes to it as to God. In the final analysis, in no country of Western Europe have the basilar institutions of national life felt so devoid of substance and so drifting as in Spain, when they no longer had the beneficent shadow of power behind them. From the protective measures of the State, agriculturists, cattlemen, industrialists and businessmen have hoped their own prosperity. The various professions, the different social classes and the different regions have made the State responsible for their evils. They have attacked the State for backwardness in education, sciences and letters. Even the Church has considered itself in peril and difficulty when it has not found itself sheltered and protected by the State.

Few have been those who have started cultural or economic institutions at the margin of the State, who have decided to prescind from the State and to undertake decisive measures, without counting on the State for the remedy of national urgencies. The State itself saw with evident jealousy the action of the groups or corporations, which in its mind, were going across its way. Only in the acephalous case of the supreme incarnation of the State —as with the War of Independence, for example— have the Spaniards foreseen the carrying out of the usual goals of power and have shown their capacity for creation.

To the triumph of the Thaumaturgical State, that State Providence, must have contributed, although it seems paradoxical to suppose it, Hispanic hyperindividualism. Because Spanish pride, consubstantial with the Spaniard, and always poured into a sharp equalizing feeling, put no obstacles to the submission of everyone to the central powers of the State, incarnated in the person of the monarch, elected to rule them «by the grace of God», provided naturally that under his supreme authority no one would stand out too much above the others —«From the king on down, no one»—. But it is not possible to doubt that the lack of feudalism and of bourgeoisie and the traditional equation between power, riches and service which that

grave historical fault produced in granting all similar possibilities of prosperity in the shadow of power, contributed to make lasting and to exalt the primitive individualism of peninsular people. And it is not permissible to deny that the millenary Hispanic customs to come and drink at the inexhaustible fountain of royal grace, customs precisely affirmed through that lasting balance between power, prosperity and service, had to also and very efficaciously contribute to create that mystique of hopes, dreams, trusts, exigencies, criticisms, fears, orphanages... which got to characterize Spanish national statism.

The millenary equation between political power, wealth and public service converted the latter into an ideal of life for most of the people. The projection in the field of the state activities —government, diplomacy, army...— of a good part of the great Hispanic individualities —non peninsular people dedicated themselves to government and war, but also to sciences, technology, industry, commerce or finances— impelled Spain towards the zenith of its military and political grandeur. But before and after that imperial stage, the desire of most, as a life style, to the service of the State, deprived the free scientific or economic initiative of great human values, and weighed down, with a terrible dead weight and lastingly, the progress through the paths of science and economy. That deprivation and that weight finally made the continuation of the Spanish Empire impossible. Hispanic bureaucracy became hypertrophied in the course of the centuries. Little by little and because of it the millenary impetus of peninsular people was being extinguished, their adventurous spirit was narcotized, their viril energy decreased, their ideals fell, and it ended up by smothering their nascent science and drying up the wealth.

The traditional formula of balance between power, prosperity and service contributed to the birth of the conquistador and the rogue. The conquistador because many Spaniards, incapable of satiating their ambition at the fountain of the sanctifying grace of royalty, intented to obtain wealth and well being —remember the cries of the Cid about to besiege Valencia and the words of Pizarro in the island of the Gallo— through audacity and courage, at the margin of the beaten paths which led from political power to material fortune. The rogue, because being a rogue constituted in the end a subtle attempt at opening for oneself a path in the world and in life through the short cuts of the royal way reserved for the most favored by luck, opening a way through astuteness and audacity. Heroism and roguishness joined as parallel lines in the infinite; in the infinite of the insistent intent to conquer fate and to make the currents or high tension drift towards the turbines of one's own benefit, high tension which for a millennium in Spain, went from power to wealth.

The short cuts of heroism and roguishness crossed at times, and at times they coincided, separately, with the royal way which they attempted to avoid. The contrast between the heroic dimension of the conquistador,

the hability of the rogue and the rutinary existence of the wooer of royal grace did not separate the travellers through the three ways. Not everything was heroism in the life of the conquistador, nor did heroism lack in the path of roguish life. Neither did the conquistador renounce roguery when it could be useful —remember the trick that Cortés used to make his horses neigh before a group of Indians to frighten them, nor did the rogue lack at times features of lordly dignity. Many of those who progressed through the wide road which led to the source of power, also did it with audacity and courage, and there was no lack of roguish manoeuvring in their continual climbing up the greased pole of prosperity. We have the stratagems of an Antonio Pérez to get the confidence of Philip II; the adulations to a court favorite of a Quevedo, hunting for a pension or a position; the purchase, with plentiful donations by a Duke of Osuna of the prolongation of his Neapolitan viceroyship; the trick of a Duke of Uceda to replace his own father; the demand by the latter of a cardinal's hat «not to be hanged», as the popular saying went, and so many scenes of the lives of so many illustrious people of the at the same time heroic, courtly and roguish Hispanic way. In a society where power had not been the almost exclusive source of prosperity, where work in technology, banking, industry and commerce have procured an ample path to fortune, the hero and the rogue would not have blossomed with the same impetuosity.

The millenary relation between power, wealth and service influenced decisively in the formation of another algebraic equation of Spanish history: that which led to a singular emotional and vital unbalance between freedom, equality and dominion in the valuation of peninsular people; equation in which the desire for freedom intermingled with the passionate devotion for antihierarchical equality. The study of that last consequence of the lack of feudalism and bourgeoisie in the Hispanic Middle Ages will be for another occasion.

3. Beyond individualism

Few characterizations of Spaniards have obtained such a general affirmation as their individualism. There are few heretics before such a firm belief, but a few are appearing. The topic is not as simple as it is supposed and it is another theme which deserves an exhaustive documented investigation and a book. While it is easy to define the Spaniards as individualistic it is difficult to specify the features of that individualism, because it is difficult to establish the central idea which is concealed behind a term so rich in content, and it is even more so to relate the historical reality of any human community with its complex philosophical concept. All communities, especially the Spanish one, offer many temperamental projections at times contradictory and often tangential. This is not the place for a firm theoretical definition nor for a long investigation of the real

frame of the Spanish people within its essential lines. I must only consider the theme historically.

«Spaniards —it had been said— were never individualistic in regards to the ideal structures in which their beliefs expanded... The Spaniard is not individualistic when what we have called the total circle of the person feels concentric in regards to the other circles in which his conscience is expanding; he must feel prolonged in other personal structures which are worth for him as a magnification of his own.» I cannot subscribe to such words without many reservations. At times, in feeling prolonged in other personal structures, Spaniards have felt moved by the torment of emulation and have come to battle: for example the discords which frequently confronted the conquistadors of America and in particular the civil war of Peru. But with the words copied above, the historical problem of Spanish individualism is left too untouched. Only some of the ways through which Castilians have come to associate efficaciously and some of the motives which have impelled them to united and common action have been presented.

If Spaniards had not been able to associate operatively even in those two cases, they would have been monsters of nature. They have associated with success through many other forces, moved by many other desires and passions, and pulled by many other magnets, subjective or objective. Spanish history offers many examples of ardent and tight groupings of people: for the defense of public freedoms —municipalities, communities, fraternities—, for the exploitation of their wealth —let us recall the millenary association of the cattle owners called *Mesta*—, for the better use of their works and business —guilds, associations, courts of commerce— for mutual help —in thousands of different confraternities— in order to maintain pride or sustain vanities —bands or parties—, for entertainment or vice, and to declare a strike —let us recall that the workers involved in the construction of the Escorial declared a strike against no less than King Philip II, and the strike of the Cordovan peasants in 1599. The old proverb «neither trust, nor persist, nor associate», which seems to advise against the weaknesses of the Castilians, enables to imagine them associating with much frequency.

No, Spaniards have not only united when they have shared the same belief or have seen superior men rising before them. They have associated many times and successfully through the road of reasoning and with inhibition of their emotive conscience. And it cannot be denied simply on the bases of the faults of Hispanic political life —caciquism, bossism, messianism— which can be explained through logical paths. Neither does this favor nor contradict, besides, the reality of Hispanic individualism. The impulses which induce to the formation of groups of men, neither disclose the bold potentiality of the individual, ready to act according to his free will, nor show his weak inclination to affirmation or his taste for integration or to collaborate in unions, groups, or societies, and they do

not fall into the theoretical consideration of the person or of the community as an end and the foundation of the spiritual, economic and political life. It is even fitting that the legal norm should subordinate the individual rights to the common good in a people formed by men of exalted individualism, and inversely that the cell of the juridical life in a nation where the tendency to unite in various associations is instinctive, be centered on the individual. Of course, in the first case the struggle between man and law will explode, and in the second the law will indeed serve to coordinate the activities of the groups more than the actions of the individuals: Spain and England.

Hispanic individualism is not, naturally, philosophical or theoretical. Spaniards would never have come to a definition of the rights of the individual in society. Rather than succumbing to foreign political fashion, they have always been concerned about determining the rights of society over the individual. It is not possible to rule about irrigation where there is little water. For that reason the English *Magna Carta* defines freedoms, while the *Magna Carta* of León determines norms of justice.

The total man who has been —I do not dare to write that he is— the Spaniard, could he have been anything but individualistic? Could he have not thought that in him is the beginning and the end of juridical life? Could he not feel inclined to act according to his free will? Could he have accepted with pleasure the limitation of the possible projections of his own criterion? Could he have experienced great inclinations to solidarity? Could he have avoided the inclination to dissociation and to isolation? Could he have renounced to safeguard his freedom of opinion and his operative freedom in the very midst of the associations or groups to which he was forced to belong? Could he have ceased to be ready for dissidence and rebellion within them? We could suspect that the *homo hispanus* has gone beyond individualism because he has not limited himself to life on the defensive, and far from locking himself up in his inner castle, he has frequently left at the sound of war.

That Spanish hyperindividualism is neither of today nor of yesterday, but of always. Its roots are deep into the most remote past and it has been affirming itself through the progress of our history. It is united to Iberian pride and passion. Pride and passion are the essential ferment of all individualism. Without pride and without passion, the springs of the human person do not become tense instinctively. Reason can move the man most inclined to collective life to act according to individualistic norms of conduct as emotions and instincts can press with tight bonds men most saturated with temperamental individualism and get to moving them towards common action. The operative projection of a group of men is not, therefore, the decisive key to judge their intimate tendencies. It is a mere data which must be evaluated in the light of the generating forces which have impulsed the members to associate.

Individualism, in withdrawing us from the servitude of the collectivity,

in making us original and unique, liberates us from the torment that a man suffers when he feels crushed under the yoke of tyrannical society; but as in a vicious circle it immediately sends us back to solitude or to battle with the other men, also original and unique, who, like us, enjoy the vital expansion of their persons, who, like us, try to do their wills and who, along with us, wish to carry out their hirsute destinies.

Therefore, while the personality of the individuals forming a community is more intense and vigorous, the more difficult co-living within it will be for the members who live within its vital and cultural framework. The pride which Strabo attributed to Spaniards, the hard sobriety which Pompey saw in them and the bodily vigor and spiritual vehemence that Pliny conceded to them, made of the primitive Spaniards, original beings, unique, saturated with a strange load of individualism Their vigorous personalities, must have impelled them, fatally and inexorably into battling against neighboring human groups, pushed them ones against the others, when they had no external enemies, or to make them tend to solitary quietism which separated them into inaction.

In projecting their explosive egos towards the same horizons, necessarily they had to clash among themselves or withdraw wearily in search of repose in static solitude. Only when they united their energetic overflows, as in a group, to launch into common undertakings of sufficient importance to win their enthusiasm and of a suggestive and attractive nature to deserve their free assent, only then did they break their quietist solitude and interrupted their inner quarrels.

Free, proud, unique, they did not need to feel projected into more powerful personalities, but they were only attracted by them to adventures that fascinated them and they could freely determine their adhesions to the planned enterprise, to be able to follow or not follow the chief through a very free act of their free will, or when the springs of the common desire for freedom became tense in all, in order to defend the freedom of the human group to which they belonged, then they did associate with overwhelming passion to the point that they would sacrifice their own lives and the life of the community. The unity thus obtained would not be broken either by an individualistic incision, nor selfishness nor ambition. Thus they fought in defense of their independence to Regia in Andalusia and Numantia in Castile, and also, various other cities and towns of Hispania.

Hispanic individualism is rooted, therefore, in Iberian pride and passion. Pride and passion are the elements of a harsh secessionism, which, in concentric circles, always more and more reduced, separates men until it leaves them in the skeleton of their individual solitude. In the days of Caesar, the Gauls formed a group about some 60 *civitates;* Pompey conquered 900 cities in the part of Spain where he fought against the people of Sertorius. The Gauls confronted Rome grouped in a pre-national com-

munity and under a chief; Spaniards never joined in unities superior to a tribe, and usually each city fought separately and at times each clan, each family and each man was fighting for himself. Because each clan, each family or each man constituted isolated unities, closed in upon themselves, there have been in Hispania greater number of pacts of hospitality than in any other country of the Roman West and the guilds were are until Rome made them obligatory. In studying the life style of the primitive Spaniards I have recorded all these testimonies of the individualistic spirit of our most remote ancestors.

It is not difficult to explain how it came about. Pride more than love for freedom —or better said, to self-determination— multiplied by courage more than passion, such is the algebraic formula whose result was the primitive Hispanic individualism. The formula of an individualism which did not characterize these and those other peninsular people, but which was common to all —from the columns of Hercules to the Cantabrian seashore and from Lisbon to Tarragona— as the classical authors prove. Hope an ideal triumphed more than once over that instinctive individualism when the *man* that each one was was won over by the will, projects of free and worthy life —human— of another man whom he considered superior, and felt attracted by them; or when many men, instinctively and emotionally, rose in unity to preserve their collective independence. If they could not decide at will their participation in the war adventure or in political work, their submission to them decreased. And after their defeat, after heroic and fierce struggle, or once the charm was broken at the death of the chief —Viriatus, Sertorious, Pompey— individual wills were rising again as isolated monads concentrating on themselves.

Centuries of Roman domination made the peninsular people take some steps on the road to renouncing their hirsute individualism. Rome made them love the life of civilization which requires the coordination of thoughts and of wills to the service of the community, and Spaniards associated to carry out various purposes of a public nature —the great bridge of Alcántara was built by a group of obscure Portuguese municipalities— and private too, in various *collegia.* During the dominion of Rome, new juridical philosophical or religious ideas became established in the Spanish minds, obtaining their respect or enthusiasm and at times moving them to common action —the council of Iliberis was, if not the first, one of the first assemblies of the churches of the West. But it does not seem probable that the vital basic formula of the strong personalities of the peninsular people was lastingly altered, nor that the purpose and foundation of the juridical organization was centered in the community. The temperamental heritage of the Goths poured into the circulatory torrent of the Hispano-Romans contributed immediately to the exaltation of the traditions of the primitive Spaniards. If the juridical bonds which united the members of the *sippe* tied the individual within the family, many Visigothic institutions —the prevassal clientele and *fidelitas,* judicial duel, intervention

in judicial assemblies, etc.— confirmed the conscience of the vital dominion of the person, and because the *ferocitas* and the *superbia* of the race got to hypertrophying it.

Therefore, we cannot be surprised that in the history of Spain after the fall and ruin of the Roman Empire, there remained abundant traces of the historical survival of the Hispanic pride, love of self-determination, courage and passion, bases of the individualism of the primitive Spaniards.

If we do not forget that the embryo of Spain came in the Northern zone of the Peninsula, where the simple bodies from whose mingling had been born the primitive Hispanic individualism had been the most active, where Romanization had come later and been less intense and among people who from the beginning of the barbarian invasions, at the beginning of the 5th century, had been living in historical rough weather —without king or rook— and who had received among them thousands of Gothic refugees, also exalted by the disease of individualism, we will not hesitate in saying that those who initiated the Reconquest preserved the inclinations of their ancestors almost unaltered when the Arab invasion occurred.

Our history verifies that not even in the most anguishing moments of the uneven fight against the Islamites there ceased to appear the primitive secessionist prides of the Spaniards in the kingdom of Asturias. Even in the difficult and long hours from the 8th to the 10th century, Galicians, Basques and Castilians rebelled, at times the serfs, at times, noblemen and the infantes, without caring a straw about the tremendous peril which threatened them all from beyond the borders, moved by individual selfishness or impelled by the uncontrollable inclination to live according to the whims of their own wills.

After their secession, Castilians were those who best united overcoming the Hispanic traditional inclination to act according to the dictates of one's personal judgment. They did not have freedom of choice as they needed to live united in order to live freely and masters of themselves, obligated as they were at times, to fight on three fronts. However, a document —that of the *infanzons* of Espeja— where what happened at the border at the death of Count Sancho Garcés is reported, discloses how Castile was not immune to the old Hispanic disease. Under the forced union in the face of the enemy there also occurred storms of ambitions and selfishness. Very strong, hard, audacious and brilliant personalities invaded anarchically the historical scene, and the political force which kept them submitted almost broke down.

One hundred years later, in 1132 the militia of the *concejo* of Salamanca razed Badajoz, following the custom of other concejos between the Duero and Tagus to enter into Moorish lands to destroy the offensive power of the Almoravides. Taxufin, son of the sultan, 'Ali who was governing Al-Ándalus in his father's name, met them. He sent someone to ask who was their chief in order to know with whom he had to fight and the warriors from Salamanca answered him: «We are all princes and masters

of our own destinies.» His answer amazed the future African sultan, but it cannot surprise us. It encloses a magnificent testimony which unites the primitive Iberian pride with the Iberian anarchism of today. They had grouped in order to fight against the Islamite enemies. They were probably guided by their own chief as did those of Ávila when they went to war to carry out their own campaigns in Andalusia, but they did not recognize anyone as their superior. That time the ancestral Hispanic individualism moved the warriors of Salamanca to the same battlefield and led them to express an idea equally monstruous and magnificent. The fierce struggle against the Mussulmans hypertrophied and overcame their individualism at the time. It triumphed over it by uniting them in the common undertaking and magnified it in impelling them to explode in the equalizing and anarchical arrogance which moved their tongues.

It could not have happened differently. The harsh life, of permanent war against the Moors, of people whose temperamental tradition was rooted in the pride, passion, courage and love of self-determination of their pre-Roman ancestors, had to form the integral man that the Castilian became. Castilian or Castilians, since, as I have said repeatedly, the «divine» war was the war of all in Castile, and all, at least the greatest majority, coincided in their way of being in life. During the first centuries of the Reconquest Spanish Christianity in general and the peoples of the borders especially, felt impelled to fight by a dramatic wanting to be, at the service of continuing. That «wanting to be» enabled peninsular Christians to save their own personality but at the cost of an hypertrophy of their vital impetuosity. That vitality hypertrophied, torrentially poured into action, increased the extreme tension of the springs of the individual, at times threw man against man and even led him to confront the Divinity.

Also the long undertaking of the Repopulation of the lands won from Islam, along the long centuries of the Reconquest, must have contributed to affirm the primitive Hispanic individualism. The spirit of chimers and adventure which impelled those repopulating to abandon their old places and to rush through different roads to the place or town in which they were going to settle, necessarily had to exalt the awareness of their own personal autonomy. Such a conviction must have been accentuated, undoubtedly, in the new places. In them had converged people from different origins. The settlers, uprooted from the human groups to which they were belonging, must have doubly felt the isolation which spurs the emigrant: by his condition of displacement or because since all the inhabitants of the city or town equally felt it, there lacked the catalyzing force to absorb them into a society already crystallized. That vivid feeling of isolation of the people repopulating, whose personalities had been affirmed in their exodus towards the dangerous border, must have unfailingly increased the individualistic disposition inherited from their most remote ancestors.

It has been unfairly said: «The special form of the religious belief and similar desires had contributed to level the social differences (in Castile).» The truth is, exactly, the opposite, that the desires were similar because of the singular articulation of the social classes of Castile. Religious belief was identical in all the various peninsular kingdoms, and, nevertheless, the social hierarchies were quite different, and although they had to confront similar historical problems, the tasks that the majority of the Castilians fulfilled were tasks of the minorities in Galicia, Aragón and Catalonia. In those regions, war was generally the function of professional noble minorities. When a Galician saw his freedom contradicted by a lord and felt at the point of being absorbed by the lordly sucker, he was affirming that his ancestors had been in the ditch with the king, because only free men went on campaigns with the princes. In Castile, all had the duty to go to war, because all —I use the word hyperbolically— were free men.

Because of the singular social articulation of Castile, although it never came to the levelling of the juridical differences —how delighted would the good, the free men, the landowners and the laborers have been by a comparison with the *infanzons*!— the community in the war tasks and in the harsh and hard fate which war was imposing, levelled, not the social condition, but the life style and the psyche of most of the Castilians, in the course of the 10 to the 12th century.

That approximation of the way of being of most of the Castilians, explains that, differently from what happened in Galicia —where the defensive attitude of the rural majority against the lords ended up by spreading to them the astute and suspicious vital posture of the peasants— in Castile, the proud and aggressive soul which we might call lordly became generalized and triumphed in the end with the villeins. With these words, I am not alluding to what has been called the seigneurial style of life of the Castilians, that is their abandoning mechanical tasks because they used the works of Moors and Jews.

As all the features of the vital structure of the Castilians, the proud and lordly psyche of many of the residents of Castile —as the same historical community which received this name— was formed in the war against the Moors. A people initially whithout lords —I will deal with that elsewhere—, it could, therefore, have a lordly attitude before life. If an aristocratic minority had dominated the country, as it dominated *ab initio* Galicia, the dominated classes could not have reacted in a lordly way and Castile would have been divided into two distinct ideological worlds. But it did not happen that way, and even the villeins confronted the world from an aristocratic attitude and that attitude survived.

Because noblemen of Old Castile were, for centuries, rural knights, —let us recall the Cid taking care of his mills in Ubierna—, did not get to form, among them, until very late, some powerful families —only the relative balance of their powers enabled free men to live freely for a long

period of time— and the villeins could ascend there —from the time of the counts and especially since great *concejos* arose between the Duero and the Tagus— through war service on horses.

Will anyone be able to deny that the emerging from among the villeins of Castile —to climb to a privileged condition— of the workers who had a horse and went to war with it, is a clear exponent of the life style of a people? The masses of the people, probably since the 11th century, became orientated in Castile, towards a warlike, lordly, noble life style, which attracted them as the goal of their existences and in which it was possible to enter by means of audacity and courage —the Cid knighted the laborers of his retinue who distinguished themselves in battle—. That orientation which was based upon freedom and impetuosity, general in Castile, collaborated to the triumph of individualism.

Freedom and impetuosity cemented the vital style of the Castilians. Freedom, because besides the *infanzons* and the knights among the free people were: bourgeois and peasants without horses and lords, free men —small landowners who could change lords seven times a day— and the colons, who were allowed to abandon the lordly lands which they were working. And the impetuosity, because noblemen and villeins, riders and workers, bourgeois and country people, some time and even several times had had to fight against the Mussulmans or were sons or grandsons of those who had fought against them, generation after generation. I have cited before the case of the residents of Castrojeriz who dared to assault a palace of Ferdinand I —1035-1065— and another of the infanta Doña Urraca, and that they killed the representatives of both, in defense of their rights and under the impulse of their ancestral bellicose impetuosity. As the workers did in the 11th century —riders, or laborers, but workers— in a small Castilian town, so did many times in the course of the 12th and 13th centuries the residents of the Old Castile, the people of the *Extrema Durii* and the highlanders between the Duero and the Tagus. This is proven by the «Cantares de Gesta», the Crónica of Alfonso the Emperor, the «Libro de los Fueros» of Burgos, the «Crónica de la población de Ávila» and other juridical and narrative texts. From these I have taken a multitude of examples in opposing, before, the extreme roughness of the Castilians with the thinness of their primitive lyricism. The zeal for their freedom and the impetuosity in their defense, early affirmed the unity of the group that had operated collectively, immediately increased the pride of those who made it up and exalted the sharp edges of their personality, exaltation and increase which kindled their individualism in creating in them an extreme sense of equality. Such a kindling enlivened later the collective enthusiasm and upon its projection through the same planes as the first time, the springs of the personal individuality of most of its members were in tension. Strange but not paradoxical process. From love for self determination to collective impetuosity; from the latter to individual pride and equalitarian pride; and from the proud

personalizing equality, again to the zeal for colective freedom, in the end, in a sustained *in crescendo,* to retrace again the same path in spiral, which continued to warm the live coals of the temperament of primitive Spaniards.

Always, as before the Roman conquest, pride, love of freedom, courage and passion... and scorn for all that was not a projection of that crossroad of psychic forces, hierarchized as social values in the «divine» war, at the service of God and of the king and to their own profit or that of their own people, and that ideal of life always transcending the minority of noblemen by blood to the climbing class of the villein knights and even to the static group of the laborers without horses. The Castilian, and with him the man of León and all the new Castilians of the new borders of the kingdom —in Mancha, Estremadura and Andalusia— ended up by possessing an explosive ego, a hypertrophied personality, which not only had to torrentially pour out into individualism, but which was to leap over the limits of that human quality to pour out, left and right, in a continuous energetic overflow, upon all the beings, things and ideas which appeared on the horizon of their daily lives.

Beyond individualism. The individualist turns in upon himself, locks himself in, closes the doors of his fortress, raises the cross bridge, floods the moats and at the margin of society, he does what he feels like doing and in turn lets his neighbor do what he feels like doing. The Castilian and in general the peninsular man —naturally with the exception of the differences which separate the people of the diverse lands of Spain, as a result of their different history— has never locked himself in his own interior castle and he has never enjoyed letting his contemporaries do what has pleased them. He has come down to the plain from his fortress and he has fought at sword's point to impose his will; and on the way he has thrown his intimacy to the wind and has thus attracted to him beings, things and ideas. Individualism? No, beyond individualism. How to define Don Quijote? We cannot imagine him self-limiting himself, associating, collaborating quietly and mildly; if he had felt imbued with theoretical or selfish individualism, he would not have gone out to undo wrongs. Hispanic individualism has been like that of Alonso Quijano: ready not only to do what he willed, but to impose that on others, and most of the time not for his own benefit —that would have been foolish individualism—, but to the service of what he considered the defense of an idea, the good of the society, the honor of his country or of his clan or of justice for the needy and the oppressed. He has leaped beyond his individualism out of excess of individual potential.

As an example of this hyperindividualism we can quote Servetus. He was well aware of the perfidy and the hatred of Calvin. He knew that it had made him denounce him to the episcopal inquisition of Vienne (France), which had condemned him to die by fire. Nevertheless Michael

Servetus quixotically went to Geneva to sustain a death dialogue with his powerful enemy, with the mad hope to be able to destroy him and to be able to convert the city, a see of nascent Calvinism into a bastion of his ideals of total human freedom. He had written: «as the motives for the existence of government disappear all power and all authority will be abolished». Captured by order of Calvin, who feared him, converting from accused to prosecutor, he fiercely confronted him with reasoning passion. He knew that his life was gambled in the challenge, but he did not go back «Deny that you are assassins —he shouted to the Protestant ministers in the course of the trial— and I will prove to you that you are by your very acts. In a cause as just as mine, I do not weaken in my soul. I am not afraid of death». Condemned to die by fire for the second time in one year, not even on the scaffold did he consent to pronounce the trinitarian formula which his cruel enemy wanted to obtain from his lips.

Along with ethical rigor, hyperindividualism contributed to the Quixotic criticism of Hispanic methods of conquest and colonization in America. Behind the hyperbolic, fierce, somber and unjust pages of Las Casas, next to a moving devotion for the natives and a just passion for human dignity —perhaps hypertrophied by a disorder of the mind, according to the opinion of Menéndez Pidal— there clearly appears the exalted tension of a bold personality, loaded with vehement explosive individualism, capable of attacking everything and every one. Porras Barrenechea, in studying the chroniclers of Peru, has written: «The chronicle, and more so if it is Castilian, always has a diverging opinion which speaks aloud». He observes that the great Cieza de León «expresses an adverse opinion to his compatriots».

In the history and life of Spain there are cases of men filled with closed and egotistical individualism, but for each of these, hundreds of solitary personalities can be pointed out —or simply of common people— repulsed by the idea of being grouped or associated with anyone, who have burned in the fire of individual action, not in agreement with the collectivity, but according to their own wills, but in benefit of those same groups or of that same collectivity with whom they had refused to collaborate.

From the roots of that hyperindividualism were born three temperamental inclinations of the Spaniards which had contributed to forging what is Hispanic: a strong sense of emulation, which at times has favored, and at times damaged the feasible projections of the community and of its diverse groups; a lofty esteem for the equality among the members of all, not always healthy for the historical development of Spain, and a very firm concept of the obligations formed by friendship, concept which, if it has been the cause of many admirable deeds and many features of civic heroism, has also induced to injustice and to familiarity and has harmed Spanish public life.

The exaltation of the personality of Spaniards inexorably has led to the ambition of equalizing and even exceeding the companion of life and work,

because no one considered himself inferior to others and at times judged himself capable of being superior to many. If we do not forget what there has been of arrogance in Hispanic hyperindividualism, we will be able to understand the rancors and rages which that violent emulation has kindled in our men of action and of letters; we will not be surprised that in sectors easily conducive to vanity, among writers and artists above all, emulation at times took shades of scorn, at times of envy, and at times of enmity; and we will be able to explain why the explosive Hispanic egos have impelled, at times, many towards quietism and inaction as a result of their despairing failure before the attempt at matching the successes of others. It would not be difficult in the history of Spain to find many examples of these emulatory arrogances, of those gloomy rancors, that jealous envy, those irritated disdains, and those pining falls to which this hyperindividualism had led Spaniards. However, in a game of antinomies, one should also single out the luminous consequences of that emulatory impetus which the individualistic fit has caused among us. Kindled by the incentive of emulation we have made Spain advance through happy days of its historical life. Some day many pages will be written about the fruits of the blessing and of the curse which the Hispanic emulatory feeling has produced; without it many of our deeds in America and many of our failures, for example, would be unexplainable.

The history of Hispanic friendship deserves another book. It will have to be initiated by the words of Strabo on Spaniards: They suffer death in order not to betray their friends. Fifteen hundred years later, Alonso de San Cruz, in outlining the moral profile of Charles V, says of him: «he was very suspicious, especially of Spaniards: to such a way that, if they advised him, he thought that it was more out of friendship or of malice than out of reason». Other texts could be brought to task to prove the surprise that the Hispanic inclination to help frieds has provoked in many foreigners. In his magnificent gallery of portraits of the Castilian magnates whose physical and psychic image he has given to us, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán says of many of them: Good friends of their friends. And he did not qualify them thus, lightly: he did it because for him they were supreme qualities —he says so in the prologue— loyalty to the king, defense of the country and sincere friendship; qualities for which one should not «hesitate in expenses nor fear death».

The battle between the hirsute destinies of Spaniards, inclined to what they felt like doing as a natural result of the vital expansion of their person, must have caused that hypervaloration of the friendly confraternity among us. The isolated monads that Spaniards were could feel attracted by undertakings or by people which could unleash in them storms of passion or of reason. But in friendship are united common ideas and feelings with reciprocal emotional attractions and it is related to equality in the double duties with the possible rupture, *ad libitum*, of the relation with the friend, and for that reason, it had to be the reason why it triumphed over

the instinctive passions which separated those who were filled with hyper-individualism. The bonds of the friendly obligations which guided our habitual and daily co-existence had to be flexible and most free, putting aside the always explosive volitive dominions of each one and of all, through limitation and mutual services.

It is clear that many times those friendly alliances have increased the acrimony of the combats between the explosive Spanish temperaments, when the potential of the opposite forces was extended, through the union, in strong groups, of men reciprocally friendly. As always positive and negative currents run parallely, frequently also violent powder flashes of fierce and cruel enmities have exploded, when the faith that friendship implied was broken or when on the way to friendship have interfered passional forces unleashed by collective myths or furies. Those storms of ferocious personal fights have sharpened and perpetuated at the same time old religious or political confrontations. The family enmities which the War of the Communities provoked still lasted well into the reign of Philip II. Those that the third Carlist war kindled, continued alive still a few decades ago in some rural regions of Spain.

Until yesterday —I do not wish to speak of the present here— since before George Borrow until after Keyserling and Waldo Frank, those who have looked into Spanish life have been amazed by the lordly disposition which equalized Spaniards —even those of the most humble condition and the residents of most of the regions of Spain. In the course of this work numerous testimonies have been alleged —many more could be alleged— to the varied exteriorization by Spaniards through history, of a strong tendency to equality. This string of proofs which goes back to the most remote days of our past, discloses a frequent sliding of Spaniards towards a democratic articulation of the community, an equalitarian valoration of men and peoples and a proud confrontation of the superior hierarchies through disdain and violence, incredible if they were not true.

Let us remember: the absence in the primitive people of the North of Spain of kings and princes; their organization by the free agreement of those who were living in the cities or forming the tribes; the strength that the Germanic popular assemblies first, and the free *concejos* later, reached in such lands, both being based originally on the juridical equality of those who formed them; the importance which the brotherhoods acquried among us afterwards; the saturation of the villeins and bourgeois by the ideals of pride, honor, *vergüenza* and diginity, in a movement of equalizing ascent towards the knights; the recognition in the medieval Castilian laws of the same succession rights to all the children; the doctrine about the equality of all men and peoples —even of the Spaniards and of the Indians by them submitted— which the theologians from Salamanca defended and which led to causing the very problem of the juridical legality of our conquest; the mixing of peninsular people, without any racial

scruples, with however many people came along their way; the early attraction of the conquered to the faith and the culture of the conquistadors, without incurring the discriminatory prides of other imperial peoples —Rome and England, for example; the feeling of what Menéndez y Pelayo called, not unjustly, the friarlike democracy, incompatible with the life style of a people submitted by crushing psychic and hierarchical unequalities; the coming to the people of the grandees in the Spain of the Counter Reformation and of the Baroque as in the Spain of Enlightenment and Romanticism— for example the princess of Eboli and duchess Cayetana de Alba; the haughtiness with which, from before Saavedra Fajardo until after Larra, the common people has approached those of a superior condition; and so many samples of the equalitarian simplicity of most of the leaders and chiefs who have been outstanding in the history of Spain.

Let us also recall the rebellions of the masses against the kings and the lords and their disdainful indifference before all. It was said of the Spaniards in the second century: «they are not inclined to serve so much so that a powerful person should not think of suggesting it to a peasant if he does not feel like it». Our rebellions and our disdains can be documented in the reality of our historical life —from before the violence of the villeins of Castrojeriz against the palaces of Ferdinand I until after the thefts and the scorn of the villeins of Cuacos against the Caesar-like Charles V, retired in the neighboring Yuste; they are recorded likewise in the reality of our literary life, in a *crescendo* that does not terminate with *Peribáñez*, *Fuenteovejuna* and *El Alcalde de Zalamea*.

Only when the history of the lofty valoration of equality among us is written with the care and zeal which the theme deserves, will we know the authentic curve of that national feeling and discover the causes of the passing lows. Then, its tight relation with the individualism of the Spaniards and the interferences and reciprocal reactions of both Hispanic temperamental inclinations will stand out, because if the exaltation of the personality of each man, in closing his vital circle upon himself, causes the feeling which the people from Salamanca disclosed in their answer to the Almoravid sultan: «We are all masters of our own destinies», that hyperindividualistic arrogance impels those who feel moved by it, to confront one another on an equality basis in their mutual human relations and to articulate themselves likewise democratically, inasmuch as they are members of a political society But, in turn, this vital equalitarian confrontation and the democratic organization of the citizen fortify the arrogant impetuosity of one's own personality and affirm, in the end, the proud hyperindividualism of those who had come to equality and to democracy. In the spiral endlessness of history, the individualistic and equalitarian inclinations of the human groups who enjoy or suffer a temperamental heritage propitious for the development and intercrossing of such feelings will continue to influence and reactivate each other reciprocally. They will continue to influence each other, of course, while the interplay of the

creative forces of historical life does not produce a turn and a decisive change in the destiny of the community.

When the leading ideas of the social and political articulation of the peoples marked within a same unity of culture, contradict the traditional inclination towards the democratic equality of the nation marked by individualism, the latter will not be able to overcome such and ideological gravitation. But within the flexibility that the spiritual and economic climate of the time permit, it will take the society to the maximum limit of possible juridico-political equality —let us think of Castile, island of free men of feudal Europe—; it will be the first to break the differentiating hierarchical molds —let us remember the early triumph of the council organization in Castilian lands—; and when it is not possible to transform the nation whose children feel oppressed by individualistic impetus into an organic democracy, it will pour that equalitarian feeling of the same into its cosmovision, into its ethical concepts, into its life style and into its functional structure —as it happened in the Spain of the Renaissance, of the Baroque and of Enlightenment.

Here is the why of the temperamental features of the Spaniards, based on the indestructible conjunction of their individualism and of the logical demo-equalitarian projections of the same. The why of these impulses and tensions which, either have raised the people to the archetypes of noble life, or have brought the noblemen to the people; now have kindled revolutions or created scorns among the people, now have brought to light fruitful ideas on the juridical and vital parity of conquistadors and conquered, and which when they have not succeeded in breaking the social articulations of a hierarchical type, have equalized the citizens before the weight of royal authority —«from the king down no one»— and have created «friarlike democracies». The why of those impulses and tensions translated in the «no one is more than anyone» of the Castilian peasants.

To that individualism triply projected towards emulation, equality and friendship they would never have arrived through the symbiosis according to which the explanation of the Hispanic life style has been attempted.

That man with a hypertrophied ego, lover of his own self-determination, tormented by emulatory ambition, friend of his friends and who in pride, audacity, courage and passion tended to face others on an equal basis, in the course of the 11th and the 12th centuries accepted from Al-Ándalus, and from beyond the Pyrenees, many forms of thought, quite a few techniques, various literary and artistic styles and various institutions, and at the same time assimilated the Mozarabic minorities and the ultramontane immigrants. By projecting himself over the beings, the objects and the ideas that he found around him, he was able to seize and influence them. His vigor and personality did not incapacitate him for objectivity in thought or in things. He would have been able to slowly change his life style. The functional structure of peoples is not unchangeable. The English

people changed much during the late Middle Ages and the French during the «one hundred year war». The Castilian would never have ceased to be the man he was, but the vital grasp would have enabled him to realize an important turn in the quadrant of history. History took care of solidifying his way of being and of confronting the world. The overflowing personality, beyond the individualism of the *homo hispanus* would not have been an obstacle for him to become a Westerner in the strict sense of the word. It is important to point out the historical course which ended up by affirming his ancient temperamental heritage.

END OF VOLUME I

870026

DATE DUE / DATE DE RETOUR

TRENT UNIVERSITY
0 1164 0402285 1